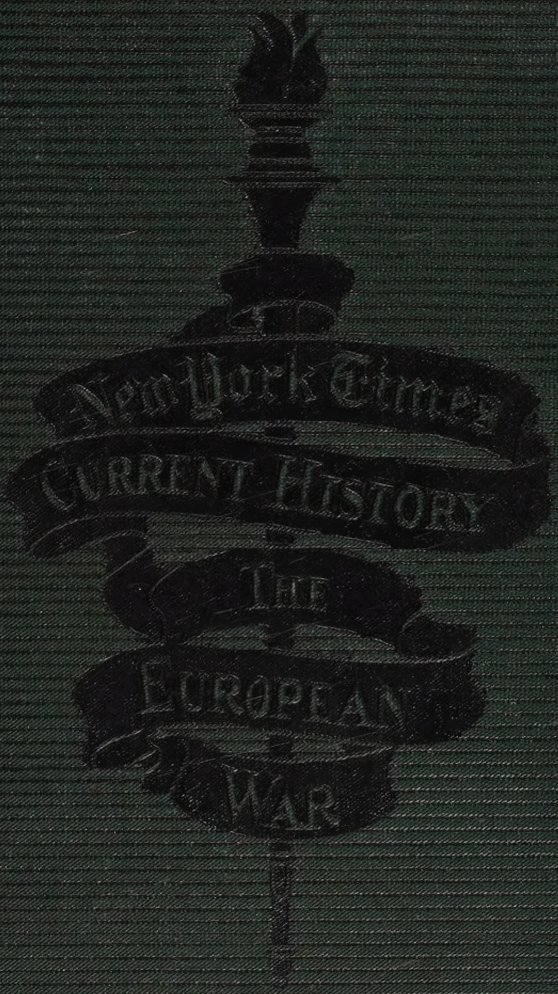
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THE EUROPEAN WAR

Period January, 1919—March, 1919

INTRODUCTION

The signing of the armistice, Nov. 11, 1918, marked the closing of an era. It spelled the doom of a power that had sought the hegemony of the world. It saved civilization. But close on the heels of triumph came crowding a host of the most serious and perplexing problems that have engaged the attention of mankind.

The Allies were spent and breathless. Their best blood had been spilled, their treasuries emptied, their resources depleted, their future mortgaged. Victory had been bought at a heavy price. And the fruits of victory were yet to be garnered. Germany, not penitent for having sinned, but regretful for having failed; Austria, vanished as an empire and existing as a mere congeries of warring fragments; Turkey, fawning upon her conquerors; Bulgaria, impudently hopeful of saving something from the wreck—from these beaten and bankrupt powers was to be secured the reparation due to outraged justice. Shattered Europe had to be rebuilt on new and enduring foundations, and the gravity of the problem began to be realized as its complexities multiplied.

FULFILLMENT OF ARMISTICE TERMS

The primary aim of the armistice was to render Germany militarily impotent. The most elementary caution demanded, therefore, that the terms should be strictly carried out. No safeguard was overlooked by Marshal Foch, who had the matter in charge for the Allies.

The occupation by allied troops of the territory on the left bank of the Rhine was completed on schedule time. By the middle of December the French, under General Fayolle, had taken possession of the bridgehead at Mayence; the British, under General Plumer, had occupied Cologne, while the American Army of Occupation, under General Dickman, was established at Coblenz. Fraternizing with the enemy was sternly forbidden, and strict, but not harsh, regulations were put in force to govern the people of the occupied zone. Some efforts at propaganda by Germans were summarily repressed, but, in general, order was well maintained and the occupation was devoid of unfortunate incident.

The occupation of Alsace-Lorraine fell as a matter of course to French troops, and the wildest enthusiasm attended their triumphal entry into the cities and villages of the "lost provinces." Their reception justified the statement of President Poincaré that it was in itself a "plebiscite." Administrative centres were established at Metz, Strasbourg, and Colmar, and to all intents and purposes the provinces became an integral part of France.

More difficulty was met with in securing the surrender of the material demanded by the terms of armistice. Much of this was not in the perfect condition

stipulated for, and was consequently rejected. The Germans declared that they were acting in good faith and that conditions should be softened and time extended, especially in the matter of railroad cars. Strict insistence on this clause, they asserted, would result in famine in Germany.

On Dec. 14 the armistice was extended until Jan. 17, 1919, with the added proviso that the Allied High Command, if it saw fit, might occupy the neutral zone on the right bank of the Rhine to the north of the bridgehead of Cologne up to the Dutch frontier. On Jan. 17 a further extension of a month was granted, with new conditions attached. Germany was required to hand over to the Allies all cargo ships for use in revictualing Germany and adjacent countries. Her passenger ships were also to be placed at the Allies' disposal to be used as transports. Germany was to be paid for these and the money applied against her purchases of food; 58,000 agricultural machines taken by Germany from invaded districts were to be restored. Scores of U-boats that had been found in German shipyards in course of construction were to be destroyed, and others ready for sea were to be surrendered. As a guarantee for the fulfillment of these demands the Allies reserved the right to occupy a sector beyond the fortress of Strasbourg, on the right bank of the Rhine. The amended terms were agreed to by the German delegates, though only after a vigorous protest.

At the expiration of this extension, on Feb. 17, almost an impasse seemed to have been reached in the negotiations. Complaint was made that the Germans had resorted to tactics of evasion and obstruction, and Marshal Foch asked the Supreme Council, then in session at Paris, for more drastic terms and ample powers. The council, which on motion of President Wilson had been increased by the addition of civilian members, acceded to his request, and, thus fortified, the Marshal proceeded to Treves, where the conference was to be held. The new terms demanded that all of Germany's previous pledges should be completely carried out; that a considerable section of Posen should be yielded up to Poland; that all aggressive movements against the Poles should cease; that a plan for the disarmament and demobilization of the German armies as prescribed by the Entente should be put into effect. The extension of the armistice was to be indeterminate and could be denounced on three days' notice. If these provisions were complied with, it was promised that certain features of the blockade would be modified in Germany's favor.

Determined resistance to these demands was made by the German delegates. Foch, however, was firm and set a time limit for acceptance, failing which he would terminate the armistice and leave Treves to give the necessary orders to the allied troops. Erzberger made a flying trip to Weimar to consult the German Cabinet, and returned to Treves with authority to sign, which he did under protest.

In other parts of the former war zone the occupation of enemy territory was carried out in complete accordance with the terms of armistice. By the end of November, Italy, in conjunction with the American, French, and British forces who had co-operated in the last offensive, had occupied all the terrain which had been stipulated for in the armistice. Nowhere did the Italians establish civil Governments, though an abortive attempt to do so in certain towns by the Italian population living there led to friction with Jugoslavic elements.

British troops were landed on the Gallipoli Peninsula, Nov. 9, and the following day French and British destroyers reached Constantinople, bringing staff officers to organize the administration of the country. Within a month thereafter every department was running smoothly under allied control and the foreign consulate courts had been restored. Allied naval forces took possession of Russian ships which had been in German possession at Sebastopol, Nov. 26, and on Dec. 13 French marines occupied Odessa.

East Africa came wholly under allied control by the surrender on Nov. 14 at Kasama of the German General von

Lettow-Vorbeck, with his force of 300 Germans and 1,000 natives.

THE PEACE CONGRESS

The first formal session of the Peace Congress took place in the building of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Paris, Jan. 18, 1919.

As delegates from the United States to the Peace Congress, the President named himself, Secretary of State Lansing, Colonel E. M. House, Hon. Henry White, former Ambassador to France and Italy, and General Tasker H. Bliss.

The decision of the President to go as a delegate led to an animated debate. Objection was voiced, not only by political opponents but by a large body of neutral opinion. With one or two insignificant exceptions, it was a radical departure from precedent that the Chief Magistrate should leave the country during his term of office. It was objected that public business would suffer during his absence and that a President among Premiers would prove embarrassing and prevent free debate and exchange of opinion. A certain uneasiness was also expressed lest the step commit the country too strongly to participation in European politics.

In reply to these objections, it was urged by the President and his friends that there was no sacredness in precedent, that the President could keep in close touch with public affairs by cable and wireless from the United States Embassy at Paris, which was technically American soil; that by the President's own request he was to stand on precisely the same footing as the allied Premiers and other delegates; and that the acceptance by the enemy of the "fourteen points" enumerated by the President as the basis for armistice and peace negotiations required the presence of their author for adequate interpretation and enforcement.

On Dec. 4 the President, accompanied by Mrs. Wilson and a large party, sailed from New York on the steamer George Washington for France. He reached Brest Dec. 13, where he was tendered a great ovation. That same afternoon he left for Paris, which he reached the next morning. There a tremendous welcome awaited him. No head of any foreign nation had ever been greeted by such enormous crowds as packed the streets of Paris on that occasion, nor had any welcome ever betrayed such sincerity and depth of emotion. President Poincaré and Premier Clemenceau extended official greetings on the part of France, and a round of brilliant receptions followed. The Murat mansion was assigned to the President as his residence while in Paris.

On Dec. 25 the President visited Chaumont, the headquarters of the American General Staff, reviewed the troops, and ate Christmas dinner with the officers. The following day he crossed the Channel on a visit to England. At Dover, and especially at London, he was accorded a tumultuous greeting. A splendid banquet was given by the King to President and Mrs. Wilson Dec. 27 at Buckingham Palace. In the days that followed the President held frequent and intimate conferences with British statesmen and made important speeches at the Guildhall and at Manchester, in which he explained and amplified his views of the League of Nations.

On the last day of the year the President left England for Italy, visiting Rome, Milan, Turin, Genoa, and other important cities. His reception there surpassed even those accorded him in England and France. In Milan especially the popular acclamations were overwhelming. Official visits were made to the King of Italy, the Pope, and the Protestant societies at Rome. The President returned to Paris on Jan. 7, and from that date his time was engrossed by conferences with diplomats and in arranging the preliminaries of the Peace Congress.

By the time the Congress formally opened on Jan. 18 much progress had already been made in the exchanging and harmonizing of views by Premiers of the allied countries and President Wilson. The Congress was held in the superbly decorated Salle de la Paix of the Quai d'Orsay. President Poincaré made a felicitous address of welcome, and, on motion of President Wilson, Premier Clemenceau of France was chosen as

President of the Congress. Various matters of routine and organization were attended to, and it was stated that the League of Nations would be the first matter considered.

In the organization of the Congress five delegates each were allowed to the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. Two delegates each were allotted to Canada, Australia, South Africa, and India. Brazil was to have three delegates, as were also Belgium and Serbia. China, Greece, Poland, Rumania, and the Czechoslovak Republic were accorded two delegates each. One delegate each was allowed Siam, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, and Montenegro. Later on, the Kingdom of the Hedjaz was given two delegates. It was stipulated that, irrespective of the number of delegates composing it, each delegation should vote as a unit.

The first few days of the Congress were taken up with the appointment of various committees, to whom were assigned the drafting of plans for reparation, determination of responsibility for the war, the fixing of boundaries, the constitution of the League of Nations, and other important questions. These were to hold executive sessions, and the results of their deliberations were later to be presented at plenary sessions of the Congress for acceptance, rejection, or modification.

During the entire period under review the Congress continued its hearings and discussions. A host of difficult and vexing problems came before it for adjustment. The task of making a just and enduring peace with former enemies was sufficient to tax its energies to the utmost. In addition, it was called upon to settle a number of serious questions between various members of the allied States. China and Japan were at odds regarding Kiao-Chau and the Shantung peninsula; Italy and Jugoslavia were perilously near a clash over the possession of Fiume and other sections of the Adriatic littoral; Rumania and Serbia had a bone of contention in the Banat of Temesvar; France wished to retain her traditional interests in Syria, while the King of the Hedjaz desired that the ancient province should be included in the new Kingdom of Arabia; Poland and Czechoslovakia were having frontier skirmishes over the possession of important coal fields claimed by each. All over Europe and Asia the fires of war were smoldering, ready to burst forth in conflagration.

Neutral countries also had claims rising out of the losses they had experienced and the difficulties under which they had labored in the war. And the sinister menace of Bolshevism was threatening to cross the Russian border and throw its black shadow athwart Europe.

Only a few decisions that seemed to savor of finality were reached by the Congress in this period. It was determined that the German colonies would not be returned to that power, but would be assigned for government and development to various allied States as mandataries, who would be responsible for their trusteeship to the League of Nations.

An attempt by the Congress to solve the Russian problem proved abortive. A proposal was made by President Wilson that various Russian Governments exercising administrative powers in that country should be invited to send delegates to Prinkipo, one of the Princes' Islands in the Sea of Marmora, to confer with allied representatives on Feb. 15. The invitation disavowed any desire to interfere with the internal government of Russia, and stated that the representatives were "invited to confer with the delegates of the Allies in the freest and frankest way with a view to ascertaining the wishes of all sections of the Russian people and bringing about, if possible, some understanding and agreement by which Russia might work out her own purposes and happy co-operative relations be established between her people and the other peoples of the world."

The proposal met with a cold reception from most of the elements opposed to the Bolshevist régime. The Governments of Omsk, Georgia, and Northern Russia either declined outright or reserved decision. Esthonia, Ukrainia, Letvia, and Lithuania accepted more or less heartily.

The Lenine Government announced, after some delay, that it was willing to begin conversations with the Entente with the object of bringing about a cessation of military activities. Immediately upon the receipt of this reply delegates to the Marmora conference were chosen by the Allies. The American delegates were William Allen White and George D. Herron. The entire Prinkipo project failed, however, owing to the Bolshevist inability or unwillingness to bring about a temporary cessation of hostilities.

The most difficult problem before the Congress related to the formation of the League of Nations. Claims of various States that seemed diametrically opposed had in some way to be harmonized. Acute differences of opinion arose that at times threatened to disrupt the plan. This was notably the case when Premier Clemenceau on Feb. 9 issued an appeal to the American people, through The Associated Press, that was regarded by some as an attempt to go over the head of President Wilson. It was felt by France that the proposed constitution of the League did not offer her sufficient guarantees against future German aggression. Repetition of this view in the French press aroused considerable feeling, but the matter was compromised by inserting such drastic military terms in the renewal of the armistice conditions that the possibility of German aggression was vastly lessened.

The tentative constitution, as finally drafted, was unanimously adopted by the committee which had been engaged in its preparation. It was read on Feb. 14 in a plenary session of the Congress. Admittedly it was incomplete, and reservations were made by various nations of amendments which they intended to propose at a later date. President Wilson made a speech in support of the constitution, as did Lord Robert Cecil of Great Britain and Premier Orlando of Italy. President Clemenceau promised that the fullest opportunity for discussion would be granted before a vote would be taken upon the adoption of the covenant.

The draft of the proposed constitution is given verbatim in this volume and need not here be dwelt upon at length. Its purpose is stated in the preamble:

> In order to promote international cooperation and to secure international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the powers signatory to this covenant adopt this constitution of the League of Nations.

With this purpose the conscience of the civilized world had no quarrel. It was as immune to criticism as the Decalogue. The formidable opposition that broke out in the United States as soon as the text of the constitution appeared was based almost wholly upon certain provisions and omissions of the document which, it was alleged, would defeat the purpose expressed in the preamble, infringe the sovereignty of this country, and hamper its freedom of action on domestic questions.

GERMANY RENT BY STRIFE

Discord and confusion continued to reign in Germany. In almost every city councils of various kinds attempted to usurp the local Government. The central figures in these movements were the Radical Socialists of the Ledebour type. Most of the turbulence, however, found its inspiration in the leadership of Dr. Liebknecht in Berlin. Even before the armistice was signed, he had issued a flaming manifesto which was really a call to arms of the proletariat. A few of its paragraphs here given serve to show its character:

> Comrades! Soldiers! Sailors! And you workers! Arise by regiments, and arise by factories. Disarm your officers, whose sympathies and ideas are those of the ruling classes. Conquer your foremen, who are on the side of the present order. Announce the fall of your masters and demonstrate your solidarity. Do not heed the advice of the Kaiser Social Democrats. Do not let yourselves be led any longer by unworthy politicians who play you false and deliver you into the hands of the enemy.
>
> Stand fast, like many of the genuine Social Democrats, in your companies and regiments. Seize the quarters of your

officers. Disarm them immediately. Make sure that your officers sympathize with you. In case they do, let them lead you. Shoot them immediately in case they betray you after they have declared themselves supporters of your cause.

Soliders and marines! Fraternize. Fraternize. Take possession of your ships. Overpower first your officers. Place yourselves in communication with your comrades on land, and seize all harbors and open fire if necessary on loyal groups.

Workers in munition factories! You are the masters of the situation. Stop work immediately. From now on you are only making bullets which will be used against you and yours. The bullets which you now make will never reach the front.

As a counterthrust to this effort of Liebknecht, the Ebert Government felt it necessary to make the following declaration of intentions, designed to bring the more stable elements of society to their support:

First, we do not intend to confiscate any bank or savings bank deposits, nor any sums in cash or banknotes or other valuable papers deposited in the bank safes.

Secondly, we do not intend to cancel any subscriptions to the Ninth War Loan or in any other way to impair the legitimacy of those loans. The Government, however, is determined to enforce the strictest measures that large fortunes and great incomes shall contribute appropriately toward the public expense.

Thirdly, salaries, pensions, and other claims on the State held by officials, employes, officers, wounded and other soldiers and their relatives will remain absolutely valid.

Seventy delegates, representing twenty-one German States, met in conference at Berlin on Nov. 25 to formulate the rules of the proposed national convention. The most important feature was a scathing attack by Eisner of Bavaria upon Solf and Erzberger. There were indications that the chasm between Northern and Southern Germany was steadily widening. Meanwhile, strikes broke out all over the country. In Berlin, Dresden, and other centres industry was almost at a standstill. The Spartacus group was trying desperately to prevent the calling of the National Convention. Violent street riots occurred in Berlin, and many victims were claimed by machine-gun and rifle fire. These movements were as yet, however, sporadic, and were suppressed with comparative ease. Similar confusion reigned in Bavaria, where Herr Auer was forced to resign from the Bavarian Ministry by armed soldiers, although he was afterward reinstated by Eisner. The difficulties were increased by the return of soldiers from the front, many of whom were induced to join the Sparticide movement.

The Central Council of Delegates from Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils convened in Berlin on Dec. 16 to debate the date and place of the national convention. Stormy scenes were constant during the session. Bitter attacks were made by Ledebour upon Ebert, and followers of Liebknecht sought to intimidate and stampede the conference. The net result of the session was the decision that elections to a national convention should be held on Jan. 19. This was carried by a vote of 400 to 70, and was a complete defeat of the Spartacus element.

Dec. 23 and 24 were marked by a serious conflict between armed sailors sympathizing with the Liebknecht radicals and the soldiers supporting the Ebert Government. The sailors had seized the Royal Palace, together with the stables opposite, and for two days held out against the Government troops. They were finally subdued with a total killed of 100.

The episode seemed to shake the nerve of the Ebert Government, whose course thereafter was marked by wavering and indecision. The spirit of revolt became bolder, and was stimulated not only by Liebknecht and his group, but by emissaries from Russia, prominent among whom was Radek, head of the Bolshevist mission to Germany. The local administration of Berlin was paralyzed by the insubordination of Eichhorn, Chief of Police, who had supported the Spartacans in their seizure of the newspaper Vorwärts on Christmas Day. The effort of the Ebert Government to depose Eichhorn precipitated a violent phase of the civil war. Eichhorn refused to resign and turned police headquarters in the Alexander Platz into a Spartacan stronghold. About this a furious conflict raged on Jan. 6, marked by continuous street

fighting. A state of siege was proclaimed by the Government on Jan. 8. On the 9th, after fierce fighting, the revolt was broken, although street riotiug went on until the 12th, by which time a decisive victory had been gained over the Spartacans. The chief credit for the breaking of the revolt was attributed to the energetic action of Noske, the Military Governor of Berlin, and Reinhardt, the Prussian War Minister. One thousand were killed and wounded during that week of fighting.

A tragic aftermath of the revolt was the killing of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, his feminine ally, on the night of Jan. 15. Both had been in hiding but were captured. They denied their identity, but it was fully established. While they were being conveyed to Police Headquarters, it is alleged, Liebknecht made an attempt to escape from his captors. He was fired on and fatally wounded, dying a few minutes afterward.

Rosa Luxemburg had been placed in an automobile whose progress was checked by a jeering mob. A man jumped on to the running board and shot her in the head. Her body was said to have been thrown into a canal.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

During this era of confusion, elections went steadily on for delegates to the forthcoming National Assembly. It was decided that this was to meet on Feb. 6 at the historic town of Weimar. Women voted on equal terms with men, and thirty-four of them were among the delegates elected. The elections in the main were orderly, and the results indicated that the bulk of the people desired a democratic republic free from monarchical or Bolshevist influences. The Socialists had a plurality, though not a majority, of votes.

The Assembly duly convened on Feb. 6 at Weimar. It was opened by Ebert, who declared that the German people were now ruling themselves and that they had "done forever with Princes and nobles by the grace of God." He denounced the armistice terms bitterly and warned the Allies not to drive Germany too far. Dr. Eduard David, a leader of the German Social Democratic Party, was elected President of the Assembly. On the 11th Ebert was elected Provisional State President of Germany by a vote of 277 out of 397, and the Provisional Constitution was adopted.

RENEWED REVOLT IN GERMANY

The suppression of the Spartacans was only temporary. Strikes, riots, and brigandage spread all over the country. Outbreaks at Cuxhaven and Bremerhaven were suppressed on Jan. 30 after desperate resistance. Disorders occurred in Berlin on Feb. 9 and 10, but were quickly brought under control. New regulations greatly diminished the power of the Soldiers' Councils and aided in the restoration of order.

From Feb. 15 onward, determined strikes broke out in the Ruhr industrial region along the Rhine. Düsseldorf, Mulheim, Hamborn, and Essen were taken possession of by the Spartacans, and the water works and electric power houses were seized. The disorders spread to Bavaria. On Feb. 21 Kurt Eisner, the Bavarian Premier, was assassinated in Munich by Lieutenant Count Arco Valley, formerly an officer in the German Guard. Shortly afterward, when the murder was being announced in the Landtag, a volley of firing came from the public gallery, which severely wounded Herr Auer, Minister of the Interior, and killed and wounded other officials. The assassination of Eisner was attributed to his frank exposition at the Berne Conference of Germany's guilt in instigating the war.

Immediately after the assassination, insurrection broke out in Munich, fostered by reactionaries and Spartacans. The revolt spread to Augsburg and Nuremburg, where the prisons were thrown open and severe street fighting took place. The insurrection was quieted by a decision to incorporate in the Bavarian Government representatives of Workmen's, Peasants', and Soldiers' Councils.

Saxony also suffered from the fury of the Spartacans. Plauen and other industrial centres were taken possession of, and railway connection with Halle was cut. Electric power stations were seized in many Saxon factories. Miners joined

in the movement, impelled thereto, it was alleged, by the failure of the Government to socialize the mining industries. Liepsic was cut off from all connection with the outside world and was wholly without gas and electricity. All over Germany the situation became increasingly serious. A Soviet republic was proclaimed in Brunswick. Communist activity embraced all of East Prussia. In Central Germany the Spartacans were attacking trains and wounding passengers. Stuttgart, Dresden, and Karlsruhe were reported to have joined the Spartacans.

The Government attempted to stem the torrent by publishing the draft of a general socialization law. This was designed as an appeal to the working class, was drawn in brief and general terms, and reserved to the National Government a field of legislation covering the socialization of industry, particularly coal mines and water, electric, and other power plants.

A general strike was called in Berlin for March 3. Traffic was stopped on street cars and elevated and underground lines. The Prussian Government declared a state of siege in the police districts of Berlin suburbs, in order "to "protect the bulk of the working people "from famine and the terrorism of the "minority"; 28,000 troops were brought into Berlin, and Noske assumed executive power. Government troops occupied the printing plant of the Red Flag, the Spartacan organ, and arrested the editor. On March 5 furious fighting broke out on Alexander Platz. Barricades were erected in the streets and shops and houses plundered. An attempt was made to storm Police Headquarters. On the 6th no newspapers appeared in Berlin. Government troops began a converging movement on the centre of the city and gradually captured the strongholds, notably newspaper offices, that had been seized and fortified by the rioters. Aircraft took part in the fighting and many bombs were dropped. By the 8th it was announced that the fighting had been suppressed with a loss of 1,000 in killed and wounded.

Conquered in the main city, the Spartacans sought refuge in the suburbs. The fighting then began to be characterized by acts of brutality. The police station at Lichtenberg was stormed by the Spartacans, and sixty detectives were killed under circumstances of peculiar atrocity. This savagery elicited an order from Minister Noske that any armed person found fighting against the Government should be summarily executed.

For several days this order remained in force and no quarter was asked or given on either side. The order was ater withdrawn, and, although conditions remained disturbed, the Ebert Government secured a fair measure of control of the situation.

NEW STATES IN FORMER AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

How artificial had been the bonds that had held together the conglomerate populations of the Dual Monarchy was shown by the multitude of new States that sprang into being when the empire collapsed under the stress of defeat. Disintegration, in fact, had set in before the armistice was signed, and was in part the cause, as well as the effect, of military overthrow.

The establishment of the new Republic of Czechoslovakia on Nov. 15, 1918, was described in the preceding volume. Professor Thomas G. Masaryk was elected first President, Nov. 19, and Dr. Karl Kramarz was chosen Premier. Two days after its formation the United States Government extended a credit of $7,000,000 to the new republic to meet its pressing financial necessities.

The potential resources of the new State were great. Its area embraced the former Austrian crownlands of Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, and a section of the upper part of Hungary. The territory covered was four times as large as that of Belgium. Its industrial and agricultural resources are shown by the fact that prior to the war it furnished 83 per cent. of Austrian coal and 60 per cent. of iron, and contained 90 per cent. of the sugar factories of the former empire.

The exact boundaries of the new State remained to be fixed by the Peace Congress, but premature attempts were made to settle the question by military force. The occupation of Eger and Reichenberg by Czechoslovak forces on

Dec. 21 cut off German Bohemia entirely from German Austria and was defended by the Czechoslovaks on the ground that it forestalled a similar action contemplated by the Viennese authorities. Clashes also took place with the Hungarians on vexed boundary questions, and with the Poles regarding the possession of the rich coal mines at Teschen, in Austrian Silesia, to which both nations laid claim. Commissions were sent by the Peace Congress to enforce a truce and a sharp warning was issued that any further attempts at settlement of boundary questions by force would prejudice the interests of the States making them when the questions should be finally adjudicated.

THE KINGDOM OF JUGOSLAVIA

Almost contemporaneous with the Czechoslovak movement and in close sympathy with it was the attempt of the Southern Slavs of Austria to form a State that should interpret and develop their national aspirations.

The movement had taken form Aug. 16, 1918, in a general convention held at Laibach, and received added impetus Sept. 9 when it was officially recognized by Italy, the member of the Entente chiefly interested because of territorial proximity. The object sought was a union of all Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes "from the Isonzo to the Vardar" in a sovereign independent State. The plan originally contemplated the inclusion of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro, and Dalmatia in a confederation of which Serbia should be the leading member, but ambition grew as the movement gathered force, and claims were made, especially in the vicinity of the Adriatic, that aroused the protests of Italy and created an exceedingly difficult problem for the consideration of the Peace Congress.

In October insurrection broke out at Fiume and the Croatian colors were hoisted over the city. At the same time that portion of the Austro-Hungarian fleet that was in the harbor was seized by the revolutionists. Later on, when the armistice had been signed, Italian forces occupied Fiume, and considerable friction was created by the removal of the Jugoslavic authorities who had organized the Government of the city.

In November a common Ministry of the projected State was chosen amid great enthusiasm, and it was unanimously voted that the former Austrian elements composing it should join with Serbia and Montenegro as one State, with Prince Alexander of Serbia as Regent. On Dec. 1 Montenegro gave its adhesion to the project, though King Nicholas protested; at the same time Prince Alexander accepted the office of ruler. By Jan. 5, 1919, all formalities had been completed and allied and neutral countries were notified that the Kingdom of Serbia had become the United-Serbian-Croatian-Slovene Kingdom. The United States recognized the new Government Feb. 7, 1919.

THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

The informal abdication of Emperor Karl had been announced before Hungary declared itself no longer a part of the Dual Monarchy and inaugurated a separate Government. The movement was under the leadership of Count Michael Karolyi, who had opposed the war and throughout its duration had been a consistent critic and opponent of the war party in the Government.

The Hungarian People's Republic was formally proclaimed on Nov. 16, 1918, and announcement of the fact was made in an address "To All Civilized Nations." Karolyi was chosen Provisional President, and later his office was made permanent. A Constitution was to be framed as soon as a National Assembly could be chosen. This body, it was announced, would be elected on the basis of universal suffrage, and a Government was foreshadowed that should be liberal republican in form and essence.

The new administration was faced at once with almost insuperable difficulties. Food and transportation problems were appalliing. Bolshevism found a fruitful field among the idle and hungry population. Parts of the country most economically valuable, from which it had drawn salt, wood, coal, grain, and cattle, were in the hands of Rumanians, Serbs, and Czechs, who, it was complained by Hun-

gary, had overstepped the lines set by the armistice, in pursuit of their respective territorial ambitions. Hungary had shrunken in size until it embraced little besides Budapest, whose population had doubled because of the influx of refugees, thus adding congestion to other difficulties. Bloody riots were of frequent occurrence.

In January the Cabinet resigned, owing to the pressure of the extreme radical elements, and Karolyi was only persuaded with great difficulty from following its example. He succeeded in forming a new Cabinet, however, and retained his post, but conditions remained deplorable and unless they could be speedily bettered threatened to develop new and portentous complications in that troubled quarter of Europe.

GERMAN AUSTRIA

German Austria was the name adopted by the portion of the old empire that remained after the subtraction of the territory claimed by Jugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. Its chief importance lay in the retention of Vienna. Nov. 13, 1918, the Austrian National Assembly demanded that a German Austrian Republic be proclaimed. Coupled with this was the expression of a desire for union with Germany. It was arranged that a National Constituent Assembly should be elected early in 1919 on the basis of direct and equal suffrage without sex distinction.

The Provisional Government addressed a note to the allied representatives in January expressing a hope of allied recognition, laying claim to some of the parts of Bohemia included in the proposed Czechoslovak State, and demanding at least a plebiscite in certain towns whose possession was in dispute. It advanced the argument that in order to be assured of life and development German Austria must be included in an alliance with some of the newborn States or with Germany, preferably the latter on account of racial ties.

This latter expression did not, however, voice a universal feeling, for there were at least three strongly defined elements working against union—the Christian Socialist Party, with the slogan of "Austria for the Austrians"; the Bolsheviki and the Reactionary Party, seeking the return of some member of the former dynasty to the throne of the shrunken State.

The general election was held on Feb. 16, and 4,000,000 votes were cast for delegates to the National Assembly, which was to convene in March. This body was to frame a Constitution and decide whether it should include a provision for union, federation or alliance with Germany.

REPUBLIC OF POLAND

Nowhere was the victory of the Entente hailed with greater joy than in Poland. Its three great oppressors—Germany, Austria, and Russia—lay prostrate. The way lay open for the reconstitution of the great State which for centuries preceding its partition had been the bulwark of Europe against the influx of the Ottoman hordes.

This patriotic hope was viewed benevolently by the Entente Powers, the prime object of whose policy in Eastern Europe was the creation of a powerful buffer State between Russia and Germany, strong enough to hold in check the Bolshevist tendencies of the one and the military ambitions of the other. It also had the unstinted sympathy of the United States, which had laid stress on the independence of Poland as one of the bases of peace with the Central Powers.

Immediately after the signing of the armistice, Joseph Pilsudski, the Polish General and patriot, who had been held prisoner by the Germans, was released, and in response to an overwhelming popular demand the Regency Council resigned, although with bad grace, and, making a virtue of necessity, transferred to Pilsudski all military authority, and three days later all civil authority as well, making him the virtual Dictator of State. An election was set for Jan. 26, 1919, to give the people the opportunity to establish a form of government that should conform to their desires.

The new leader faced a perplexing situation. Bolshevism was rampant, and one of the dictator's first acts was to arrest the ringleaders of the movement. Internecine strife developed, and an un-

successful attempt was made to overturn the Government. External foes pressed upon the borders of the State from every side. Clashes took place with the Ruthenians and Ukrainians in Galicia, with the Czechoslovaks over the possession of the coal fields in Teschen, and with the Germans, who resisted the attempt of the Poles to take possession of those parts of Posen that were Polish in population. The armies of the Russian Soviet Government were threatening the northeastern frontier and Polish troops in Lithuania were fighting fiercely to impede their progress.

The Peace Congress took steps to effect a truce between the Poles and the Czechoslovaks and the Poles and the Germans; it succeeded in the main, though reports continued of occasional skirmishes. Conflicts still continued, however, in Galicia, especially about Lemberg and Przemysl, and the Russian menace continued to grow in strength, as greater numbers and more rigid discipline were brought into the ranks of the Bolshevist armies.

On Jan. 19 a Coalition Ministry was formed, with Ignace Jan Paderewski, the famous pianist, as Premier. On Jan. 29 the Provisional Government was recognized by the United States. Reports from Poland indicated that the various factions were united and that Paderewski and Pilsudski were working in close cooperation. It was announced that the Constituent Diet would meet on Feb. 9. In the elections for delegates to the Diet, the party of Paderewski polled as many votes as all other parties together. The program of the Government included defense of the frontiers, the provisioning of the country, regulation of State finances, distribution of land purchased by the Government, the abolition of Soldiers' Councils, and the introduction of conscription.

EVENTS IN RUSSIA

The reports from Russia indicated that the grip of Bolshevism on that unhappy country had not relaxed. Terrorism held sway, executions were arbitrary and frequent, commerce was paralyzed, transportation had broken down, manufacturing was almost at a standstill, finances were hopelessly entangled, and famine stalked through the streets of the larger cities. The population of Petrograd was said to have been diminished by one million within the year.

Notwithstanding this, the Lenine-Trotzky régime was still unchallenged and seemed to be in no immediate danger of overthrow. The army was said to have increased in numbers and improved in discipline, and events on the various fighting fronts appeared to bear out this assertion. The trend of military events was against the allied expeditionary forces, which, with insufficient strength, were striving to hold their own in the Archangel district, but were being steadily driven back. Czechoslovak forces acting with the Allies were reported as suffering from lack of supplies and munitions; in addition, many of their men had been recalled by their new Government. The Japanese troops had been reduced by 24,000 men. French troops who had occupied Odessa were forced to withdraw.

The reasons for these military misfortunes were not far to seek. The policy of the allied powers was wavering and undecided. France alone was whole-hearted in the prosecution of military operations. In the American Congress and the British House of Commons strong protests were made against the continuance of hostilities and demands were voiced that the troops be recalled immediately. The invitation to the Soviet authorities to take part in the Prinkipo Conference was seized upon by these authorities as a confession of Entente weakness, and the various anti-Bolshevist factions in Russia were correspondingly disheartened. The strengthening of the Bolshevist armies, previously alluded to, was another factor in the situation, especially when the absurdly inadequate forces of the Allies were considered. The latter were too many for peace and too few for war. The total allied expeditionary force operating in Northern Russia, according to figures made public by the American War Department on Feb. 1, comprised only 14,200 men.

In the south and west of Russia fighting went on in desultory fashion and

with varying success. The Esthonian Government in January issued an urgent appeal to the British Government for help in expelling the Bolsheviki who had set up a Government at Dorpat and who were overrunning the richest parts of the country. British troops were landed at Riga and defeated the Soviet forces in the vicinity of that city. The latter, however, captured Mitau and several other towns in that region, but were forced to evacuate Narva under the pressure of the Esthonians and the Finns. Lithuanian soldiers gained a notable victory over the Bolsheviki near Koszedary, taking 6,500 prisoners, but this success was counterbalanced by the occupation of Windau and Vilkomir by the Soviet armies. By Feb. 10 it was reported that the Bolshevist invasion of Lithuania had been definitely checked. All the chief cities of the Eastern Ukraine, however, had fallen under Bolshevist control.

In Siberia, allied successes and failures were about equally divided. The Soviet forces captured the important cities of Ufa and Orenburg, while they were defeated at Tobolsk and lost two whole divisions at Kungur.

The Siberian Government at Omsk, under Admiral Kolchak, was strengthened by the adhesion of General Denikine, anti-Bolshevist leader in Southern Russia; General Krasnov, the leader of the Don Cossacks, and General Filimonov, the Hetman of the Kuban Cossacks. There were symptoms of strain, however, in the political situation, and the Government was not functioning smoothly.

A report received in Washington Feb. 12 estimated the total American casualties in Siberia at 10 officers and 314 men.

An agreement was reached between the United States and the Allies for joint control of the Siberian railways. It was stated that they would be supervised by an interallied commission, headed by a Russian, while the economic and technical management was to be controlled by John F. Stevens, head of the American Railway Commission to Siberia.

A flood of light was thrown upon conditions in Russia by testimony given before the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate, which began its sessions on Feb. 11, 1919. A eading witness was Dr. W. C. Huntington, who from 191 until the early Fall of 1918 was in Russia as Commercial Attaché of the American Embassy at Petrograd. He testified that he did not believe, from his observation, that more than 8 per cent. of the Russian people were in favor of Bolshevism. They were held in submission, he declared, by terrorism; 85 per cent. of the Russian population, he stated, was of the peasant class. He produced documents issued by officials at Petrograde ordering massacres and declaring that there should be "not the slightest hestitation nor the slightest indecisiveness in using mass terror.

The witness read from letters, showing a terrible condition of affairs in the Russian capital, where people were dying by the hundreds of actual starvation. Other witnesses told of wholesale murder, of unspeakable outrages perpetrated against women, of a catechism of atheism that had been introduced into the public schools. Only 10 per cent. of the normal acreage of Russia was declared to be under cultivation. American Vice Counsul Dennis declared that in the ten months that he spent in Russia under Bolshevist rule he had visited many of the larger cities, and during that time had never seen a single carpenter or mason at work, and that everything was allowed to go to destruction. Free speech and free press were absolutely prohibited. Similar testimony was given by Mme. Breshkovskaya, who is known all over Russia as the "Grandmother of the Revolution."

The Archbishop of Canterbury made public in London on Nov. 14 a letter from the Archdishop of Omsk, Russia, which gave horrible details of murder and rapine. Victims were buried alive, others had their limbs cut off before being killed; twenty bishops and hundreds of priests had been assassinated. License and the lowest passions were rampant, and one saw everywhere death, misery, and famine.

In the smaller States contiguous to Russia few events of world interest occurred, and the general attitude was one of waiting for the decisions of the Peace Congress in order to begin the work of

political and economic reconstruction. Bulgaria and Greece were in good financial condition because of the huge sums spent in their States by the Central Powers and the Entente respectively. Each country also had been outside the zone of active operations and had suffered little from the ravages of war. Rumania, however, had been in different case. Finances were in a tangled condition, food was scarce, and Bolshevism was stirring up a measure of unrest. The chief political development was the formation of a Government by the Rumanians of Transylvania and part of Hungary, and the merging of this later into the Rumanian State. This still awaited the sanction of the Peace Congress to make it permanent.

DAMAGE BY SUBMARINES

The cessation of hostilities made possible an accurate summary of the loss caused to the allied and neutral world by submarine warfare.

The British Admiralty on Dec. 5 stated that the total losses of the world's merchant tonnage from the beginning of the war until the end of October, 1918, were 15,053,786 gross tons, of which 9,031,828 were British; 5,622 British ships had been sunk during the war, of which 2,475 had been sunk with their crews still on board and 3,127 had been destroyed and their crews set adrift. Fishing vessels numbering 670 had been sunk, and more than 15,000 men in the British merchant marine had lost their lives through enemy action.

The United States lost 145 American passenger and merchant vessels of 354,449 gross tons. In this destruction 775 lives were lost.

The ship construction during this period was 10,849,527 gross tons, while enemy shipping amounting to 2,392,675 gross tons was captured, so that the net loss of allied and neutral tonnage was 1,811,584 gross tons.

The neutral losses amounted to about 2,000,000 tons, the chief sufferers being Holland and Norway.

A carefully prepared statement by an American publicist, based upon official data, or, where these were not obtainable, from official estimates, showed that military deaths during the war totaled 7,781,806, while civilian deaths, directly or indirectly the product of the war, aggregated 9,185,523.

The allied powers, out of a mobilization of 39,676,864, had a total killed of 4,869,478. Their complete list of casualties was 20,892,226.

The mobilization of the Central Powers was 19,500,000. They lost in killed 2,912,328, while their total casualties were 12,542,217.

The strength of all belligerents was 59,176,864. Of these 7,781,806 were killed. The total list of killed, wounded, prisoners, and missing was 33,434,443.

THE UNITED STATES

The energies of the United States, after the fighting had ceased, were chiefly directed toward the reduction of the nation's military and naval forces and the dismantlement of the huge war machine it had constructed. This of necessity involved many and serious problems. The process, if too sudden, would invite economic disaster. Yet it was felt that the country should be put on a peace footing without unnecessary delay. Modifying both points of view was the fact that, while hostilities were ended, peace had not been declared, and conditions in the Central Powers were restless and unsettled.

Demobilization was entered upon at once, and was soon progressing at a rapid rate. Figures made public by Secretary of War Baker on Feb. 12 revealed that from the signing of the armistice on Nov. 11, 1918, to Feb. 8, 1919, 287,332 American troops in France and Great Britain had embarked for this country, while up to the 10th of February 67,454 officers and 1,069,116 men had been demobilized in America.

A summary of the fighting forces in the United States Army at the time of its greatest strength, Nov. 11, 1918, showed that the total was 3,703,273.

The battle death rate in the Expeditionary Forces of the American Army was 57 per 1,000 per year, while the disease death rate was 17 per 1,000 per year.

A vast amount of money was saved to the nation by the unexpected sudden end-

ing of hostilities. In the Deficiency bill reported by the House Committee on Appropriations Jan. 5, contracts for $7,179,156,944 were ordered canceled and authorizations amounting to $8,221,029,294 were withdrawn.

It was stated by Secretary Baker on Dec. 5 that the total appropriations for the army since the United States entered the war were $24,281,000,000. Of this amount $14,753,000,000 had been disbursed or obligated.

The sum of $100,000,000 was appropriated by Congress in the latter part of January for the relief of hunger in Europe. It was stated on Feb. 2 by Mr. Hoover, Director General of Food Relief, that there were then at sea or discharging in the port of Trieste 70,000 tons of food for the Jugoslavs, Serbians, and Czechoslovaks; 30,000 tons were on the way to the Black Sea for the Rumanians, 40,000 tons were being shipped to Poland, and there were 20,000 tons in Rotterdam awaiting reshipment to the Finns and other liberated populations in Russia. Since the signing of the armistice 300,000 tons of food had been delivered at Rotterdam for the Belgians and French in the liberated zones.

An event that caused universal regret was the sudden death of ex-President Theodore Roosevelt, Jan. 6, 1919. His great qualities and eminent services to his country were emphasized in the press and in Congress, where impressive memorial ceremonies were held. President Wilson cabled a message of regret from Paris, and flags on Government buildings were ordered to be kept at half-mast for thirty days.

While no serious disturbances were reported from the Coblenz district, an increase in minor infractions of rules laid down for the civil population made it necessary for the military authorities to adopt stricter methods than they had previously found necessary. Violation of the regulations against fraternizing was visited with prompt punishment, and the number of the sentences against other offenders showed a marked increase.

The Coblenz Gazette featured a compulsory advertisement, by order of the Burgomaster, citing sixty-six Teuton offenders in Coblenz and its suburbs against American military law. These cases were brought in January before an inferior Provost Court. Details of the nature of the offenses and of the penalties inflicted furnished interesting statistics of criminology under American occupation.

The most common offense involved buying, receiving, trafficking in or stealing food or other property of the American Army. There were thirty-two convictions under these charges. Numerically second were charges of selling hard liquor to American soldiers. Thirteen Germans got fines or jail sentences for this conduct. Seven were convicted of selling alcoholic drinks, other than light wines or beer, to German civilians, and five for selling wines or beer out of legal hours.

Penalties for the sixty-six cases amounted in fines to $2,300 and in imprisonment to seven years and five months. Fines ranged from $25 to $250, and jail sentences from 15 days to 190.

Railroads in 1918 under Government control and unusual war conditions earned about $713,000,000, or $250,000,000 less than in 1917, $370,000,000 less than in the record year of 1916, and about the same as in 1915.

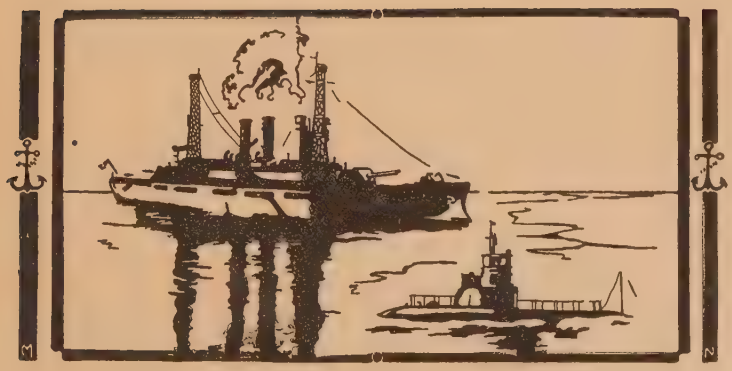
This became apparent Jan. 29 on the basis of definite reports to the Interstate Commerce Commission of earnings of 195 principal railroads—those having annual operating revenues of more than $1,000,000—for eleven months and unofficial calculation of December earnings, which Railroad Administration reports indicated would be considerably smaller. Though subject to slight revision, the figures afforded the first public view of the results of railway operations last year, so far as earnings are concerned.

Receipts from freight, passenger, express, and other transportation during the year amounted to approximately $4,873,000,000, or $832,000,000 more than in the previous year. Operating expenses jumped to about $3,971,000,000, or about $1,119,000,000 more than in the preceding year.

The ratification of the prohibition amendment to the Constitution by three-

fourths of the States was followed by a formal proclamation by Acting Secretary of State Polk on Jan. 29 that the amendment had become part of the Constitution. The law, which was to go into effect one year after ratification, forbade the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors as a beverage in the United States and territory under its jurisdiction, and also prohibited their importation and exportation.

The period under review was marked by worldwide unrest. The jubilation of the allied nations over their victory had been sobered by the responsibilities that triumph had brought in its train. There were not wanting those who declared that the victory was a Pyrrhic one; that the decision secured on the battlefield was being nullified in the council chamber by the ineptitude of diplomats. In the conquered nations hunger and idleness were added to the pangs of defeat. Bolshevism was gaining strength, not because of its appeal to political conviction, but as an outcome of hysteria and a counsel of despair. The agony of rebirth had come upon the world.



THOMAS R. MARSHALL

Vice President of the United States, Whose Responsibilities Were Increased by the President's Absence in Europe

CARTER GLASS

Nominated Dec. 5, 1918, to be Secretary of the Treasury, Succeeding William G. McAdoo

(© Harris & Ewing)

MAJOR GEN. JOSEPH P. DICKMAN

Commander of the Third American Army During Its Occupation of German Territory

(© Press Illustrating Service)

ALLIED COMMISSIONERS FRAMING ARMISTICE TERMS AT VERSAILLES

French Official Photograph Showing the Allied Plenipotentiaries at Work on Terms of Armistice. Left Side of Table from Left to Right: Second Man, General di Robilant; Italian Foreign Minister Sonnino, Italian Premier Orlando, Colonel E. M. House, General Tasker H. Bliss; Next But One, Premier Venizelos, and the Serbian Minister, Vesnitch. At the Right: Vice Admiral Wemyss, General Sir Henry Wilson, Field Marshal Haig, General Sackville West, Andrew Bonar Law, Premier Lloyd George, Premier Clemenceau, and French Foreign Minister Stephen Pichon.

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UNITED STATES COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

The Council of National Defense, Whose Members Exercised Great Influence on the Conduct of the War. This Picture Was Taken on Nov. 29, 1918. From Left to Right Are Grosvenor B. Clarkson, Secretary of the Council Throughout the War, and These Members of the Cabinet: David F. Houston, Josephus Daniels, Newton D. Baker, Franklin K. Lane, William C. Redfield, and William B. Wilson

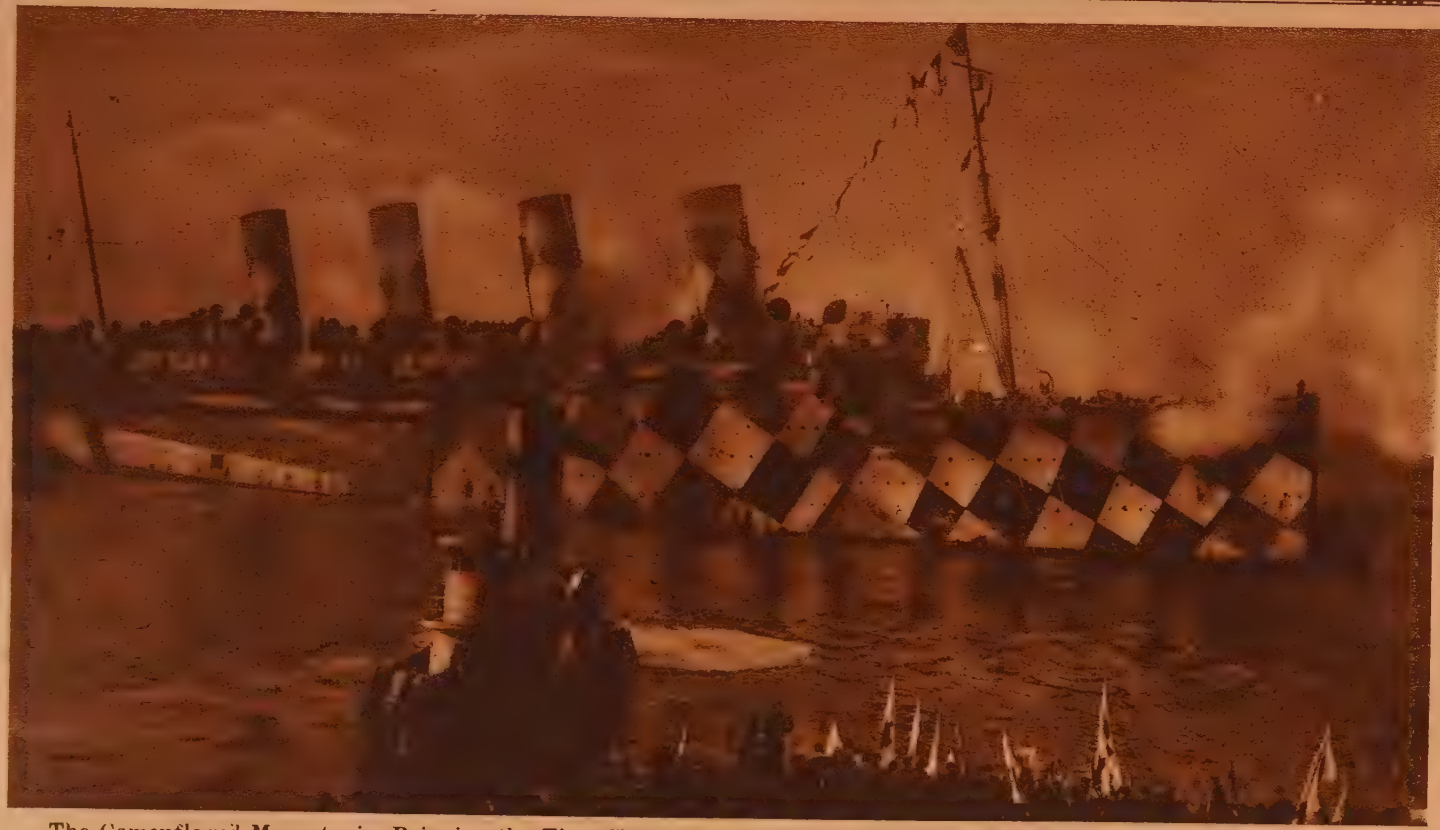
(© Harris & Ewing)

PRESIDENT WILSON LEAVING AMERICA FOR PEACE CONFERENCE

The George Washington, Flying the President's Flag and Accompanied by Destroyers, Steaming Down the Harbor Dec. 4, 1918. (Insert) The President and Mrs. Wilson Standing at the Rail

(© *International Film Service*)

MAURETANIA, SISTER SHIP OF THE LUSITANIA



The Camouflaged Mauretania, Bringing the First Shipload of Returning American Soldiers and Receiving an Uproarious Welcome in New York Harbor, Dec. 2, 1918

(© Times Photo Service)

The Surrender of the German High Seas Fleet in Accordance with the Armistice Terms Took Place on Nov. 21, 1918, Off the Scottish Coast. Allied Fleets of More Than 400 Vessels Were Drawn Up in Two Lines, and Through These the German Vessels Passed. The Allies Then Took Possession and Sent the Crews Back to Germany

A Group of U-Boats at the Moment When They Were Yielded to the Allies in Compliance with the Armistice Terms, Which Called for the Surrender of the Whole German Underseas Fleet

NEW YORK CELEBRATING THE END OF THE WAR

Scenes of Joyous Demonstrations When News of the Signing of the Armistice Was Received in New York City

Crowds Before Buckingham Palace, London, Cheering the King, Who Appeared on the Balcony

(© *British Official Photo from Western Newspaper Union*)

The Place de l'Opera, in the Heart of Paris, Packed with Frenzied Throngs Celebrating the News of Victory

King Albert of Belgium and Queen Elizabeth Making a Triumphal Entry Into Bruges

GERMAN OCCUPIED TERRITORY

This Map Shows the Line of Battle When Hostilities Ceased, the Territory Occupied by Allied Armies, the Neutral Zone, and the Line of Furthest German Advance in France, Sept. 6, 1914

Ignace Daszynski
Provisional President of Poland
(© *Underwood & Underwood*)

Vice Admiral Koltchak
Head of Russian Government at Omsk

Prince Lvoff
Head of First Russian Provisional Government

Nicholas Pashitch
Prime Minister of Serbia

FIGURES IN GERMAN FLEET SURRENDER

Rear Admiral Hugh Rodman
Commanding American Dreadnought Squadron

British Vice Admiral Tyrwhitt
Who Received Surrender of German Submarines

Vice Admiral Ritter von Mann
Head of the German-Navy

Vice Admiral von Hipper
Head of German High Seas Fleet at Time of Surrender

A STRIKING EXAMPLE OF MARINE CAMOUFLAGE

The Zebra Striped British Transport Osterley, as She Appeared in New York Harbor, Decked with Flags in Honor of the Armistice, Nov. 11, 1918

(© Underwood & Underwood)

PERIOD LII.

President Wilson in Europe—Troop Movements Under the Armistice—The Allied Armies on the Rhine—Recovery of Brussels, Strasbourg, and Aix—Surrender of the German Fleet—The German Armistice Delegates—Wartime Sights in an English Harbor—Alsace and Lorraine Again French—The German Revolution—The Naval Mutiny at Kiel—Berlin's Greeting to Returning Soldiers—Political Confusion in Austria—Demobilizing the War Machine—European Neutrals and the Armistice—Russia's Struggle Against Chaos—German Brutality to Prisoners—Turkish Cruelty to Prisoners—Constantinople Occupied—The Dawn of a New Era—Women in War Industries—The President's Address to Congress—United States Navy in the War—Brave Deeds of the Marine Corps—Secretary Baker on the Army's Record—The English King's Address of Thanks—America's Most Terrible Weapon—The East African Campaign—Total Damage Caused by U-Boats—Diary of the Chief Events of the War—Chronology of American Operations—General Pershing's Official Story—Italy's Efforts in the War—The Campaign in Palestine.

PRESIDENT WILSON IN EUROPE

Story of His Voyage and of His Memorable Reception as a Guest of the French Nation

PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON sailed for France at the head of the American delegation to the Peace Conference on the steamship George Washington at 10:15 A. M., Dec. 4, and arrived at Brest Dec. 13. The voyage had a profound significance, as it was a radical departure from the immemorial custom of American Presidents not to leave the country while in office; moreover, it marked the first active step of definite participation in European politics by an American President. The act gave notice to the world that Mr. Wilson intended not only to take a personal and practical hand in shaping the peace treaties growing out of the world war, but to interpret and urge personally the adoption of his war aims platform, which included as cardinal points "the freedom of the seas" and "a League of Nations."

The announcement of his purpose to go to Europe was officially made on Nov. 18, as follows:

> The President expects to sail for France immediately after the opening of the regular session of Congress, for the purpose of taking part in the discussion and settlement of the main features of the treaty of peace.
>
> It is not likely that it will be possible for him to remain throughout the sessions of the formal Peace Conference, but his presence at the outset is necessary in order to obviate the manifest disadvantages of discussion by cable in determining the greater outlines of the final treaty, about which he must necessarily be consulted.
>
> He will, of course, be accompanied by delegates who will sit as the representatives of the United States throughout the conference. The names of the delegates will be presently announced.

This was supplemented on Nov. 29 by the following announcement regarding the membership of the United States delegation to the Peace Conference:

> It was announced at the Executive offices tonight that the representatives of the United States at the Peace Conference would be: The President himself, the Secretary of State, the Hon. Henry White, recently Ambassador to France; Mr. Edward M. House, and General Tasker H. Bliss. It was explained that it had not been possible to announce these appointments before because the number of representatives the chief belligerents were to send had until a day or two ago been under discussion.

The announcement had a marked political effect. The Republican leaders and a number of influential independent newspapers and publicists who are neutral in politics expressed strong disapproval of the trip. Measures were introduced in both Houses of Congress by Republicans declaring that the office of President would be vacated during Mr. Wilson's absence from the country. Nothing came of these measures, however, and when the President sailed the agitation had subsided without having brought about any definite action by any official body. The only episode in this phase of the matter was the presence of Vice President Marshall at a meeting of the Cabinet in the White House on Dec. 10, over which he presided. He made the following statement to the members of the Cabinet:

> Gentlemen: In assuming the chair and presiding over what is known as a meeting of the Cabinet I deem it proper to make a brief statement so that my conduct may not be misunderstood nor misinterpreted. I am here and am acting in obedience to a request preferred by the President upon the eve of his departure and also at your request. But I am here informally and personally. I am not undertaking to exercise any official duty or function. I shall preside in an unofficial and informal way over your meetings out of deference to your desires and those of the President.

THE PRESIDENT'S DEPARTURE

The departure of President Wilson was witnessed by thousands of persons from the waterfront of Manhattan and Staten Island, while craft in the harbor

joined in a noisy farewell, the like of which New York had, perhaps, never before heard. The President, with Mrs. Wilson at his side, stood on the bridge of the great transport and waved his hands and tipped his hat time and time again to show his appreciation of New York's parting tribute.

The George Washington was escorted down the harbor by five destroyers of the Atlantic Torpedo Flotilla. Off Staten Island the superdreadnought Pennsylvania, flagship of Admiral Henry T. Mayo, the Commander in Chief of the battle fleet, and a dozen other destroyers, the last under orders to escort the liner to a point about 100 miles east of Sandy Hook, and then to return to New York, met the Presidential ship. The Pennsylvania and one flotilla of destroyers convoyed the George Washington to Brest.

The scene on the Government pier in Hoboken when the George Washington backed out into the river at high tide was inspiring. The general public was barred from the pier reservation, the only persons within the inclosure being soldiers, sailors, Government officials, employes, and press representatives.

While the vessel was slowly making its way through the harbor two army airplanes from Mineola came out of the clouds and, swooping low, gave a thrilling touch to the wonderful picture. One of the machines came into view from the east and the other from the north. Both looped the loop, made nose dives, and performed other feats that made the thousands on shore and on ships gasp at the audacity of the pilots. Beyond the Statue of Liberty the Atlantic transport liner Minnehaha, from London, her decks crowded with returning American troops, passed the Washington and the President waved not once, but many times, a greeting to the khaki-clad host.

FAREWELL TRIBUTES

On the Battery perhaps 10,000 persons jammed the seawall to join in the farewell to the President, while on Governor's Island the soldiers rushed to the western shore and shouted their respects to the Commander in Chief. Other great crowds lined the Staten Island shore and gave the President a greeting. It was off Staten Island that the Washington passed the Minnehaha and the President got his first opportunity personally to wave a welcome home to the men who went overseas to fight.

The George Washington and the naval escort passed Quarantine at 11 o'clock, the Pennsylvania leading the destroyers deployed on either side and in the wake of the transport. Several gunboats in the lower bay thundered out the Presidential salute as the George Washington passed by, and the compliment was repeated by the coast artillerymen when the George Washington was abreast Forts Hamilton and Wadsworth.

As the squadron passed through the gate in the anti-submarine net within 500 feet of the Staten Island shore a group of 500 children waved flags, and this was the last of the tributes accorded the President as he left his home shores for those of France.

MEMBERS OF THE PARTY

The following was the official personnel of the party:

President Wilson.

Mrs. Wilson.

Rear Admiral Cary T. Grayson, U. S. N.

Charles S. Swemm, confidential clerk to the President.

Irving H. Hoover, head usher of the White House.

Miss Edith Benham, secretary to Mrs. Wilson.

George Creel, Chairman of the Committee on Public Information.

GUESTS OF THE PRESIDENT

Jules J. Jusserand, the French Ambassador, and Mme. Jusserand.

Count V. Macchi di Cellere, the Italian Ambassador; the Countess di Cellére, and two children.

John W. Davis, United States Ambassador to Great Britain, and Mrs. Davis.

Mrs. Francisco Quattrone of the Italian Ambassador's party.

Rear Admiral H. K. Knapp, U. S. N.

Captain William V. Pratt, U. S. N.

Mrs. William S. Benson, wife of Admiral Benson, the Chief of Operations.

Mrs. Gordon Auchincloss, daughter of Colonel Edward M. House.

Mrs. Joseph C. Grew and Mrs. David Hunter Miller.

L. C. Probert, representing The Associated Press.

R. J. Bender, representing The United Press.

John E. Nevin of the International News Service.

MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN PEACE COMMISSION

Secretary of State Robert Lansing, accompanied by Mrs. Lansing.

Henry White.

Leland Harrison, Assistant Secretary of the Commission.

Philip H. Patchin, Assistant Secretary of the Commission.

Sydney V. Smith, Chief of Bureau, Department of State, attached to the Commission.

William McNeir, Chief of Bureau, Department of State, Disbursing Officer of the Commission.

George H. Harris, Assistant Disbursing Officer of the Commission.

William C. Bullitt, attached to the Commission.

R. O. Sweet, Secretary to Secretary Lansing.

SPECIALISTS

Dr. Isaiah Bowman, Territorial Specialist.

Allyn A. Young, Specialist on Economic Resources.

Charles H. Haskins, Specialist on Alsace-Lorraine and Belgium.

Clive Day, Specialist on the Balkans.

W. E. Lunt, Specialist on Northern Italy.

R. H. Lord, Specialist on Russia and Poland.

Charles Seymour, Specialist on Austria-Hungary.

W. L. Westermann, Specialist on Turkey.

G. L. Beer, Specialist on Colonial History.

Mark Jefferson, Cartographer.

Dr. S. E. Mezes, President, College of the City of New York, and Mrs. Mezes.

J. T. Shotwell.

Major James Brown Scott, Technical Adviser, and Mrs. Scott.

George A. Finch, Assistant to Major Scott.

Professor Amos S. Hershey, Assistant to Major Scott.

George D. Gregory, Confidential Clerk to Major Scott.

There were, besides, a number of assistants and the following from the War Department:

Brig. Gen. William H. Harts.

Brig. Gen. Marlborough Churchill, Chief of Army Intelligence Service.

Colonel Richard H. Jordan, General Staff.

Colonel L. P. Ayers, General Staff.

Major Hunter S. Marston, Adjutant General's Department.

Major C. W. Furlong, U. S. A.

Captain T. M. Childs, U. S. A.

Raymond B. Fosdick.

ARRIVAL IN FRANCE

The voyage was without incident. The President remained in daily communication with Washington by wireless, and daily bulletins from the George Washington were sent to the press. As the vessel passed the Azores it was greeted with salutes. The George Washington dropped anchor in Brest Roadstead Dec. 13, and the President stepped on French soil at 3:24 P. M.

Before he landed, his arrival in the harbor at 1 P. M. was the culmination of an imposing naval spectacle, which began as the Presidential fleet rounded the outer capes, then passed the entrance forts, and moved majestically into the harbor, where the George Washington anchored at the head of a long double column of American dreadnoughts and destroyers and the units of a French cruiser squadron.

Ahead came a single destroyer, showing the way to the fleet, and close behind loomed the huge bulk of the battleships Pennsylvania and Wyoming, flying, respectively, the flags of Admiral Mayo, Commander of the Atlantic Fleet, and Vice Admiral Sims, Commander of the American naval forces in European waters. Just back of them moved the George Washington, bearing the President, flanked on either side by the battleships Arkansas, Florida, Utah, Nevada, Oklahoma, New York, Texas, and Arizona, by French cruisers, and by a great flotilla of American and French torpedo-boat destroyers.

GREETINGS AT BREST

As the fleet neared the inner harbor of Brest the land batteries and the assembled warcraft took up the thunderous salute, while the quays, the hills, and the terraces of the old Breton city rang with cheers from the enthusiastic multitude. At the same time all the warcraft, merchantmen, and transports dressed ship and manned the yards, while the strains of the American anthem floated over the water, mingling with the roar of the guns and the shouts of the vast crowds.

The whole city was a mass of bunting, and the Place President Wilson was hung with streamers and mottoes. The entire route was lined with Venetian masts, flags, and transparencies.

Stephen Pichon, the French Foreign Minister, and Georges Leygues, Minister of Marine, joined the President as he

stepped ashore and conducted him to a beautifully decorated pavilion. Here the first formal welcomes were given President Wilson as a guest of the French Nation. It was a striking picture as he stood there, surrounded by Old World statesmen, officials, and Generals. The President met each greeting with a smile and a hearty handshake, only speaking a few words as some well-known friend welcomed him.

The Mayor of Brest delivered an address of welcome and presented an engrossed address of the Council.

Following the addresses the Presidential party drove through the Cours Dajot, where vast crowds were assembled. Every foot of the way was lined with American soldiers in their dusty service khaki, and along the road were great stores of war material, recently being rushed to the American front. It gave the President his first glimpse of the American troops and material on the fighting ground. Military honors were accorded as he passed, and large numbers of soldiers off duty mingled with the throng in its enthusiastic tribute. The President left for Paris at 4 P. M.

ARRIVAL AT PARIS

The Presidential party arrived in Paris at 10 A. M. Walter Duranty thus described the scene:

"It was exactly 10:30 when there came a fanfare of trumpets from the military band at the Pont de la Concorde, and a movement like a ripple passed over the acres of upturned faces and waving flags that covered the great square. The ranks of soldiers stiffened to attention as the cavalry escorting the Presidential carriages trotted slowly across the bridge. For twenty minutes the gruff double echo of six-inch guns had been roaring out a salute, their flashes being clearly visible beside the slim pillar of the Eiffel Tower across the river.

"As I looked from the Tuileries Terrace it seemed as if no inch of space where a spectator might perch or cling was unoccupied. The tall trees of the garden, overlooking the place, bore ten or a dozen each—always with a doughboy at a dizzy eminence above the others.

"On the left was the roof of the Chamber of Deputies, with a fringe of people, and on the Grand Palais, half a mile up the Avenue des Champs Elysées, one could distinguish the blue uniforms and the color of waving flags. On the right the French flag fluttered above the black masses on the roof of the Ministry of Marine. Beside it, across the Rue Royale, a crowd clustered around a pole bearing the Stars and Stripes on top of the Red Cross headquarters.

"At the entrance of the Rue Rivoli, the statue of Strasbourg, stripped at last of emblems of mourning, was entirely hidden by a human pyramid—one enthusiast standing right on the statue's head, waving a big American flag. The neighboring statue of Lille had a similar appearance, save that the Tricolor displaced the Stars and Stripes in the hands of the man at the apex.

"The President drove through the square amid the deep thunder of cheering. As the second carriage, bearing Mrs. Wilson, Miss Wilson and Mme. Poincaré, half hidden in high-piled flowers, passed the Obelisk in the centre of the Place de la Concords, marking the spot where once stood the grim Altar of Freedom—the guillotine which once purged France of despotism—Mrs. Wilson bent forward with a smile and a little gesture toward a typical Paris gamin astride the end of the fifteen-foot barrel of a long six-inch German gun placed close to the pedestal of the Obelisk.

"Balancing himself there on the foe's deadliest weapon, the boy waved an American flag in his right hand and a Tricolor in his left. It was a queer little symbol of the union of France and America in victory."

PRESIDENT POINCARE'S WELCOME

In welcoming President Wilson at a luncheon in the Elysée Palace Dec. 14 President Poincaré said:

> Even before America had resolved to intervene in the struggle she had shown to the wounded and to the orphans of France a solicitude and a generosity the memory of which will always be enshrined

in our hearts. The liberality of your Red Cross, the countless gifts of your fellow-citizens, the inspiring initiative of American women, anticipated your military and naval action, and showed the world to which side your sympathies inclined. And on the day when you flung yourselves into the battle, with what determination your great people and yourself prepared for united success!

Some months ago you cabled to me that the United States would send ever-increasing forces until the day should be reached on which the allied armies were able to submerge the enemy under an overwhelming flow of new divisions; and, in effect, for more than a year a steady stream of youth and energy has been poured upon the shores of France.

No sooner had they landed than your gallant battalions, fired by their chief, General Pershing, flung themselves into the combat with such a manly contempt of danger, such a smiling disregard of death, that our longer experience of this terrible war often moved us to counsel prudence. They brought with them, in arriving here, the enthusiasm of the Crusaders leaving for the Holy Land. It is their right today to look with pride upon the work accomplished and to rest assured that they have powerfully aided by their courage and their faith.

Eager as they were to meet the enemy, they did not know when they arrived the enormity of his crimes. That they might know how the German armies make war it has been necessary that they see towns systematically burned down, mines flooded, factories reduced to ashes, orchards devastated, cathedrals shelled and fired—all that deliberate savagery, aimed to destroy national wealth, nature, and beauty, which the imagination could not conceive at a distance from the men and things that have endured it and today bear witness.

In your turn, Mr. President, you will be able to measure with your own eyes the extent of these disasters, and the French Government will make known to you the authentic documents in which the German General Staff developed with astounding cynicism it program of pillage and industrial annihilation. Your noble conscience will pronounce a verdict on these facts. Should this guilt remain unpunished, could it be renewed, the most splendid victories would be in vain.

Mr. President: France has struggled, has endured, and has suffered during four long years; she has bled at every vein; she has lost the best of her children; she mourns for her youths. She yearns now, even as you do, for a peace of justice and security.

It was not that she might be exposed once again to aggression that she submitted to such sacrifices. Nor was it in order that criminals should go unpunished, that they might lift their heads again to make ready for new crimes, that, under your strong leadership, America armed herself and crossed the ocean.

Faithful to the memory of Lafayette and Rochambeau, she came to the aid of France, because France herself was faithful to her traditions. Our common ideal has triumphed. Together we have defended the vital principles of free nations. Now we must build together such a peace as will forbid the deliberate and hypocritical renewing of an organism aiming at conquest and oppression.

Peace must make amends for the misery and sadness of yesterday, and it must be a guarantee against the dangers of tomorrow. The association which has been formed for the purpose of war, between the United States and the Allies, and which contains the seed of the permanent institutions of which you have spoken so eloquently, will find from this day forward a clear and profitable employment in the concerted search for equitable decisions and in the mutual support which we need if we are to make our rights prevail.

Whatever safeguards we may erect for the future, no one, alas, can assert that we shall forever spare to mankind the horrors of new wars. Five years ago the progress of science and the state of civization might have permitted the hope that no Government, however autocratic, would have succeeded in hurling armed armies upon Belgium and Serbia.

Without lending ourselves to the illusion that posterity will be forevermore safe from these collective follies, we must introduce into the peace we are going to build all the conditions of justice and all the safeguards of civilization that we can embody in it. To such a vast and magnificent task, Mr. President, you have chosen to come and apply yourself in concert with France. France offers you her thanks. She knows the friendship of America. She knows your rectitude and elevation of spirit. It is in the fullest confidence that she is ready to work with you.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S REPLY

President Wilson replied as follows:

Mr. President: I am deeply indebted to you for your gracious greeting. It is very delightful to find myself in France and to feel the quick contact of sympathy and unaffected friendship between the representatives of the United States and the representatives of France.

You have been very generous in what you were pleased to say about myself, but I feel that what I have said and what I have tried to do has been said and done only in an attempt to speak the thought of the people of the United States truly, and to carry that thought out in action.

From the first, the thought of the people of the United States turned toward something more than the mere winning of this war. It turned to the establishment of eternal principles of right and justice. It realized that merely to win the war was not enough; that it must be won in such a way and the questions raised by it settled in such a way as to insure the future peace of the world and lay the foundations for the freedom and happiness of its many peoples and nations.

Never before has war worn so terrible a visage or exhibited more grossly the debasing influence of illicit ambitions. I am sure that I shall look upon the ruin wrought by the armies of the Central Empires with the same repulsion and deep indignation that they stir in the hearts of men of France and Belgium, and I appreciate, as you do, Sir, the necessity of such action in the final settlement of the issues of the war as will not only rebuke such acts of terror and spoliation, but make men everywhere aware that they cannot be ventured upon without the certainty of just punishment.

I know with what ardor and enthusiasm the soldiers and sailors of the United States have given the best that was in them to this war of redemption. They have expressed the true spirit of America. They believe their ideals to be acceptable to free peoples everywhere, and are rejoiced to have played the part they have played in giving reality to those ideals in co-operation with the armies of the Allies. We are proud of the part they have played, and we are happy that they should have been associated with such comrades in common cause.

It is with peculiar feeling, Mr. President, that I find myself in France joining with you in rejoicing over the victory that has been won. The ties that bind France and the United States are peculiarly close. I do not know in what other comradeship we could have fought with more zest or enthusiasm. It will daily be a matter of pleasure with me to be brought into consultation with the statesmen of France and her allies in concerting the measures by which we may secure permanence for these happy relations of friendship and co-operation, and secure for the world at large such safety and freedom in its life as can be secured only by the constant association and co-operation of friends.

I greet you not only with deep personal respect, but as the representative of the great people of France, and beg to bring to you the greetings of another great people to whom the fortunes of France are of profound and lasting interest.

In an address to a Socialist delegation the same day, President Wilson said:

Gentlemen: I received with great interest the address which you have just read to me. The war through which we have just passed has illustrated in a way which never can be forgotten the extraordinary wrongs which can be perpetrated by arbitrary and irresponsible power.

It is not possible to secure the happiness and prosperity of the world, to establish an enduring peace, unless the repetition of such wrongs is rendered impossible. This has indeed been a peoples' war. It has been waged against absolutism and militarism, and these enemies of liberty must from this time forth be shut out from the possibility of working their cruel will upon mankind.

In my judgment, it is not sufficient to establish this principle. It is necessary that it should be supported by a co-operation of the nations which shall be based upon fixed and definite covenants, and which shall be made certain of effective action through the instrumentality of a League of Nations. I believe this to be the conviction of all thoughtful and liberal men.

I am confident that this is the thought of those who lead your own great nation, and I am looking forward with peculiar pleasure to co-operating with them in securing guarantees of a lasting peace of justice and right dealing which shall justify the sacrifices of this war and cause men to look back upon those sacrifices as the dramatic and final processes of their emancipation.

The arrival of the President in France evoked an outburst of enthusiasm from all the allied and neutral countries of Europe. Resolutions were adopted by popular assemblies or official bodies acclaiming the President and bidding him welcome.

AT THE MURAT MANSION

The President during his stay in Paris occupied the home of Prince and Princess Joachim Murat, 28 Rue de Monceau. The ancient mansion is one of the most imposing and richly furnished in the city; it contains various souvenirs of General George Washington, whose niece married Prince Achille Murat. The President's host is a son of Prince Joachim, who was born at Bordentown, N. J., in 1834, and is a descendant of Caroline Bonaparte, sister of Napoleon. Princess Murat, before her marriage, was Cecile Ney, Duchess d'Elchingen. Both Murat and Ney were Marshals in the Napoleonic armies.

On Dec. 16 at the City Hall the President was officially made a "citizen of

Paris." In the course of the ceremonies he was presented with the great gold medal of the City of Paris, and to Mrs. Wilson was given a diamond brooch. In his speech there the President said:

> We were more deeply moved by the wrongs of the war because we knew the manner in which they were perpetrated. I beg that you will not suppose that because a wide ocean separated us in space, we were not in effect eyewitnesses of the shameful ruin that was wrought and the cruel and unnecessary sufferings that were brought upon you. These sufferings have filled our hearts with indignation. We know what they were, not only, but we know what they signified, and our hearts were touched to the quick by them, our imaginations filled with the whole picture of what France and Belgium in particular had experienced.
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> When the United States entered the war, therefore, they entered it not only because they were moved by a conviction that the purposes of the Central Empires were wrong and must be resisted by men everywhere who loved liberty and the right, but also because the illicit ambitions which they were entertaining and attempting to realize had led to the practices which shocked our hearts as much as they offended our principles. Our resolution was formed because we knew how profoundly great principles of right were affected, but our hearts moved also with our resolution.
>
> You have been exceedingly generous in what you have been gracious enough to say about me—generous far beyond my personal deserts, but you have interpreted with real insight the motives and resolution of the people of the United States. Whatever influence I exercise, whatever authority I speak with, I derive from them. I know what they have thought, I know what they have desired, and when I have spoken what I know was in their minds it has been delightful to see how the consciences and purposes of freemen everywhere responded. We have merely established our right to the full fellowship of those peoples here and throughout the world who reverence the right of genuine liberty and justice.

President Wilson's addresses were cordially received by the French press, and the warmth of the popular welcome seemed to grow as the days passed. Vast throngs waited for hours to see him pass, and wherever he appeared he was loudly acclaimed. The first week of his stay in Paris was busily employed in conferences, which were interrupted by festivities on the 19th, when the King of Italy, accompanied by the Queen, the Crown Prince, the Premier, and the Foreign Minister, arrived in Paris. During the conferences that ensued between Presidet Wilson and King Emmanuel the latter formally invited the President to visit him at the Quirinal in Rome.

The Ishmaelite of Nations

By JAMES CHURCH ALVORD

[*First Printed in The New York Times of Dec. 4, 1918*]

The Ishmaelite of Nations, she shall wait
Until the crawling centuries mute again
The hideous echoes of her Hymn of Hate.
Cursed by the world's immeasurable disdain,
Cursed by the tears a million mothers shed,
Cursed on the fields where countless boys lie dead,
Whimpering for mercy, blustering, desolate—
The Ishmaelite shall wait.

By rotting wharves her empty ships shall rock,
Her slattern towns their poverty proclaim,
Her high-towered factories topple block by block
Since "Made in Germany" is a brand of shame.
Thrust from the Door of Human Brotherhood,
Misunderstanding and misunderstood,
Beggared, unpardoned, excommunicate—
The Ishmaelite shall wait.

Gray skulls plow up through fields of Picardy,
Great fanes lift shattered arches to the dawn,
Where once dead babies strewed the bitter sea
The cliffs still whiten in undying scorn.
Down weary years shall men, beholding this,
Turn from her bribes and pleading with a hiss,
Sullen, unpitied in her self-sought fate—
The Ishmaelite shall wait.

Troop Movements Under Armistice

Full Summary of the Movements of the Allied Armies of Occupation and Their Positions on the Rhine

[Up to Dec. 18, 1918]

WHEN Germany capitulated on Nov. 11 she had on the western front seventeen armies made up of approximately 3,000,000 bayonets, of which four armies—those of Below, Marwitz, Hutier, and Carlowitz—were on the actual line of combat. Facing them under the supreme command of Marshal Foch were the following allied armies:

	Combat Troops.
Two Belgian	300,000
Five British	1,500,000
Three American	1,338,169
Ten French	2,500,000
One Italian, plus Polish and Czechoslovak detachments	300,000
Total	5,938,169

According to the terms of the armistice the German troops were obliged to evacuate Belgium, France, Luxemburg, and Alsace-Lorraine by Nov. 25, and all the terrain west of the Rhine and east of it for a distance of ten kilometers, and at Cologne, Coblenz, and Mayence (Mainz) semicircles with a radius of thirty kilometers, by Dec. 11.

The Germans at once began their retreat. The armies selected to occupy the evacuated territory were the following:

		For Rhine Zones.
All the Belgians	300,000	200,000
Two British	350,000	300,000
One American	470,000	250,000
Three and then two French	550,000	400,000
Total	1,670,000	1,150,000

The retreat of the German Army under Hindenburg was conducted by the transportation expert, General Groener. On reaching its several corps headquarters it was to be demobilized, save the troops of the classes of 1898 and 1899. There is a report that the class of 1897 is also to be retained.

Neither in France nor in Great Britain is demobilization under way, but in many cases indeterminate furloughs have been granted large bodies of men. New legislation is being projected in these countries for the establishment of national armies without conscription. There is no prospect of an early demobilization of the Italian Armies.

The United States, both here and abroad, at once began the work of demobilization. On Nov. 11 there were in training in American camps 1,700,000 men of all classes. In Europe there were, including the combat troops in France and small detachments in Russia and Italy, and 18,000 in England, 1,890,624—the total sent over of 2,053,347, minus 262,723 casualties. To date (Dec. 18) there have been discharged from the army in training 750,000 men, and there have arrived at American ports, including casualties, about 70,000, the majority of whom have been discharged.

In Germany prisoners numbering 1,500,000, including about 2,000 Americans, have been released. German prisoners numbering 1,200,000 in England and France are still detained under the terms of the armistice. Italy is retaining over 700,000 Austrian and German prisoners.

THE AREAS OCCUPIED

By Dec. 18 the Belgians had occupied and organized their corner of Rhenish Prussia. They had marched 160 miles, having been obliged to skirt the Limburg Province of Holland to the south. Their administrative terrain, excluding the 6.2 miles neutral belt on the eastern bank of the Rhine, amounts to about 700 square miles.

The British armies marched on the average of 150 miles, and occupy and administer a terrain of 2,500 square miles. In the area of the Cologne bridge-

head zone the lax rule of the advance detachments has been altered to rigid martial law imposed by General Plumer.

The Americans, having marched 160 miles, principally through the Moselle Valley, are administering a terrain of 3,000 square miles. General Pershing's headquarters is at Treves; there also General Preston Brown administers the region as Military Governor and General Harry A. Smith as Civil Governor. On Dec. 16 the American detachments completed their occupation of the semicircular zone on the eastern or right bank of the Rhine, enveloping Coblenz, and replaced the red flag by the Stars and Stripes over the ancient German fortress of Ehrenbreitstein. In the Coblenz zone are 40,000 American troops.

The French terrain of occupation was covered after a march of 170 miles, and includes an area of over 4,000 square miles. Their zone of administration reaches to the suburbs of Frankfort, which is in the neutral zone beyond. At Mayence General Fayolle is in command. To the south the civil administration of Alsace-Lorraine had been in vogue for twenty-three days on Dec. 18.

On Dec. 13 the German armistice, which would have expired on the 17th, (that is, thirty-six days after the signing on Nov. 11,) was extended in accordance with Article XXXIV. until Jan. 17. Meanwhile, its terms, with special reference to Articles II., (evacuation of occupied territory;) IV. and VII., (surrender of equipment;) V., (evacuation of German territory to and beyond the Rhine;) X., (repatriation of prisoners of war;) XXIII., (surrender of the German fleet,) and XVII., (evacuation of German East Africa,) have been carried out as follows, with the Belgians occupying the Rhine zone from the Dutch frontier to the bridgehead semicircle at Cologne, where General Plumer and the British are established, with the Americans under General Dickman in charge of the Coblenz bridgehead zone; with the French at the Mayence zone under General Fayolle, and from Mayence south to the Swiss frontier, with the ten-kilometer river zone in charge of the French.

MARCH THROUGH BELGIUM

Preceding the general advance of the allied armies of occupation over a front approximating 350 miles, begun on Nov. 17, a force of 25,000 German troops at Maeseyck, Belgium, on Nov. 13, desiring to reach Germany via the Dutch province of Limburg, surrendered their arms to the Dutch and proceeded that way without them. Antwerp was occupied on Nov. 15 by the Belgians, due to a special arrangement with the German Main Headquarters at Spa.

When the general advance was begun two days later, the Belgian Army had on its right two British armies, the Second under General Plumer and the Fourth under General Rawlinson. On their right was the French Fourth Army, commanded by General Gouraud. These armies were to reoccupy Belgium and reach the Prussian frontier by Nov. 25, whence the Belgian and British armies were to advance upon the Rhine to their allotted places.

At the end of the first day's march the Belgians had reached the general line Baesrode-Termonde-Alost and had sent forward a cavalry brigade reinforced with artillery and cyclist carabineers toward Brussels, and a cavalry regiment to Malines. The British had reached the line of Oexfontaine, Pry, Pieton, La Louvière, Soignies, Enghien, and south of Ninove, the last place being about fifteen miles west of Brussels. The French had crossed the Franco-Belgian frontier after occupying the towns of Sedan and Bouillon, passing Marienbourg, Corvin, and Fumay, on their left, crossing the Semoy and reaching Carignan.

While the Belgians advanced to occupy towns as soon as they were informed that the Germans had evacuated them, which was invariably ahead of the schedule time, the British and French moved as planned. Thus on the 18th the British had only reached the line Florrennes-Charleroi-Seneffe-Hal and the latter the line Bourseigne-Vielle-Rienne. On the morning of Nov. 22 King Albert entered Brussels with the royal family and a large body of troops. The British were rapidly approaching the

Prussian-Belgian frontier, where they were to link up with the Third American Army at Vianden on the Prussian-Luxemburg frontier. The French in the angle thus formed were leisurely occupying the Belgian towns east of the line, Offange, Bertrix, Straimont, Jamoigne.

On the 24th the British, one day ahead of schedule time, reached the Prussian frontier north of the Duchy of Luxemburg, with their line on the frontier south of Beho, Grand Mesnil, Bomal, Huy, east of Avennes. The French line in Belgium and Luxemburg was Wiltz, Noville, and Nadrin, while a French cavalry detachment had reached the Prussian-Luxemburg line on the left of the Americans already there.

INTO PRUSSIA

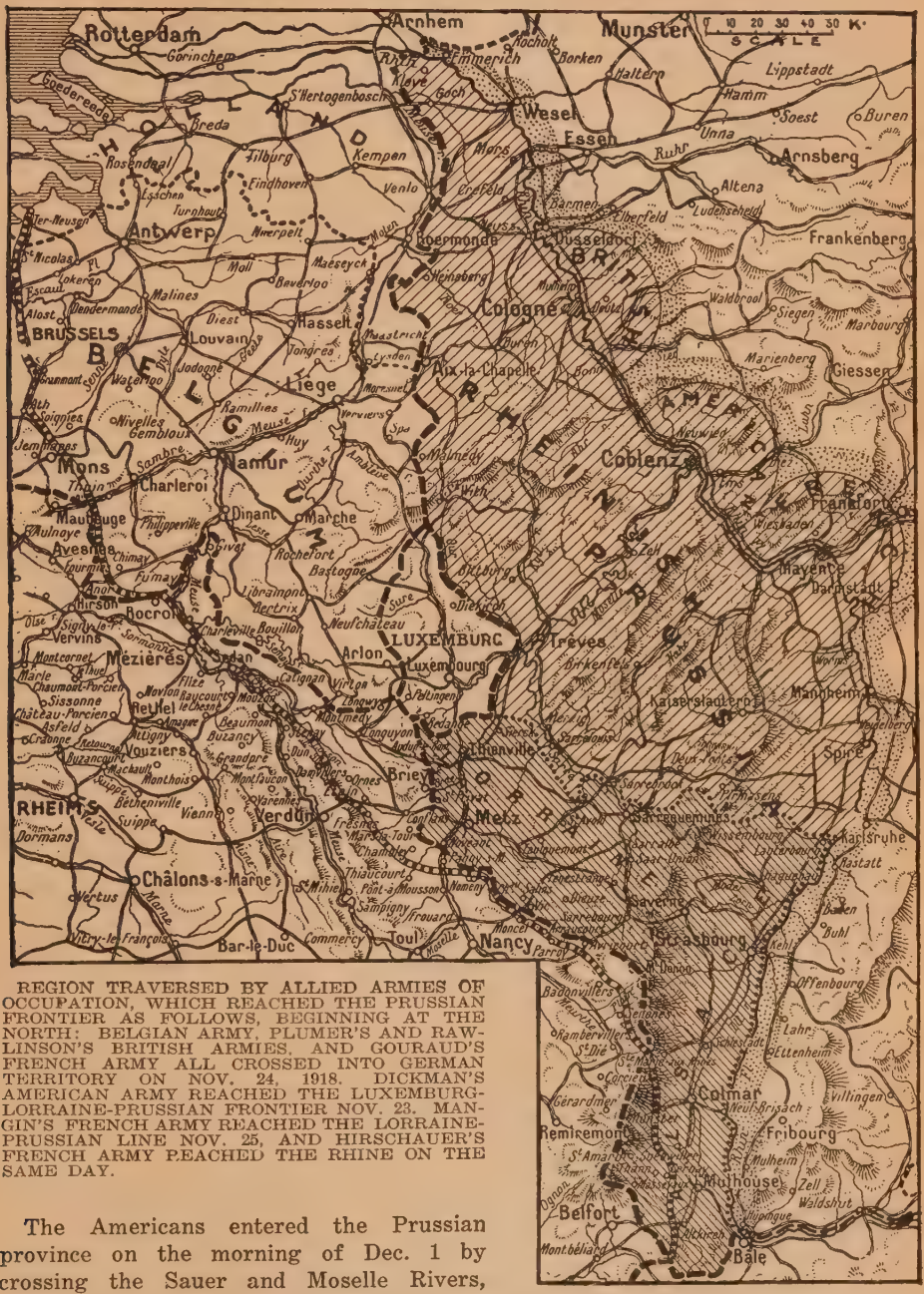
According to the terms of the armistice the Germans had an additional six teen days in which to evacuate the Rhine province and certain smaller States on the left bank of the Rhine. Together these form a triangular terrain with the base composed of Lorraine and Alsace, the east side bounded by the Rhine and the west by the Dutch, Belgian, Luxemburg, and part of the Lorraine frontiers. The Belgian and British armies which had marched through Belgium were to occupy this terrain along the Rhine from the Dutch frontier as far south as Oberwinter, including the bridgehead of Cologne.

British cavalry patrols reached Spa on Nov. 29 and the next day began their advance on Cologne. On Dec. 1 General Plumer's army crossed the frontier between Beho and Eupen and by evening had reached the line Hurg, Reuland, Bullingen, and Montjoie. On the evening of the 6th the British had reached the line toward the Cologne bridgehead of Blankenheim, east of Schleiden, the River Erft, to the south of Grevenbroich. That same evening the Belgians on their left had reached with two cavalry detachments Düsseldorf, on the left bank of the Rhine, twenty-one miles northwest of Cologne. At both Düsseldorf and Aix-la-Chapelle, the Belgians employed for a few days the same discipline which the Germans had formerly used toward civilians in Belgian communities. On Dec. 6 Cologne was also entered by the advance guard of the British. On the 12th other British troops occupied the university town of Bonn, where the Kaiser was educated, and held the Rhine bridge there.

WITH THE AMERICAN ARMY

The Third American Army under Major Gen. Joseph T. Dickman, in large part drawn from the First and Second, consisting of the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 32d, and 42d Divisions, to which were added later the 7th Army Corps under Major Gen. Haan, composed of the 5th, 89th, and 90th Division, and the 26th Division under Brig. Gen. Frank E. Bamford, began its forward march on the morning of Nov. 17 from a fifty-mile front extending from Mouzon, on the Meuse River, southeast to beyond Fresnes. The six divisions (about 200,000) first mentioned led the advance, and by the evening of Nov. 19 had reached the line Longwy-Briey. At these places, both great centres of industry, they had the advantage of the railways leading down the Moselle. On the evening of the 20th they encamped on the outskirts of Luxemburg City, while their advance guard had crossed the frontier into Lorraine. By the 23d they were well through the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, and were preparing to be entrained in force for their journey down the Moselle. On that day the American front ran from Wallendorf to Wasserbillig, along the Sauer River, and thence along the Moselle, and prepared to move on Treves, in Prussian territory.

Here the situation was unique. While the Germans were retiring along one bank of the river the Americans were passing along the other bank, each in sight of the other. Presently the Germans began sending back officers, requesting the Americans not to move so fast. The Germans, (von der Marwitz's Fifth Army,) unable to march so rapidly, were becoming confused. In fact, many traffic jams were visible, and so the Americans were compelled to slow down. Consequently they did not enter the Prussian province on Nov. 26, the first day on which the Germans were to begin their evacuation of that terrain.


Rotterdam
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Mezieres
Sedan
RHEIMS
Verdun
Chalons-s-Marne
Bar-le-Duc
Commercy
Toul
Nancy
Briey
Metz
Thionville
LUXEMBURG
Arlon
Luxemburg
Treves
Wesel
Essen
Cologne
Aix-la-Chapelle
Coblenz
Frankfort
Mayence
Mannheim
Spire
Karlsruhe
Strasbourg
Colmar
Remiremont
Fribourg
Mulhouse
Belfort
Bale
Giessen
Marburg
Siegen
Frankenberg
Arnsberg
Soest
Hamm
Lippstadt
Munster
Rheinberg
Wesel
Kempen
Venlo
Roermonde
Maastricht
Hasselt
Louvain
Malines
Termonde
Ghent
Ostend
Bruges
Ypres
Lille
Valenciennes
Cambrai
Douai
Arras
Peronne
Laon
Soissons
Rheims
Epernay
Chalons
Vitry-le-François
Ste Menehould
Verdun
Montmedy
Longuyon
Briey
Conflans
Pont-a-Mousson
Nancy
Luneville
Saarbrucken
Saargemünd
Saarburg
Treves
Trier
Wittlich
Bitburg
Diekirch
Neufchateau
Bastogne
Rochefort
Dinant
Namur
Huy
Liege
Verviers
Spa
Malmedy
Prum
Bonn
Coblenz
Andernach
Neuwied
Limburg
Wiesbaden
Darmstadt
Heidelberg
Worms
Kaiserslautern
Landau
Wissembourg
Haguenau
Rastatt
Baden
Buhl
Offenburg
Lahr
Ettenheim
Villingen
Neuf Brisach
Schlettstadt
Markirch
St Die
Remiremont
Epinal
Gerardmer
Belfort
Mulhouse
Fribourg
Zell
Waldshut
Bale
Mont beliard
Lure
Vesoul
Gray
Is-sur-Tille
Dijon
Langres
Chaumont
Bar-sur-Aube
Troyes
Nogent
Provins
Meaux
Paris
Compiegne
Noyon
St Quentin
Cambrai
Douai
Lens
Bethune
Armentieres
Lille
Courtrai
Roulers
Thielt
Ghent
Termonde
Alost
Audenarde
Oudenarde
Tournai
Ath
Mons
Charleroi
Maubeuge
Avesnes
Hirson
Rocroi
Vervins
Laon
Soissons
Fismes

fantry was entrained at Treves for Coblenz to maintain order there as soon as the last German soldier should have crossed the Rhine. It took over the policing of the city the next day. This battalion was from the 39th Infantry of the 4th Division. Late on Dec. 11 the four advance divisions of the American Army of Occupation completed their march to the Rhine. Of these the 1st, 2d, and 32d crossed the river and established the bridgehead on the 13th, flanked on the right by three French divisions. The terrain on the right bank thus occupied is in the form of a semicircle, starting from the Rhine on the north through Stefshard, Bolsheid, Rossbach, Hahn, Diez, and Katzenelnbogen, and swinging back to the Rhine at Oberwesel.

LORRAINE AND ALSACE

Between the signing of the armistice on Nov. 11 and Nov. 17, the first day of the general advance of the allied armies of occupation, the Tenth French Army, under General Mangin, moved to the Metz front, taking the place of the Second American and French Armies, which had been prepared to invade Lorraine when hostilities ceased, while in its turn the Second French Army was moved still further south, taking the place of the First French in Alsace.

The Tenth Army, with the American Third on its left, was to move northeast across Lorraine and the southern part of the Prussian province, including the Palatinate and Rhenish Hesse, taking possession of the bridgehead at Mayence and the left bank of the Rhine as far south as Lauterbourg, where it would have the Second French Army on its right, which meanwhile had proceeded through Alsace to the Rhine, covering the river zone from Lauterbourg to Huninque on the Swiss frontier.

The Government also appointed two Commissioners to administer the territory taken from France in 1871. Henry Poulet was to administer the region of Metz and Georges Meringer that of Strasbourg. The latter, who received the title of High Commissioner, however, would also administer the three divisions of Alsace-Lorraine, known before 1871 as Upper Rhine, with the prefecture at Colmar; Lower Rhine, with the prefecture at Strasbourg, and Moselle, with the prefecture at Metz. General Maud'huy was appointed Military Governor of Metz and General Bourgeois of Strasbourg, when those cities should be occupied.

On the first day of the advance, Sunday, Nov. 17, the Tenth Army, which for a few days was to be commanded by General Lecomte in place of General Mangin, who had been injured by a fall from his horse, sent its vanguards to Gravelotte, the forts on the right bank of the Meuse south of Metz, and to Morhange and Dieuze. In Alsace the army reached Donon and Schirmeck.

On the right, the Second Army under General Hirschauer, a native of Alsace, reached the gates of Colmar and Eysisheim and went beyond Richecourt, Cirey, Château-Salins, Münster, Cernay, and Altkirsch. At noon General Hirschauer, at the head of the 169th Division, commanded by General Mainvielle, entered Mulhouse amid the delirious enthusiasm of its 50,000 inhabitants.

The next day, the 18th, the Tenth Army in the region south of Neuchâteau-en-Lorrain occupied St. Marie-aux-Chenes and Crehagne, on the St. Avold road, and skirted the Upper Sarre above Finestrange, making a solemn entry into Sarrebourg. Advance guards were posted at the gates of Wasselonne and Meusold, while further south the Second Army neared the Rhine from north of Neuf-Brisach to the Swiss frontier.

On Nov. 19 Pétain, created Marshal of the Republic by telephone, made his triumphal entry into Metz, the capital of Lorraine. He was accompanied by General Castelnau, Commander of the Eastern Army Group, and, in 1914, of the Second Army, and General Lecomte, with detachments of the Tenth Army. Meanwhile General Gouraud entered Saverne with picked detachments of the Fourth Army. The advance in Lorraine reached the line Kiereberg, Hemmorleng, Saverne, Allenvillers, and Wangen. Colmar, in Alsace, received the Second Army.

On Nov. 23 Strasbourg set its clocks to French time, and Marshal Foch, the Commander in Chief of the allied armies,

made his triumphal entry and crossed the River Ill, two miles west of the Rhine. Foch was accompanied by Marshal Pétain and Generals Castelnau and Gouraud.

By the 25th the Second Army, under General Hirschauer, had taken up its allotted posts along the Rhine in Alsace. To the northwest the Tenth Army was on the Lorraine-Prussian frontier.

Here the next day, between Merzig and Sarreguemines, on the Sarre River, occurred a curious incident when the French soldiers reached the Sarre across the frontier. Dr. Solf, the German Foreign Secretary, complained to the Associated Governments that they should not have entered the Prussian province until the 27th, which would have been the first of the sixteen additional days given the Germans for the evacuation. The only way to account for the incident is that Solf literally translated the French "quinze jours," in the Second Article of the armistice, into "Fünfzehn Tage"—or fifteen days instead of fourteen days, reckoned from Nov. 11.

By Dec. 3 the Tenth Army, however, had completely occupied the valley of the Sarre, with the Prussian towns Merzig, Sarrelouis, and Sarrebruck, (Saarbrücken,) and three days later General Mangin, who had recovered from his accident, was preparing to enter Mayence (Mainz) and establish the bridgehead there as stipulated in the armistice terms. On Dec. 10 the 13th and 43d Infantry Divisions of his army took possession of this great Rhine fortress, and in the following week crossed the river and occupied the bridgehead zone.

GERMAN FLEET SURRENDERS

According to Articles XXII. and XXIII. of the armistice of Nov. 11 a decisive percentage of the German high seas fleet, including all the submarines, was to be handed over to the Allies and the United States. The details of the surrender were arranged Nov. 17 between Rear Admiral Hugo Meurer, the plenipotentiary of the German naval command, who came on the German light cruiser Königsberg, and the Commander in Chief of the Grand Fleet, Admiral Sir David Beatty, on board the latter's flagship, the Queen Elizabeth, lying in the Firth of Forth. The German Admiral had commanded the battleship König in the battle of Jutland. The surrender of the major portion of the surface fleet took place in the North Sea, fifty miles east of the Firth of Forth, on Nov. 18, as described in detail elsewhere in these pages. The surrender of the submarines was made to Rear Admiral Reginald W. Tyrwhitt at Harwich, beginning two days later. Among the last to be given up was the Deutschland, alias U-153, well known for its voyage to American waters. The total of surrendered U-boats was 129.

IN REDEEMED ITALY

The day before the Austro-Hungarian capitulation to General Diaz, Italian troops had occupied Dobereto and Trent in the Trentino, had reclaimed about half of the Regione di Veneto—their cavalry having penetrated beyond Belluno in the northeast and Udine in the east—and had taken possession of the coastal cities of Trieste and Pola. The territory to be evacuated by the enemy, according to the terms of the armistice, was approximately identical with that conceded to Italy by Great Britain, France, and Russia in the Treaty of London, April 26, 1915, and was popularly known as "Italia Irredenta"—Unredeemed Italy.

As there was mutiny in the Austro-Hungarian Army, as the prisoners of the Associated Powers were to be immediately discharged, and as the German troops were to be sent home within fourteen days, General Diaz, according to the terms of the armistice, was to stipulate the distance to be traversed by the retreating enemy from day to day in order to avoid confusion. Moreover, in occupying the evacuated territory the fullest use possible was to be made of the American, French, and British troops bracketed with the Tenth Army under Lord Cavan, while in the coastal region—Istria, Croatia, Dalmatia—and the islands mentioned for occupation by the armies of the Associated Powers, not only the Italian Navy was concerned, but also naval detachments of Italy's allies

and of the United States to the extent of their operating forces. Meanwhile the 40,000 Czechoslovak soldiers mobilized by the Italians were entrained for Bohemia.

In spite of the most careful preparations made by the Italian General Staff considerable confusion ensued on account of the utter demoralization of the late enemy and his lack of food. By Nov. 17, however, the sole American regiment present, which had lost only one man killed and six wounded in the recent offensive, had occupied the City of Tolmino, whence had started the great enemy offensive of October, 1917, which had brought about the disaster of Caporetto. To the south Italian detachments had reached Novacco, Ottalesco, Idra, and Dolle. By the end of the month the Austro-Hungarian military authorities had completed the terms of the armistice as far as the evacuation was concerned and Italy was in full possession of the terrain to be occupied by her and the armies associated with her pending the final terms of the treaty of peace, and the confirmation in that treaty of the Treaty of London.

Nowhere did the occupying troops establish civil governments. In certain towns, notably Trent, Gorizia, and Trieste, the Italian population attempted to do so. This brought them into conflict with the Jugoslav elements and an unfortunate situation was developed at Fiume, which quickly spread to Pola and Trieste.

Fiume was just outside the terrain of evacuation; still, it has a predominating Italian population of 45,000. The Mayor was Italian, so was the Town Council. Armed bands of Jugoslavs under orders from the Jugoslav Council at Agram entered the town, forced the resignation of the Mayor and Town Council, and orderd them to take down the Italian flag and hoist the Jugoslav banner in its place. Gatherings of Italians to celebrate the Italian victory were dispersed by rifle and machine-gun fire. Italian soldiers on the heights above the city looked on and saw their fellow-countrymen thus terrorized and were powerless to help them until orders came from General Diaz for their commander, General Raineri, to take possession of Fiume and protect the Italians there. Meanwhile similar, although not so serious, Jugoslav demonstrations had taken place at Trieste and Pola, where they had been suppressed by the respective military Governors, General Petitti and Admiral Cagni.

THE ALLIES IN TURKEY

The capitulations which the Commissioners of Mohammed VI. were forced to accept from Vice Admiral Sir Somerset Gough-Calthorpe, the commander of the allied fleet, on the Island of Lemnos, Oct. 31, included the provision for the immediate occupation of Constantinople and the Dardanelles and Bosporus forts, the surrender of all Turkish war vessels, the demobilization of the army, and the release of the allied prisoners of war.

The first British warship to reach Constantinople was a destroyer, which anchored in the Golden Horn on the afternoon of Nov. 10. A French destroyer followed. Both brought staff officers who were to organize the administration of the city. A few days before Enver Pasha and Talaat Pasha, the evil geniuses of Turkey, had made their escape to a Black Sea port on board a German destroyer, and are now said to be in Berlin.

Already, on Nov. 9, British troops had been landed on the peninsula of Gallipoli and had taken possession of the forts there and reoccupied the sites so full of the fatal memories of the Summer of 1915.

By Dec. 8 a military administration, under the direction of the British Vice Admiral as High Commissioner and Rear Admiral Richard Webb as assistant, was in full running order in Constantinople, while the Government of the Sultan was obeying its directions, particularly in regard to the distribution of food and of justice. The foreign consulate courts were restored.

On Nov. 26 an allied naval squadron passed through the Black Sea and took possession of the Russian ships at Sebastopol, which had been surrendered to the Germans by the Bolsheviki, and on Dec. 13 French marines arrived at Odessa and expelled the Germans who still

lingered there. This littoral, as well as Rumania, had been occupied by the German army of Field Marshal von Mackensen. Its movements were governed not by the Turkish capitulation of Oct. 31, but by the German armistice of Nov. 11, Articles XIII. and XIV. This army numbered 170,000 men. On its way back to Germany its path lay through Hungary, where on Nov. 30, on the demand of the French Commissioners at Budapest, it was interned. It had already been partially disarmed at its stations in Rumania and on the Black Sea littoral.

The German commander in East Africa, General von Lettow-Vorbeck, did not comply at once with the terms of the armistice of Nov. 11, though his force had been reduced to 1,000 natives and 300 Germans. On Nov. 14, however, he surrendered near Kasama, on the Zambezi, in Northern Rhodesia.

The Allied Armies in Germany

Advance of American, French, and British Troops Into Germany Described by Eyewitnesses

[See Rotogravure Map of German Occupied Territory in Frontispiece Pages]

THE British, American, and French Armies of Occupation, to name them in their order from the Holland frontier to the Swiss border, all reached the boundaries of Germany on or about Nov. 23; so well organized was the advance that they all set foot on German soil within two days. The withdrawal of the Germans was conducted in an orderly and systematic manner, the main bodies keeping two or three days' march ahead of the advancing allies. On Nov. 23 the American Third Army reached the German border, its front extending from Wallendorf to Wasserbillig along the Sauer River, and from there south along the Moselle. The Germans occupied the opposite banks of the narrow streams, but there was no fraternizing, as rigid orders to that effect had been issued by General Dickman, the American commander.

AMERICANS ENTER GERMANY

The American Army of Occupation entered Germany Dec. 1, 1918, crossing the Sauer and Moselle Rivers and spreading out on a front of sixty miles. Treves, the first important city reached, was occupied the same day. Edwin L. James, the correspondent of The New York Times and Current History Magazine, described this on Dec. 1 as follows:

"The City of Treves greeted the American Army of Occupation today with sullen, glowering mien. The reception in Treves was just like that all along the ninety-kilometer front on which the Third Army advanced into Germany this morning. It was Sunday, but no church bells rang. There were no flags, no cheers, no smiles, few tears. It was just such a reception as only the boche could give.

"It was just 5:30 o'clock this morning, exactly one month after they broke through the German line north of Verdun and made the now-famous dash toward Sedan, that the Americans quit hospitable Luxemburg for their trek into what the late and unlamented Kaiser used to call the sacred soil of the Fatherland.

"To one watching those businesslike lads cross the international bridge of Wasserbillig in the sickly light of a cloudy dawn they seemed to march just as they did, not so long ago, when the same lads were going into the hell which lasted five weeks over in the Meuse sector. Who could have told them a month ago that today they would be marching foot-free into the land of the enemy? But into Germany they marched, their eyes straight ahead, their rifles held tight, and their cartridge clips filled. There was nothing of the popular con-

ception of a conquering army about them. They were solemn-faced lads, businesslike and quiet, and, above all, ready for whatever was to come.

SCENES IN TREVES

"The feature of the day's advance into the territory of the foe was their entrance into Treves, a city of 75,000 population, rich and important in manufactures. On our reception there the eyes of every American commander were turned. It was felt that the reception there meant the measure of distance from the Luxemburg border to the Rhineland.

"I got into the city an hour before the troops arrived. The streets and squares were lined with people. There were civilians in silk hats; there were soldiers in half uniform, demobilized, some of them only two days; there were officers in arrogantly splendid uniforms; there were women with furs and women in ragged clothes, and everywhere many, many children.

"One was impressed by the general prosperous and sleek appearance of the whole city. The shop windows were well filled with all sorts of merchandise; the meat shops were far from empty. There was that air that one used to see about captured German officers—the same sullen apathy, the same insolent and disdainful manner. To one who smiled, many frowned; but most simply stood there and stared. We went out on the bridge over the beautiful Moselle to await the coming of the Americans.

"It was just at 1 o'clock, German time, that Colonel Hunt appeared, leading the 6th Infantry of the 5th Division, which is to be the permanent garrison of the city during our occupation. Behind him came a brass band, formed by doughboys, who were a full regiment strong, and a company of machine guns. They were neat and nifty, these victorious young Americans, as they marched so solemnly into this Hun city.

SILENT HOSTILITY

"It was so different from the entry into French and Belgian towns, where the smiles of little children and blessings and joyful tears of grown folks had greeted us. Here was hostility lurking beneath the smirking surface hospitality of the Hun. I turned and marched with the head of the column into the ancient city, the German name of which is Trier.

"No American was there but loved that bandmaster. He must have come from south of the Mason and Dixon Line, for as Colonel Hunt set foot into the city the strains of 'Dixie' broke out. The tune quickened the heartbeats and footsteps of the Americans, but of all those thousands of Germans who lined our path none showed the least feeling except the little children, who smiled at the soldiers, as all children will.

"The crowd grew denser and denser as we reached the square. Here a band broke into 'Suwanee River,' and just then the standard bearer gave the Stars and Stripes an extra whirl, and the column passed on by the ancient Porta Nigra to their barracks.

"After the triumphal and glorious march through France and Belgium and even Luxemburg the appalling silence almost frightened one. There was gloom everywhere. Even the German flags and arches which had welcomed the returning boche soldiers had been put away, and nothing remained undone to make the ceremony more sombre.

CONTACT WITH SOVIETS

"One noticeable feature of the crowd was the presence of a large number of men with rifles slung across their shoulders, muzzle down. Each wore a white band with a purple stamp. These were the guards of the local Soldiers' and Workmen's Council. They will be relieved of duty tomorrow and replaced by Americans.

"The local Soviets have given effusive orders to the population to treat the Americans with all order and good behavior. A special proclamation to girls warns them against talking to American soldiers. The American commander tomorrow will post proclamations telling the population that there will be no trouble if the Germans do not make it. The Germans will be given to understand that we mean business and that no foolishness will be tolerated. If the Germans all along behave as they did in Treves today

and keep ill-feelings to themselves there will be no friction. If trouble starts anywhere on our sector the Americans are ready to deal with it.

"One was deeply impressed by the quiet dignity of the American soldiers today. These lads whistled and joked and played mouth-organs while going into battle, but marching through Germany today there wasn't a smile on their faces or a joke on their lips. They were dead serious.

EVIDENCE OF PROSPERITY

"This industrial centre appears sleek and prosperous, and the persons of its inhabitants show no ravages of hunger. The bread is poor and of coffee there is none. Otherwise food can be had of many kinds.

"It seems that at the time when America is ready to stint herself and her friends to feed unrepentant Germany, a statement should be made that the food conditions here today are better than in that part of France recently occupied by the Germans. And the German Army has just passed through this place.

"Three days ago I ate this luncheon in Nancy at the Café Liégeoise: Fish, beefsteak, potatoes, and salad, paying for it an equivalent of $3.25. Yesterday, at the Hotel Porta Nigra here, I ate fish, beefsteak, potatoes, and salad and paid an equivalent of $2.50. The two places were about of the same class.

"One may buy a dinner here cheaper than in Paris, with the same grade of service. The cafés are well filled at all meals, and the tables seem well loaded. The meat shops are not badly supplied. An abundance of canned goods may be seen in the windows of the shops along the Sigonstrasse.

"It is true that retail prices at the stores are high, which means perhaps that poor people have difficulty in getting what they need. But there is food a-plenty for those with money to pay, and in the last twenty-four hours I have heard a score of Americans say that perhaps Germany had better make a readjustment of her own food supply before calling on America."

The advance toward the Rhine continued in an orderly manner; the troops met with no resistance, but the people generally were silent and sullen, blinds were drawn as the troops passed, and the people remained indoors. On Dec. 8, in compliance with a request of the German command, a battalion of American infantry went by train from Treves to Coblenz to maintain order in the period between the departure of the retiring German Army and the arrival of the Americans. A battalion of the 39th Infantry of the 4th Division was sent. The main army reached Coblenz four days later.

GREETINGS AT COBLENZ

Under date of Dec. 9 Mr. James reported the reception of the American vanguard at Coblenz as follows:

"The reception of the Americans here was very different from that at Treves. There sullen silence greeted us everywhere. Here smiling delegations met us; pretty girls waved hands and handkerchiefs.

"The river promenade was crowded with the curious, who were in remarkably good humor. Every one seems anxious to do what can be done for the Americans. One walks along the boardwalk here, which, if one did not look across the picturesque Rhine, one might imagine the Atlantic City promenade, and one rubs one's eyes to make one's self believe that this is a vanquished nation.

"A German officer took me for a walk late in the afternoon. Thousands of well-dressed men and handsomely gowned women thronged the boulevard along the Rhine, the crowd in front of the magnificent Coblenzerhof reminding one of a Fifth Avenue holiday parade. The shop windows were filled with luxuries of every description. I bought excellent cigars and Waldorf-Astoria cigarettes.

"My German guide took me into the city's finest tearoom. Here was matched the tearoom in Sherry's any December afternoon. Silks and satins and furs were on all sides. The tearoom itself was ornate and luxurious in its appointments.

"Last night the cafés were filled with

merrymakers up to 11 o'clock, and the theatres were running full blast. The gayety was as if Germany had won and not lost the war. The world knows Coblenz as one of the beautiful cities of Europe, and certainly the German defeat has dimmed none of its glory. Blooming prosperity is everywhere apparent, and if there is any scarcity of food I have not been able to find it. The famous old Monopol Hotel and the Coblenzerhof and numerous restaurants serve meals that would tickle the palate of an epicure.

"At almost any other time one would have felt happy to be here; but now, seeing Goblenz, one at once remembers Rheims. Seeing Coblenz sleek and prosperous, one feels that Germany is not yet repentant.

"The Mayor of Coblenz issued a proclamation in which he requested the inhabitants to refrain from all acts of discourtesy or violence and to accord the Americans such assistance as was possible. A local committee was appointed to assist the Americans in assuming control, and officers of the German Army remained behind after the last of their men had marched out, in order to deliver to the Americans great stores of supplies.

"The officers with Colonel Rhea are Colonel Clarence Sherrill of Greensboro, N. C.; Colonel George Spaulding of Michigan, and Colonel Henry M. White of Kentucky.

"While the Americans were marching into the city today the last division of the German Army was only a few kilometers beyond the Rhine, moving in orderly fashion, with the spirit of a holiday rather than that of a defeated army. Almost every man had a rosette or a sprig of green in his cap. Many of the trucks and wagons had on top of them quantities of Christmas greens."

CROSSING THE RHINE

The American Army crossed the Rhine on Dec. 13. The advance divisions completed their march on the 11th, resting in the suburbs of Coblenz. The Americans on Dec. 10 took possession of the great fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, one of the most formidable in Germany; on Dec. 16 the Stars and Stripes flew upon the flagstaff where for a hundred years the German standard had remained undisturbed. The fort was occupied by the 7th Field Artillery, commanded by Colonel Francis of Washington, D. C. It had been evacuated by German detachments on Dec. 9. On the 11th the entire German Army was nine miles from the Rhine. On Dec. 12 Mr. James wrote:

"One month after the cessation of hostilities found the Americans yesterday on the Rhine River along most of the sector to be occupied by them. Since they entered Germany on Dec. 1 not one shot has been fired. The reception, however, becomes more strained the deeper they get into Germany. The people are beginning to show irritation at our presence. This is more pronounced in the cities than in the smaller places, and in the last two days in Coblenz, where there is a strong pro-Kaiser faction, an inclination has been shown to sneer at the Americans.

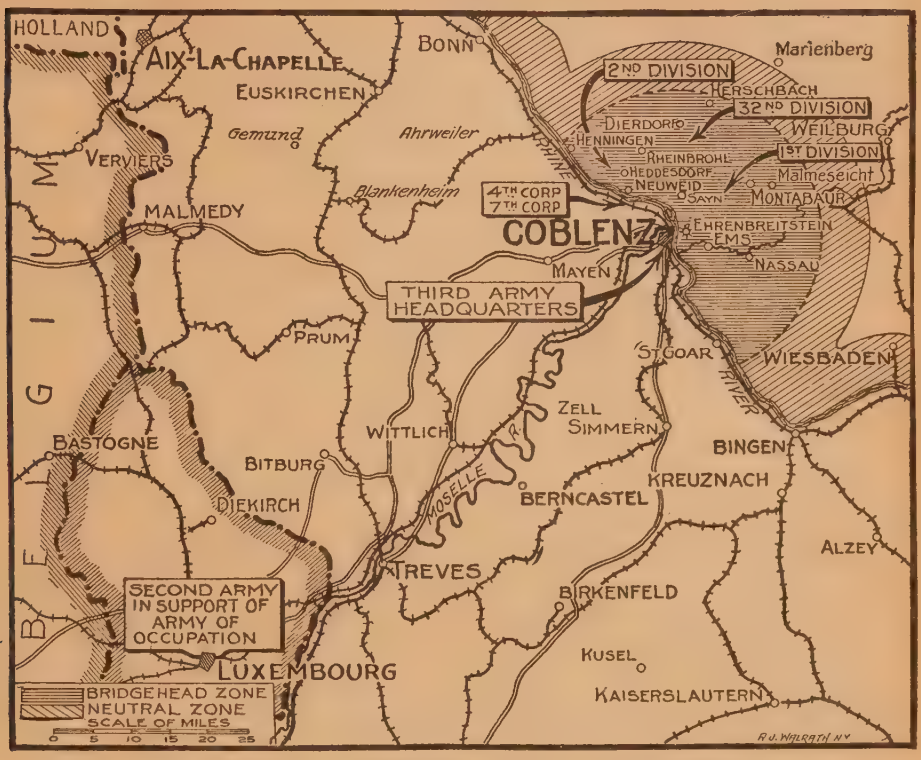
"It is too early to say that this is serious. The failure of the Americans to respond to the starvation propaganda treatment seems to be followed by a disposition of some persons here to be boastful. One may predict that they will be cured.

"In the smaller towns the Americans are well treated, and are responding in kind. For there are today only 1,000 men here for police duty, having come at the request of the German High Command. Perhaps the display of force which will take place when we occupy the city will have a salutary effect. The Volkszeitung of Mayen, where the Third Army has its headquarters, says of the Americans: 'The troops are well behaved, their intercourse with the people is correct, and we willingly admit that the Americans are good fellows.'"

OCCUPYING THE BRIDGEHEAD

The Americans took formal control of Coblenz on Dec. 12, and the Army of Occupation crossed the Rhine on the morning of the 13th to occupy the bridgehead beyond the city. Mr. James described the crossing as follows:

"Just before crossing three French divisions were put in to take over the



LOCATION OF AMERICAN FORCES ON THE RHINE

southern part of our sector across the river, and one American division, the 3d, composed of regulars, was sent south to take over part of the French bridgehead at Mainz.

"The 1st, 2d, and 32d American Divisions comprised the force which went over the river Dec. 13. The 1st crossed over the old pontoon bridge, the 32d and the French using the big Coblenz bridge. It was raining and just getting light when the troops started over, but the American flag was waving and bands were playing.

"The people were out to see the first crossing of the Rhine by hostile troops in more than a century. The doughboys marched over in an undramatic manner, just as they crossed the Moselle, into the Fatherland. The aged crest of the Ehrenbreitstein Fortress looked down in impotence as the men in khaki went on their way to make sure that Germany could not start the war again.

"The area to be occupied across the river is in the form of a semicircle with the Rhine as the diameter and a thirty-kilometer radius. This semicircle may be traced, starting at the Rhine on the north at Linz, then through Stefshard, Bolsheid, Rossbach, Hahn, Diez, and Katzenelnbogen to the Rhine at Oberwesel. Outside this semicircle is a ring ten kilometers wide, which is a neutral zone to be policed by Germans not in force.

PLAYED AMERICAN AIRS

"As the various detachments reached the boundaries of the bridgehead the infantrymen marched into the towns behind bands playing spirited American airs. In some instances the bands gave concerts for the benefit of the natives while the infantrymen hustled about looking for quarters. The men of the bridgehead force as they reached the limits of the great arc began settling down for a rest after their hike from the battleline in France, which began just four weeks ago. Different units all along the line are in the occupied villages. The

officers are using public buildings as headquarters, but are being billeted in hotels and private homes.

"For three days the Americans streamed across the four bridges spanning the Rhine. The two bridges at Coblenz were particularly burdened, even during part of the night. With the first troops, who crossed Dec. 13, went some camions with temporary supplies. Dec. 14 streams of motor trucks, loaded with food, clothing, and gasoline, rumbled along the cobblestone streets of Coblenz in greater numbers than the citizens had ever seen, notwithstanding the fact that Coblenz was formerly an important point for the German Army

"There were no hostile demonstrations anywhere. Sales of firearms were prohibited in Coblenz by orders of the Burgomaster, who is co-operating with the American forces. All civilians were directed to turn over their firearms to the municipal authorities. German militiamen and discharged soldiers, who have been assisting in police duties, were discharged by the Burgomaster's order preliminary to turning the municipal affairs entirely over to the Americans. All theatres and restaurants were affected by the order directing cafés to close at 11 o'clock. These places are forbidden to burn lights after that hour. Hotels were also affected, but in a lesser degree."

OCCUPATION COMPLETE

On Dec. 17 all the units of American forces assigned to the occupation of the bridgehead at Coblenz had reached their destination. From left to right the first line American divisions in the bridgehead area were the 2d, 32d and 1st Divisions.

The 2d Division occupied the right bank of the Rhine to Henningen, with its headquarters at Hedesdorf. The 32d Division's line ran from Breitscheld, east to Herschbach, thence southeast through Alsbach to Sayn, which was the headquarters. The 1st Division was between the 32d and French headquarters at Montabaur.

The dividing line of the French and American parts of the bridgehead was the Lahn River from the Rhine to the region of Ems, whence the line zigzagged northeast to the region of Malmeseicht, directly east of Montabaur.

The fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, often called the Gibraltar of the Rhine, just across the river from Coblenz, was being prepared for occupancy by the American troops on the 17th. It occupies more than 100 acres on a rocky promontory 400 feet above the river. Each night on the fortress summit the Germans built a great bonfire of the rubbish accumulated by the day's cleaning of the barracks and various other buildings, some of which were erected hundreds of years ago.

An American Post Office was established in Coblenz. Owing to fluctuation in the value of the German mark only French and American money was accepted. The official rate of exchange was 142 marks for 100 francs.

The French Advance to the Rhine

By WALTER DURANTY

THE French crossed the frontier of Germany proper today, [Dec. 2, 1918.] There was no demonstration anywhere or any sign of excitement on the part of the poilus in traversing the imaginary line drawn across the country that represents the ancient boundary mark of France and Germany before the war of 1870. For, although by the terms of the armistice the troops have been halted at the said line for several days, there was nothing—owing to the incorporation of Alsace-Lorraine in the German Empire—in the way of sentry posts or customs boundaries to mark the old frontier; and when the order was given this morning for an advance, the men simply hoisted their packs on their shoulders and moved forward without more ado.

As far as the French are concerned, the armistice has robbed the conquest of

its glory—from the soldiers' point of view they might as well be engaged in a manoeuvre route march, such as they often knew in peace time. The whole affair is utterly staid and prosaic. Only the difference in language reminds the poilus that they are actually realizing their dream of invading Germany. Otherwise it is simply a change of billets. There is no excitement, no resistance, not even evidence of hostile feeling. The people of the country we are now traversing are simply apathetic. There are no cheers, no flags, no welcome; but, on the other hand, there are completeness of submission and concealment of every sign of ill-will—if, indeed, any is felt—which makes it hard to realize that we are actually in enemy territory. One has a feeling that respect for the uniform has been so impressed on the minds of these Germans that even soldiers of the enemy are regarded as something superior to themselves.

SUBSERVIENCE TO UNIFORMS

As one moves along the sidewalk of a German town or village people instinctively make way. It is not for friend or foe, but simply the uniform and rank marks of authority that they are considering. They have been so drilled to consider the soldier superior to the civilian and the officer a person to respect that they automatically pay the same homage to troops of the enemy. In private life there is a combination of this sentiment with a certain degree of apprehension.

One has a definite impression that these people have lived under the yoke of their own militarism hardly less grievously than the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine. True, for them it was not the yoke of an alien, but it was a yoke nevertheless, and even now they seem unable to realize that it is lifted from their necks. The Allies have fought to free France and Belgium, but it may well be that the bringing of liberty to Germany herself will not be the least part of their achievement.

In the meantime nothing could be more correct than the attitude of the troops and of the population. I saw a poilu distributing slices of army bread and jam to a group of small children. As I passed he looked up and said, half apologetically: "Have you seen the nasty stuff they call bread hereabouts? These poor kids have tasted nothing better for ages, and I am giving them a little treat." There in a nutshell you have the attitude of the French Army in Germany. They came as victors over a hated foe, expecting at least the appearance of hostility. They found a submission which was almost servile of a people that had been beaten down to the ground. Immediately, instead of stalking in the arrogance of the conqueror, they adopt, almost despite themselves, the rôle of benefactors. It is just one more proof of the nobility of the French character as compared with that of the German.

CONDITIONS IN SAABRUECKEN

Saarbrücken, Dec. 3.—The French occupied this city today. Though the 125,000 inhabitants do not look thin and do not seem to have suffered real hunger, most of them, especially the children, have an unhealthy, waxy complexion, characteristic of malnutrition. In the hotels, however, and in the leading restaurants the menu is fairly abundant for those who can afford it.

There is veal in large quantities at 8 marks per portion, with potatoes; ham, cold or cooked, 2 marks; beef, very rarely, 10 marks; excellent potato or other vegetable soup, 1 mark; hare and vegetables, 8 marks; best Strasbourg pâté de foie gras, with toast, 8 marks, and even pancakes or sweet omelet at 10 marks. All portions are considerably larger than those served in Paris, and on the whole prices seem to contrast pretty favorably with those of the French capital. It is possible to drink poor beer at half a mark a litre, and any amount of German wine at normal rates.

It seems—something which I observed in Alsace-Lorraine and Belgium—that the well-to-do classes were more favored, as compared with their poorer brethren, than in France or England. Restrictions which pressed very heavily on the poor have hardly touched the rich, and this, perhaps, is not one of the least

causes of the widespread social discontent which bids fair to disrupt Germany today.

In the stores of Saarbrücken there are plenty of goods at fairly moderate prices. Despite what one has heard to the contrary, a decent suit of clothes can be bought for 200 marks. Leather boots are expensive—50 to 100 marks a pair, according to style—but leather vanity bags, gloves, &c., seem little dearer than in Paris. And always it must be remembered that the inflation of paper currency reduces the mark to about half its value in real money, so that to obtain a fair comparison with allied prices one should make a reduction of nearly 50 per cent.

FRENCH OCCUPY MAINZ

The French forces occupied Mainz (Mayence) on Dec. 14, and reached the extreme limit of the bridgehead on the 15th. In its forward movement the Tenth Army found more of a spirit of curiosity among the population than of hostility. The regular authorities were recognized by the French, and no attention was paid to the Workmen's Committees. Food supplies seemed ample and the inhabitants appeared to be in good health. Activity was suspended in most of the industrial centres, otherwise life in this region continued normal.

The entry of Generals Fayolle and Mangin into Mainz at 2 o'clock Dec. 14 created a profound impression on that part of the population that did not remain indoors. It was one of the most memorable ceremonies of the occupation.

The strong guard of French troops requested by the authorities of the city had put an end to the pillaging of the military stores on Dec. 9. Their conduct since that time had provoked the most favorable comment on the part of citizens and officials, and that impression was strengthened when the men of the Tenth Army marched through Mainz with the same dignity that has characterized the forward movement of the French everywhere into German territory.

The Frenchmen swung through the old Hessian town, which was French for a score of years after occupation by the Revolutionary armies, with the business-like gait so familiar in the last four and a half years, apparently unconscious that they were victors marching into the conquered town of an adversary. The attitude of officers and men greatly facilitated the task of occupation. The people maintained greater reserve than the inhabitants of the other towns occupied by the French. Many of the houses and buildings were tightly closed, and a large proportion of the people in the streets were women and children.

After a review of the troops of the Tenth Army, General Fayolle and General Mangin were presented to the city and provisional authorities in the old Hessian grand ducal palace. The Burgomaster, the President of the Provincial Government, and the President of the Chamber of Commerce addressed General Fayolle, expressing the hope that the military authorities would cooperate with them in maintaining order and keeping the economic life of the region going.

GENERAL FAYOLLE'S ADDRESS

General Fayolle, in reply, reminded them that the war imposed by Germany was one of the most cruel and unjust in history. He drew a picture of the devastation in France and Belgium, and the distress of families without shelter, their goods, products, and manufacturing machinery having been carried off into Germany and their soil left a desert.

The General recalled how, after repeated defeats since July 15, the Germans had been obliged to ask for an armistice. He assured the authorities that, however natural reprisals might be considered, they had nothing to fear from the troops of occupation, either for their persons or possessions, so long as they realized the situation and accepted the French occupation in a proper spirit.

The German authorities listened with respectful attention to a translation of General Fayolle's address and a short talk by General Mangin, who assured them of the co-operation of the army in maintaining the regular course of life in the occupied region. The German offi-

cials appeared disposed to continue the conversation, but they were given to understand that the ceremony was over and they filed out after ceremonious salutes.

The French 313th Corps, under General Lecomte, occupied Wiesbaden on Dec. 16 and was reviewed from the steps of the City Hall, opposite the statue of former Kaiser Wilhelm.

The British Advance to Cologne

By PHILIP GIBBS

MALMEDY, Germany, Dec. 3.—British troops crossed the Belgian frontier and entered Germany today. Here and there some small children, watching from cottage windows or in their mothers' arms, waved their hands with the friendliness of childhood for all men on horses, and they were not rebuked. German schoolboys in peaked caps, with their hands thrust in their pockets, stared without friendliness or unfriendliness. Some girls on a hillside above the winding road laughed and waved their handkerchiefs. There was no sense as yet of passing through a hostile country where we were not wanted.

Round the hairpin turn we came down into Malmedy, lying in a narrow valley with some of its streets and houses climbing up the hillsides. It was a typical little German town, with here and there houses of the châlet style and houses of the modern country type in Germany, with wooden balconies and low-pitched roofs, and beyond very neat and clean-looking factories on the outskirts of the town. The shops were bright, and I saw a display of wooden soldiers and flaxen-haired dolls and toy engines as though for the German Christmas which is coming, and in one little garden there was a figure of the little old gnomelike Rumpelstiltzkin in my old copy of Grimm's Fairy Tales.

It was surprising to hear that most of the people about one were speaking French. Some of us remembered then that Malmedy was not in Germany until after 1815, and that for a long time it was an independent little town belonging to a Belgian Abbey of great wealth and power before it was destroyed in the French Revolution. The people here were not typically German, and many of them at least had the neutral spirit of people who live close to the frontier and speak two languages, or three, as at Malmedy, where every one is equally familiar with German, French, and Walloon.

At Malmedy there was no sign whatever of hostility except the sullen look on the faces of some men who stared through the windows of a clubhouse and the gravity of other men who turned their heads away when the cavalry passed, as though unaware of them. In many windows was a notice in German, which I read. It was an appeal by Burgomaster Kalpers, reading:

"Citizens are earnestly requested to maintain great calm and order on the entry of the Entente troops into our city and to receive them with courtesy and dignity."

That wish was being carried out, and it was with politeness as well as dignity that the strangers were greeted in this first German town across the frontier.

COLOGNE ASKS BRITISH AID

Outside Cologne, Dec. 7.—For some days now British troops have been in Germany and this morning were just outside Cologne. Again and again during the last few days I have heard German people say, "Thank God the English have come," and I believe they say that with sincerity. The German middle class are more afraid, it seems, of Bolshevism than of the British soldiers, and during the time of political crisis and social revolution people with property and those who desire law and order rather than anarchy of the mob were anxious for the presence of the British as being the

lesser of two evils, though tragedy enough.

Thus the Burgomaster of Cologn yesterday a special message, asking that the troops should enter earlier than previously arranged, and some machine gunners were sent forward. This is to restrain the low element of the civil population from pillaging and rioting, as they have been doing in Cologne.

At Duren, now occupied by British, the first act of the mob, partly made up of revolutionary soldiers and partly of disorderly youths, was to break into the barracks and loot them. The German officers were disarmed and degraded, but not otherwise hurt, and there was a good deal of window-smashing and pillage until the Burgomaster enrolled a town guard, mostly made up of ex-soldiers in plain clothes, with arm bands and with loaded rifles.

FRIENDLY VILLAGERS

Yesterday I passed columns of English and Scottish troops on the march through the forest of Duren and on the high winding roads of the plateau. Duren is a great forest, dark and mysterious in its depths, between long glades of tall, straight columned firs, with their sweep of green foliage above masses of scarlet bracken. * * *

Everywhere I found that the villagers had received the British in a friendly way and that yellow-haired children stood in groups round them as they picketed their horses and unloaded their transports. War is war, but children are children, and it is difficult to nourish hatred in one's heart when small boys and girls come to shake one's hand or kiss it, and when little maids with pigtails curtsy as one passes and in a wayside inn the serving maid wishes one a good appetite before one eats and stands around with anxious eyes to observe the effect of the food she has cooked.

Every man of high or low estate doffs his hat when he meets a British officer, and if one stops to make inquiry of the German civilians, many of whom were German officers until a week ago, they answer with the utmost politeness.

Defeat and the revolution with which they are threatened and fear of worse things that may happen have made the German people painfully anxious to abide by the rules of occupation and get on the right side of those who now have powers of life and death over them. This fear and the tremendous relief that bloodshed has finished, and perhaps also hope of a new era of liberty released from Prussian militarism, has changed amazingly the attitude of these people of the Rhineland toward the English. There is no more " Gott strafe England."

WATCH ON THE RHINE

Cologne, Dec. 7.—British cavalry patrols yesterday entered Cologne, and, riding to the swing bridge which has replaced the old bridge of boats, were the first British soldiers to reach the Rhine. This morning one sentry lad of the 18th Hussars was posted on the town side of the bridge and another on the other side opposite the village of Deutz, famous as far back as Roman times as the bridgehead of Cologne. Facing him on that side was a German sentry in uniform bearing arms, the last of the rearguard of the German Army.

I walked on the bridge this morning, and, leaning over it, looked down on the waters of the Rhine, and even then could hardly believe we were there and had reached that goal which used to be spoken of as a grim jest in the dugouts near Ypres and on the Somme, when it seemed easier to get to Heaven than to this German river—and this was so to many thousands of Britishers three months ago. I went into Bapaume on the morning of its capture, and even then the idea that we should be on the Rhine today would have seemed a fantastic vision. But there this morning were the Hussars with their sentries keeping guard, and down below the bridges on the quayside some of the British men were cleaning their machine guns in the centre of a German crowd, and in the streets were some of their armored cars, at which the people of Cologne stared from tramcars and sidewalks.

The young Hussar pacing the bridge looked lonely among all those German civilians about him, looking at his kit and giving him sidelong glances as they

passed. One of my friends spoke to him and asked him how he was getting on.

"The people are not unfriendly," he said. "They come up and speak to me in English now and then."

"What do they say?" he was asked, and for a moment he hesitated. Then he grinned and said:

"One German this morning came up to me and said, in well-spoken English, 'So you have wound up as the Watch on the Rhine?'"

WHERE HUNGER LURKS

My first impressions of German conditions of life in the villages and rural towns, like Malmedy and Montjoie and Dupen, were of surprise at the good meals one can get in the hotels and restaurants. There seemed to be an abundance of meat and other supplies in towns like Aix-la-Chapelle and an absence of the hunger look in the faces of the middle class crowds in Cologne. But if one examines deeper, one finds that this is all superficial and due partly to the gross inequality of conditions between the rich and the poor, and partly, too, to proud camouflage of the misery which is beneath the surface of this show in the handsome streets and rich restaurants. There is hideous stinting and scraping of the barest necessities of life, with the hunger wolf at the doors of the small houses and in some quarters where workingwomen live in half starvation, which drains them of vitality.

This camouflage of life's luxuries has been cleverly done by the Germans, but like camouflage in war it is all sham. There is sham coffee and sham tea. Even the rich-looking pastry in the shop windows is made without fat, and with a little flour mixed with substitutes, so that it has no nourishment. In the great hotels the skill of the chefs makes poor food tasty and ekes it out. The rich middle classes can buy good food at high prices, evading the food regulations, so long as they have the money to pay, but the workingwomen and poorer middle class or professional people have to abide by their ration cards, and, as a Frenchwoman told me of her own people in the war zone, they get too much for death but not enough for life.

BRITISH CROSS THE RHINE

Cologne, Dec. 14.—This morning at 10 o'clock our cavalry passed through the streets of Cologne, crossed the Hohenzollern Bridge, and went beyond the Rhine to take possession of the bridgeheads.

For some days not many British soldiers had been seen in the City of Cologne, the troops being camped in the outskirts, and it was only yesterday afternoon that the British Governor made his entry and established his headquarters in one of the hotels which had been taken over for the purpose. Crowds of German people gathered to see the man who will control their way of life during the British occupation, and were kept back in a hollow square by their own police when the Governor's motor car drove in with an escort of lancers, while a band of Scottish pipers played a greeting.

This morning the passing of the cavalry over the Rhine was an impressive sight for all the people of Cologne, and for the British was another historical episode on the long journey of this war, which has led at last to this river flowing now behind the British lines. To the German people the Rhine is the very river of their life, and down its tide come drifting all the ghost memories of their race, and its water is sacred to them as the fount from which their national legends, their old folk songs, and the sentiment that lies deep in their hearts have come forth in abundance.

In military history the Rhine has been their last line of defense, the moat around the keep of German strength; so today when British troops rode across the bridge and passed beyond the Rhine to further outposts it was the supreme sign of victory for them and of German defeat.

They are a proud people, and they did not show by any word of rage or cry of bitterness the emotion they must have felt when the British went over the bridge. There were not large crowds about. Many of the people of Cologne did not come out to see the actual crossing, though they were in the streets through which the cavalry rode, but there

were lines of people on each side of the way and groups of them at each end of the Hohenzollern Bridge.

PLUMER AND HIS MEN

The Hohenzollern Bridge is a massive structure of the German character, with castellated towers at each end like those outside a mediaeval fortress. At the city end on pedestals below the towers are enormous equestrian figures of William I. of Prussia and his son of the House of Hohenzollern which has now fallen with a crash that has shaken off the crowns of the other German Kings.

Below one of these statues on the southern side of the bridge, General Sir Herbert Plumer, commanding the Second Army of the British armies in the field army of Flanders, which has fought so many battles since the first battle of Ypres, stood in the midst of the Generals and staff officers of his corps and divisions and brigades and received the salute of the cavalry as they rode behind the Rhine.

Hardly once during two hours did this gallant old General give his arm any rest as he stood there rigid, with his hand to his cap. It was an ordeal for any man, but Plumer, who has known the sacrifice of his men through bloody years, saluted each of them today, Colonel or Corporal, or trooper, horse gunner, bugler, or signaler, with all the honor he could give them on this last ride to their journey's end. It was a picture which belongs to history.

LANCERS AND HUSSARS

A guard of honor of Lancers, with red and white pennons at their lance tips, was on one side of the bridge below the statue of William I., sitting there motionless, as though also made of bronze, like that great horseman, except when their beautiful animals pawed the ground and tossed their heads. A band was close to the army commander's place, and when he came it played the old tune of "Rule, Britannia," and then when the cavalry passed led the song of "The Long, Long Trail."

There were Lancers in the first escort squadron, and the officers rode with drawn swords, and as they came near to the saluting base turned in their saddles and shouted in the high, long-drawn voice of the cavalry command, "Carry swords," and then to the escort squadron, "Eyes right," and every trooper turned his head sideways, so that there was a gleam of steel helmets down the lines with that fine stern look of men which gives a thrill to one's spine.

Lancers and Dragoon Guards and Hussars, with their horse artillery, in which each gun was polished as a pretty toy for pageantry and not for death, they passed in a steady stream which took two hours to flow by across that bridge.

Down below on the quayside was an other procession which I happened to see when I looked over the bridge. It was headed by two German officers in full uniform, with a white flag on the front of their motor car, and behind them came a long line of other cars with the German eagle painted on the panels. They had come into Cologne under a flag of truce to deliver up the cars according to the terms of the armistice.

RIGID MARTIAL LAW

Cologne is orderly and submissive to the regulations under British authority. The people go about their way with as little notice as possible of the foreign troops in their midst, though in the cafés and restaurants one sees them stealing glances at the British officers and men who come in to listen to the music of the orchestras, which play on gayly, as though no tragic thing had come to Germany.

Martial law was declared in Cologne on Dec. 12. Contained in the list of rules are two which the residents appear to dislike particularly. One provides that all males must greet British officers and the playing of the British national anthem, civilians by removing their hats and men in uniform by the usual military salute. The other order forbids residents to leave their homes between the hours of 7 at night and 6 o'clock in the morning, with some exceptions, such as clergymen and physicians.

On the inside of the door leading into every house must be posted a list of the occupants, containing information re-

garding their ages, occupations, and other matters. No person may change residence without permission, and every inhabitant 12 years of age or over must have an identification card. All day crowds are gathered outside the shops of photographers waiting to get the pictures which must be placed on the cards. Residents having these cards may circulate freely about the city, but may not leave it without permission. It is forbidden to travel on horseback or on a bicycle, except for certain occupational reasons.

No newspapers or pamphlets may be printed or circulated without permission. Today [Dec. 12] the Cologne Gazette and other papers were not published, although they expect to resume tomorrow.

The transportation and sale of liquor, except beer and wines, are forbidden. No street assemblies will be permitted, and other assemblies must be authorized. Amusement places cannot run without authorization.

Residents must surrender all weapons and must aid the military in the pursuit of lawbreakers. There can be no telephone communication save in extreme cases, and then only with permission. The employment of wireless and pigeons is forbidden. Only limited personal or business correspondence with unoccupied Germany and foreign countries and correspondence with German prisoners are permitted. Civilians are forbidden to have cameras. The military will have the right to search men suspected of having concealed weapons or of having broken ordinances.

Field Marshal Haig has issued an order to the entire occupied territory in which he declares that the inhabitants will be protected as long as they are obedient and peaceable. The death penalty or such other punishment as may be decreed is provided if violence is done to soldiers, or the supplies or works necessary to the military operations are damaged.

Recovery of Brussels, Strasbourg, and Aix

Special correspondents of The New York Times and CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE described in moving terms the formal occupation of historic Belgian and French cities on the way to the Rhine. Walter Duranty cabled from Brussels on Nov. 22:

"Just one hour ago King Albert halted his white horse at the Flanders Gate of his capital city of Brussels, and Burgomaster Max stepped from the throng of Municipal Councilors to greet him. By the King's side was the Queen, a slender figure in a fawn-colored riding habit, with a close-fitting fur toque. During the Burgomaster's short speech of welcome and the King's reply the Queen raised her hand from time to time, to shelter her eyes from the sun, which was dazzling in a cloudless sky, where scores of airplanes wheeled like gleaming birds.

"It was a striking picture that the soldier King made, sitting motionless on his horse, in the uniform of a General, with a khaki helmet. He wore two rows of ribbons, including that of the French Legion of Honor, Military Medal, and War Cross. Not a word could be heard on account of the thunderous roar of the multitude, which never ceased for a moment.

"The enthusiasm of the people was delirious, indescribable. Fully a million people must have lined the route through which the procession passed. They were everywhere—on the housetops or perched on ledges from the first story to the fourth, attached by ropes to windows. Each lamppost bore two or three, and on a telegraph pole at the Flanders Gate there was a boy hanging insecurely by his sash who somehow managed to wave and cheer without breaking his neck.

"Although his words were lost, the King's face showed deep emotion as he replied to the Burgomaster, and twice he gestured strongly with his right hand. Two paces behind him was Prince Albert of England in the uniform of the Royal Air Force, with the Belgian Princes and the Princess just beyond. In the grand stand to the rear of the Burgomaster

stood a number of American and British officers, including General Farnsworth, commander in Flanders, whom I saw chatting with the Burgomaster a few minutes before the arrival of the royal party.

"When the short ceremony was ended the King and Queen wheeled their horses to greet a party of allied Generals on horseback. Then, as the procession moved forward, it seemed that the noise increased, if that were possible, and so King Albert entered Brussels, riding along a narrow street where flags made an avenue of color before him and flowers fell about him in a bright rain. The Belgian Princes and their sister rode abreast, Leopold in the centre, a slim boy in the plain khaki of the Belgian poilu. On his right was Charles, a stocky youngster, in the uniform of an English naval cadet. Princess Marie José was on the right, a smiling child in a gray dress, with her golden hair in fuzzy plaits beside each ear. As she passed a youth on a telegraph pole she laughed and waved to him. The crowd yelled delightedly, and the youth responded with such energy that nothing but a miracle averted a fall."

STRASBOURG FRENCH AGAIN

The entry of the French into Strasbourg was described by Walter Duranty on Nov. 25:

"If there was any doubt as to the genuineness of the rejoicing in Alsace over the prospect of being French again it would have been dispelled by the enthusiasm of the reception given Marshal Pétain, attended by Generals Fayolle and Gouraud, as he drove through Strasbourg today followed by the flower of the French Army.

"I watched the procession pass through the square of the eleventh century cathedral that had witnessed the triumphal entry of Louis XIV. After the Generals in automobiles came picked battalions of the Colonial Army, led by zouaves with red shoulder straps, flanked on either side by a long file of girls in bright-colored Alsatian costumes. Then came a little band of veterans of 1870.

"I talked with one afterward, a man of 76, whose limp is a memory of a bullet wound received at Mars-la-Tour. He was almost overcome with emotion in his gratitude to heaven that he had lived to see the day when French soldiers again marched through the City of Strasbourg. For that was characteristic of the ceremony. It was the pageant and triumph of the French Army, an astounding demonstration of the military power that had borne the brunt of the war throughout, had upheld the Allies in defeat, and had had the lion's share in the final campaign to victory. In Brussels it was the fête of King Albert; in Strasbourg it was the poilus' triumph."

George H. Perris gave this further word picture on Nov. 26:

"Three halts were made in the procession through the city, first in the Kleberplatz, where the troops presented arms before the statue of Marshal Kleber, an Alsatian who was one of Napoleon's most spirited lieutenants; second, in Town Hall Square, where the flags were ceremoniously saluted, and last in the Kaiserplatz, before the local palace of the lamented Emperor. At each of these points the masses of inhabitants and country folk had gathered during the forenoon, and the surrounding buildings, substantial structures in red sandstone, fine shops and charming old houses, with steep dormer-windowed roofs, were full of happy faces laughing through waving fields of tricolor flags.

"In Kleber Square many of the musical and sporting societies by which Alsatian patriotism has been secretly sustained during the German domination were in evidence by their bands and banners, some of these drawn from their hiding places for the first time in forty-eight years. Everywhere the holiday dress of Alsatian girls splashed the scene with jolly waves of color.

"I have often testified to the genius of our French friends for the organization of great public spectacles. Today's was in every way worthy of the occasion. More can hardly be said. Not the least was the pertinent note of mordant wit which flavored its pathos and magnificence. A less bold artist in open-air staging would not have ventured to choose for his final scene the Kaiserplatz

and the steps of the recently imperial palace. It recalls the famous witticism about the Holy Roman Empire—that it was neither holy nor Roman. So the vulgar barrack is neither imperial nor palatial in any sense but that of the modern boche railway station.

"Four pseudo-mediaeval heralds of giant size hold the tricolor now floating from the roof. The German eagle still screams from the stone plinth above the outer staircase. The Hohenzollern arms have not been removed, and it was under these symbols of dead imposture that the heroic poilus of republican France and their chiefs today received their reward in the plaudits of one of the lands they have delivered.

"Pétain, with Castelnau, Fayolle, and Maistre, all three commanders of groups of armies; Humbert, Buat and other Generals and several hundred staff officers, were at the foot of the steps and on either side for the march past. Gouraud, the 'Lame Lion of Africa,' faced them on the other side of the roadway, an immobile figure of almost tragic gravity. Behind him a vast crowd swayed and cheered the passing groups of chasseurs, zouaves, tankmen, tirailleurs, pioneers, machine gunners, artillerymen, and dragoons."

IN AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

The Belgian Army's entry into Germany at Aix-la-Chapelle was depicted by Philip Gibbs as follows, under date of Dec. 3:

"I went this morning to Aix-la-Chapelle, (Aachen, as it is called in German,) and saw the entry of the Belgian Army of occupation. They came with bugles playing, and their officers rode with drawn swords, and the men marched through at a quick pace with their colors flying. One German boy failed to take off his hat to the colors, and a Belgian soldier plucked it off and said: 'Salute the Belgian flag.' On the walls were the posters which have turned the tables on the Germans, point by point, as they had ruled in the Belgian towns. All hats are to be taken off when Belgian officers pass.

"The people of Aachen knew the meaning of defeat when they saw the Belgians enter their city. They knew that those men were their masters who would order their way of life and have them at their mercy. I think they were afraid; but they lined up in the streets to watch the passing of the troops and were calm and put a good face upon this tragedy of theirs.

"I saw one girl close to me weeping. One by one the tears swelled into her eyes and fell as she stared, quite motionless. But I saw no other tears. Some of these German women found it in their hearts to smile, and others had proud faces which did not show any emotion of hostility or sorrow.

"The Belgian bugles blew through the streets of Aachen, and afterward the people went about their business as though nothing new had befallen them. I went to the old cathedral and found many people praying there under the arches and between the pillars which were built one thousand and one hundred years ago by Charlemagne, whose body lay there, and whose throne, looking down upon the high altar, is still there, as when the Emperor of the Franks sat there and plucked his flaxen beard and saw the Spirit of God somehow above all the welter of barbaric peoples who had been subdued to his sword. The German people were praying, I think, for peace today, and their heads were bowed.

"The rules promulgated Dec. 6 provide that nobody may enter or leave the town without passports. They prohibit all meetings or assemblies and close all theatres and moving-picture shows. Cafés and restaurants are permitted to remain open between 11 A. M. and 2 P. M. and between 5 P. M. and 8 P. M., Belgian time. The rules require also that all arms and military material must be surrendered. No German soldier is permitted to appear in uniform without permission of the Armistice Commission. The men generally are polite to the invaders, but it remains to the women to send bitter glances of hatred in the direction of the troops of occupation."

Surrender of the German Fleet

Described by an Eyewitness

A special correspondent on board the United States warship Florida, accompanying the British Grand Fleet in the Firth of Forth, Nov. 21, 1918, wrote for The New York Times and for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *this vivid description of the historic spectacle presented during the surrender of the German High Seas Fleet:*

IN the bright sunlight this afternoon nine German battleships, five battle cruisers, and seven light cruisers steamed into the Firth of Forth and gave themselves up for internment. They were led by a tiny British cruiser, and as they passed between the long lines of British and American battleships, the very perfection of their steaming and accuracy of their handling seemed to accentuate their humiliation.

How completely the menace which has hung like a cloud over the Allies was dissipated today is shown by the roll of vessels given up. Chief of the battleship squadron, which was commanded by Rear Admiral von Reuter, was the new Bayern, of 28,000 tons and carrying eight 15-inch guns. Then came the Grosser Kurfürst, the Markgraf, and the Kronprinz, each of 25,390 tons, and with ten 12-inch guns, and lastly the Friedrich der Grosse, König Albert, Prinzregent Luitpold, Kaiser, and Kaiserin, each of 24,310 tons and ten 12-inch guns.

Commodore Tagert commanded the five battle cruisers, the Derfflinger and Hindenburg, each of 26,180 tons, with eight 12-inch guns; the Seidlitz, 24,610 tons, with ten 11-inch guns; the Moltke, of 22,640 tons and same armament, and the Von der Tann, of 19,100 tons and eight 11-inch guns. The light cruisers brought in today under Commodore Harder included the Karlsruhe, Nurnberg, Koeln, Frankfurt, Brummer, Bremse and Emden In addition there were fifty destroyers. All these are now at anchor under the guns of the Grand Fleet in British waters.

The program for the surrender was absolutely simple. The Germans had expressed a willingness to give themselves up, and there was nothing for them to do but to come on their last cruise across the North Sea.

Last Monday [Nov. 18] the Germans, in accordance with orders from Admiral Beatty, put out to sea, with magazines empty, their guns secured amidships, and only navigating and engineering crews aboard. The British and American fleets were in parade order to receive a visit from King George. On Wednesday the King, accompanied by the Prince of Wales, in the destroyer Oak, steamed along miles of water between the great fighting ships. He was received formally on the American flagship New York in the afternoon by Admirals Sims and Rodman and Captain Beach, and he met the commanding officers of the other dreadnoughts—Florida, Arkansas, Wyoming, and Texas. But there were two noteworthy incidents connected with that visit. As the King stepped upon the deck of the New York, for the first time since the Revolution the British royal standard was broken out at the mainmast of an American warship in honor of the King of England, and before he left he made an interesting suggestion to Admiral Rodman. He said he would like to see certain British ships cross the Atlantic each year to take part in American manoeuvres, and American vessels in British waters at work with the British fleet. Thus, he thought, an understanding between the two great naval forces might be perpetuated.

Meanwhile, as the King spoke of his plans for peace, half a mile away was a reminder that the war was not yet over. As he shook hands with the American officers, out of the mists above the Forth Bridge came a long line of low, gray war vessels. They paid no atten-

WHERE THE GERMAN WAR SHIPS AND SUBMARINES ARE INTERNED

tion to the battleships, with their cheering crews. They paused not to salute the flag. Quietly they kept on their way. As they swung a little to northward toward the sea, another division of them slid silently up, and before these grew dim in the dusk yet another half dozen hove into sight. They were destroyers, the eyes and ears of the British fleet, and they were already putting out to meet the Germans. Since a little before noon they had begun to get under way, and from then until well after dark division after division of them kept slipping by. As they went, every one of them was as ready for action as though the armistice had not been signed and U-boats lurked beneath the surface of the sea.

BEATTY TOOK NO CHANCES

Admiral Beatty was taking no chances. He knew it would have been suicide for the Germans to attempt resistance at the last moment, but are there no moments when brave men may prefer death to dishonor? So, as the British and American fleets prepared to receive the surrender, they were also prepared for action. Their decks were stripped, their battle flags were hoisted, ammunition for the big guns was in the turrets, and every officer and man was ready.

The plan was that the Germans should reach the rendezvous, sixty miles out, at 8 o'clock in the morning. All but their destroyers were to form in a long column headed by the British light cruiser Cardiff. First came the battle cruisers, then the battleships, three cables apart, then after a gap of three miles the light cruisers at the same interval, and last, three miles astern, the destroyers in groups of five. The Cardiff was to regulate their movements, and get, if possible, twelve knots out of them. All their big guns were to be trained inboard. Meanwhile on either side of their course, the Grand Fleet was to stand out and meet them in two long columns. Light cruisers were to lead the van, and behind them were the battleships, and behind these again other battle cruisers and light cruisers. Two great columns, each at least twenty miles long, were thus to be formed, and between them, under constant surveillance all the way, the German ships were to sail.

There was to be no communication between them and the Allies. They were to be left completely alone, and had only to obey signals and take up the anchorage assigned to them.

Long before dawn this morning the Grand Fleet got under way to go down to the appointed place. Thirty-three battleships, nine battle cruisers, five cruisers, and thirty-one light cruisers were to take part in the great triumph, and it takes a long time to move a mighty fleet like that in single file. It was a wonderful sight to watch them slip away in the small hours of the morning. There was a full moon, but the sky was overcast. For over six hours the British and American ships were picking their way down the Firth and manoeuvring to assume the two-column formation. From time to time through the air came signals from the Germans, announcing exactly where they were and what progress they were making.

At 8:18 o'clock the German commander reported he could not make the twelve knots required, but only ten. Everything was going well, but it was not until 9:15 that the Germans were first made out from the Grand Fleet. They were holding strictly to their course and steaming steadily ahead in excellent order, but from the northern column, at any rate looking into the sun and across the mists, they seemed very ghosts of a fighting force. They were dim and shadowy and were barely discernible against the gray sea. Above them floated a British observation balloon and a dirigible, but they made no signals and paid no attention to any one.

MET THEIR OLD RIVALS

After they had passed the cruiser they met the famous fifth british battle squadron which once before had come across them and left its mark upon them. There were the Barham, Valiant, Warspite, and the Malaya, ships which rushed at the battle of Jutland to the rescue of the battle cruisers. Then they were sheathed in smoke and fire; today they stood out in the sunlight glistening as if with silver, and gay with signaling flags—sturdy and solid looking craft they were. Then next behind them came five tall ships from across the Atlantic, with Stars and Stripes floating proudly from each of their masts and flaunting as well from the latticework of their mainmasts. If the Germans used their glasses they must have seen their decks almost bare of figures, but their fighting tops crowded with them at their stations and their big guns ready to be swung round at a second's notice.

To the trained sailor's eye they represented warships ready for instantaneous battle.

"It is the proudest moment in my life," said an American officer as he looked through the mist at the German fleet slinking into inglorious safety, and again at the line of American ships keeping perfect distance and direction as they followed the flagship New York.

But even when these two powerful squadrons had gone by, the Germans had still to pass the nine battleships of the second battle squadron, Admiral Beatty's flagship, the Queen Elizabeth, and four ships of the first battle cruiser squadron and the Lion, as well as the fourth light cruiser squadron. Moreover, what the Germans saw on their starboard bow clearly enough in the sun, they knew was repeated on their other quarter, even though it was shadowed by the mists. They were steaming between two mighty fleets, which could blow them out of the water in five minutes. And it was of their own volition. This is what the ceremony of today seemed especially designed to bring out—that the surrender of the German fleet was a voluntary act on their part, and that there was no reason why they should have done it if they had not been afraid to fight. After a time the British columns turned and accompanied their prisoners back, each separate squadron wheeling out of line and back again so as to reverse the order of the whole array without altering that of each unit. But through it all the Germans kept plodding on. No one apparently gave them orders; no one coerced them; they were self-confessed in defeat and fleeing to safety while there was yet time.

The ceremony was almost terribly impersonal, so ostentatiously did the Grand Fleet keep its hands off its prisoners. It

had been at grips with the Germans before, and now it was content to let them pass and leave them alone.

As the Germans drew nearer their anchorage the humiliating nature of their plight must have come home still more sharply to them. As it chanced, it was necessary for the three lines of vessels to come closer together. The north and south columns of the Grand Fleet sheered in toward the German, and it seemed as though it was merely one division of a mighty fighting force.

STILL FLEW BATTLE FLAGS

The German ships were still flying their battle flags. Their guns ran out stiffly from their turrets, and their low silhouettes showed how skillfully they had been designed as war machines.

They were keeping a beautiful formation as regards distance, and there was nothing to suggest what they were, yet every mile was bringing them nearer hopeless and prolonged captivity, and all their professional skill served only to aid their enemies in putting them easily into confinement. So as they reached their anchorage in the Firth, some miles below the Forth Bridge, in obedience to orders from the British, they split up into several lines and came to a halt. There they lay, motionless and harmless, and the British and American victors swept by, leaving them to the care of guardships. This afternoon Sir David Beatty sent to Admiral von Reuter this order:

"The German flag is to be hauled down at 5:57 today, (that is, sundown.) It is not to be hoisted again without permission."

Before many days the German ships will be moved under close guard in small detachments to that delightful Winter resort, Skapa Flow, in the bleak Orkneys, where they will be able to meditate for weeks and months on what British and American seamen dared to endure to cut their claws.

Executing the Armistice

Time Prolonged a Month

THE Germans complied with the armistice terms in the main in good faith, notwithstanding the revolutionary agitation, but certain conditions were impossible of fulfillment within the time limit. On Dec. 14 the following amendment to the armistice was signed in Marshal Foch's headquarters at Trèves:

First—The duration of the treaty of armistice concluded on Nov. 11 is prolonged one month, until the 17th day of January, 1919, at 5 o'clock in the morning. This extension of a month will be extended until the conclusion of preliminaries to peace, subject to the consent of the allied Governments.

Second—The execution of the conditions of the agreement of Nov. 11, such as are not completely fulfilled, will be followed and completed in the period of the extension of the armistice after regulations fixed by the International Armistice Committee according to instructions of the Allied High Command.

Third—The following conditions will be added to the agreement of Nov. 11: "The Allied High Command reserves the right to begin meanwhile, if it thinks it wise in order to assure new guarantees, to occupy the neutral zone on the right bank of the Rhine to the north of the bridgehead of Cologne, up to the Dutch frontier. This occupation will be announced by the Allied High Command by giving six days' notice."

In the interim between the signing on Nov. 11 and the prolongation on Dec. 14 the International Armistice Commission was in daily session at Spa in Belgium. The conferences were held at the border in the former seat of the Great German Headquarters, and were attended by representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany. The utmost formality marked the proceedings.

The commission began its sittings Nov. 12, 1918. At that time the enemy was still occupying Spa. In the succeeding days long lines of hurrying and disor-

ganized German traffic and troops sped eastward through the watering place. There remained something more than a hundred German officers and men in the place under the orders of General von Winterfeldt, who represented the German Government.

Among the Entente representatives were Major Gen. Charles D. Rhodes and staff, for the United States; Major Gen. Sir Richard C. Haking and staff, for Great Britain, and General Nudant and staff for France. Major Gen. Rhodes occupied the villa Sous-Bois, which had been Field Marshal von Hindenburg's headquarters.

The conferences were held in the grand salon of the Hotel Britannique, which was part of Great Headquarters, and in which the Emperor took his final resolve to quit Germany.

The German sentry at the entrance of the hotel would click his heels sharply as the delegates entered or other officers passed. The sittings began at 10 o'clock daily. Prior to that hour the German delegates took their places at a huge table and received the allied officers standing. The latter walked silently to their chairs, where each delegate bowed profoundly to the man opposite before sitting down. There were no words of greeting, no pleasantries exchanged, and the business of the day was conducted throughout with the same grim precision.

So far as reported, there was no friction and no evidence that the Germans were evading the terms. There were frequent notes sent by cable to the United States by the German Foreign Secretary, Dr. W. S. Solf, protesting against certain features and asking modifications and revisions; all were referred to the allied High Command, but the cable petitions continued to come with such frequency that the United States Government at length requested the German authorities to address their communications to the allied council. No modifications of any sort were made.

The Germans complied to the letter in the surrender of the stipulated number of war vessels and gave up every submarine afloat, the total number reaching 122. These vessels were interned at Harwich, England. The delivery of airplanes was made by piecemeal, as it was found impossible to assemble 2,000 airplanes at one place. The delivery of locomotives and cars was delayed on account of difficulties in transport, but toward the end of the thirty days of the armistice there was a readier compliance with this demand.

Mine sweepers left the Firth of Forth Nov. 22 for Kiel and Wilhelmshaven to clear the channels and disarm the remnants of the German Navy. On Dec. 3 a British fleet arrived at the port of Libau in Courland, on the Baltic, and the entire Baltic littoral came under control of the Allies. A Paris dispatch dated Dec. 4 stated that the Germans had begun financial restitution, and on that day had delivered to the Allies 300,000,000 francs in gold, which had come from the Russian Treasury. It was also reported that the French had recovered valuable etchings and Watteau paintings which had been taken from the museum at Valenciennes.

An incident with relation to the surrender of the German fleet was made public Nov. 28. Admiral von Reuter, Commander of the German fleet, which surrendered on Nov. 21, had protested against the order of Admiral Sir David Beatty of the British fleet, directing that the German flag be hauled down. He protested that internment in a British harbor was, under the terms of the armistice, equivalent to internment in a neutral port, where, in accordance with precedent, flags are allowed to remain hoisted. He added:

"I esteem it unjustifiable and contrary to international custom to order the striking of the flag on German ships. Moreover, in my opinion, the order to strike the flag was not in keeping with the idea of chivalry between two honorable opponents."

Admiral Beatty, calling attention to the fact that the armistice merely suspended hostilities, and that a state of war still existed between Germany and the Allies, replied:

"Under the circumstances, no enemy vessel can be permitted to fly its national ensign in British ports while under custody."

The German Armistice Delegates

French Soldiers' Attitude Toward Them

A correspondent of The London Post, who was at Guise on the night of Nov. 11, 1918, saw the German Delegates as they were departing from the Armistice Conference, on their way back to their own country. He describes the attitude of the French soldiers toward their foes as follows:

THE roads were a mass of mud, motor cars of all sorts were ranged by the side of the main street, and the German plenipotentiaries were temporarily halted because of a breakdown to a motor lorry in the road in front of them. There were seven cars in all, two of them belonging to French Headquarters and five being German. The plenipotentiaries must have halted for nearly half an hour, and certain members of the junior staff attached to them got down while the details of a fresh route to be followed were discussed by them with the French officers by whom they were being escorted.

The senior members remained in the cars, invisible in darkness. Those we saw were of the typical officer class, clean-shaven and almost aggressively self-contained. For the most part they were silent, but occasionally they talked in low tones. On the pavement by the houses there was a continual movement of French soldiers. No guard was round the cars, for any sort of guard was entirely unnecessary. There was not a single individual among the two or three hundred men present who even moved forward to catch a glimpse of the mission. There was no question as to any one doubting their identity, for the cars bore on their panels the crest of the Black Eagle.

The demeanor of the French soldier was typical of the high standard of courtesy set by Marshal Foch. Both army and nation realized that with Marshal Foch in command the terms of the armistice were in absolutely safe hands, as he had abundantly shown that he had taken to the full such measures as the situation required. He insisted, however, that every detail of the transaction should be conducted in absolute privacy, and there was not present at the historic meeting a single representative of the French or allied press. In the same way the French soldier who has proved his capacity as an enemy of the German showed last night instinctively a chivalrous courtesy to his beaten adversary, and the army authorities knew that they could trust implicitly in the conduct of the men under their command.

The Captain in command at the advance post near Chimoy, on the route taken by the plenipotentiaries when they came to request the terms of an armistice, described their approach as follows:

I had been warned that it was possible an envoy might arrive and that fire had ceased in the sector. At about 3 o'clock in the afternoon a German Lieutenant appeared, magnificently turned out and magnificently mounted, with an escort of two. I met him about a hundred yards in front of our lines and he wished me to go back with him to meet the plenipotentiaries. I told him I could not leave my command, and at first there was some demur, the idea of those with him being that a French officer should accompany the plenipotentiaries from the other side of the line. I assured him there would be no firing in the sector, that the plenipotentiaries could cross the line in safety, and that I would receive them at my post of command. "This gentleman is an officer," he said to the men with him, "and as an officer I can accept and trust his word." Five o'clock was the time fixed for the arrival of the delegates, but at that hour no one arrived, the mission, as is known, actually making their appearance considerably later in the evening, when they at once proceeded on their way.

A member of the German Armistice Delegation communicated to the Vossische Zeitung the following account of the

meeting with Marshal Foch and the allied delegates:

When on Nov. 5 we left Spa in motor cars and reached the French lines we found enemy carriages already waiting to take us to the unknown scene of negotiations. This motor tour with the French officers lasted ten hours, and it appears likely was intentionally prolonged in order to drive us all over the devastated province and prepare us by what we saw for what was shortly to be put before us in the way of hatred and revenge in the extremely severe armistice conditions. Now and again a Frenchman pointed silently to heaps of ruins, or mentioned a name, "Voilà St. Quentin." In the evening, wherever it was, a train stood ready for us. The windows of the carriages were curtained, and when we awoke next morning the train stood in the midst of a wood.

We know now that the negotiations took place in the forest of Compiègne, but a week ago we knew nothing. Perhaps it was a measure of precaution, even for our sakes, that we were taken through no town. Perhaps acts of violence were feared on the part of the population, for the hatred for us among them is boundless. The wood was evidently barred by troops to all comers. There were no houses and no tents. On the railway line stood two trains, one occupied by Marshal Foch and his people, the other by ours. Here for three days we lived, worked, and deliberated. This seems to be the modern form of such negotiations. The castles and fortresses of olden times have gone, even for such purposes. The train with its sleeping, drawing-room, and dining cars was very comfortable, and we were provided with everything we wanted. The officer who had charge of the train had us supplied, and the conduct of the numerous guards who stood around was beyond reproach.

But all the hostility and the fullness of hate for our country that seems now to be cherished in France came to expression in the form of the negotiations, as well as in the terrible nature of the conditions. Those of use who were soldiers wore uniforms and the Iron Cross. The introduction to the half-dozen French officers who conducted the negotiations with us "in plenum" and the greetings were of the coldest. Foch, who showed himself only twice—at the opening and at the end—gave us no word of the particular politeness that in earlier times distinguished the most chivalrous nation in the world, and his officers just as little. He received us with the words, "Qu'est ce que vous désirez, messieurs?" and invited us into his business car, furnished with tables and maps. As each was to speak his own language and everything was translated, the reading of the conditions alone occupied nearly two hours. It was moreover a discovery when Foch answered that there were to be no negotiations, and only dictated matter. Altogether, with all his coldness, he was by no means so tactless and brusque as was General d'Esperey at Belgrade.

Then we retired to our train, which stood on the other line. As we had been sent by the old Government, and had certainly not been authorized to sign everything without conditions, we proceeded, at the instance of Erzberger, to divide the various points under three heads, military, naval, and diplomatic, and discussed them separately with the members of the enemy commissions, which consisted only of officers. Military Germany thus, with two civilians, stood face to face with now completely militarized France. The enemy maintained, in the persons of all his representatives, the same objective; their coldness was mitigated by no single word that bordered upon the human, as had marked our reception by the Marshal. The English Admiral adopted the tone of the French, and only from Foch's Chief of the General Staff, who bore the Alsatian name of Weygand, did we perhaps receive any greater politeness.

During our two days' proceedings there was really no negotiation, and we could only try to obtain concessions on various conditions. For when the enemy demanded delivery of 160 U-boats we could only point out the technical impossibility, as we had not 160 to give. This demand had to be changed into the formula, "all U-boats." The chief point was that of food, and of this we were in

a certain measure able to obtain assurance. In the meantime, in this lonely wood, with its two railway trains, we were cut off from all intercourse with the outside world. Foch himself went off twice to Paris, and couriers were able in two hours to arrive with the papers. Thus it was possible for the enemy on Sunday, early, to hand us the Paris newspapers with the abdication of the Kaiser. We read no laughter, no triumph, in their faces, but we saw in their hearts that our work was not interrupted. Immediately before the close of the second and last plenary sitting we placed before the enemy in the German language our protest against the treaty, but in the end we had to sign.

Sufferings of Ostend Under German Occupation

Ostend, the famous Belgian Summer resort, after enduring four years of German occupation, was evacuated late in October, 1918. A tragic episode of the day of the German withdrawal was the killing of three little children by booby traps. A correspondent, who visited the evacuated city on Oct. 24, gave the following account:

THE city is like a place awakening from a deep sleep. Hotels and shops and houses are barred and shuttered. Their tenants have lived in England, or Holland, or France since 1914. Grass is growing in the cobbled streets; the only traffic to pass is an occasional car or a tiny dog-drawn cart. Twenty-seven thousand people are living in the town. The Germans cut off the gas, electricity, and water the day they left.

The Sheriff and Burgomaster of the city, M. Auguste Liebaert, described the occupation as follows: "We had to execute the orders the Germans gave us. All that they demanded had to be done, and I acted so that I got into no disputes with them, and the town also was kept out of trouble. So far as administration is concerned, things went along smoothly. We paid no fines. Once when the Germans said that a pigeon had been shot down carrying a message from Ostend over the lines a fine of 1,250,000 francs was imposed, but at the end of two months we got it remitted."

There were many requisitions. First the wine was seized, then the wool and linen, then the copper and brass. Mattresses were taken even from under men dying in hospital. Hotels were stripped of sheets, tablecloths, and other articles. Bicycles and motor cars had to be surrendered for one-tenth of their value. With regard to the collection of brass and copper, I saw people fishing in a dock basin to recover a parcel of things dropped into the water many months ago to keep them from falling into enemy hands. The church bells and the Ostend carillon were all commandeered. There was no general robbery of *objets d'art*, but houses and hotels abandoned during the flight of the population four years ago have been thoroughly pillaged. Forced labor was general. Belgians were often set to work in places exposed to bombardments, and a number of men were injured at different times. Men who would not work were put in prison or sent to the front, and food was refused to their wives. In this harsh way obedience could be compelled. On one occasion the town was ordered to provide forty men for work connected with the construction of an aerodrome. The draft failed to appear at the stated time, and the civil authorities were notified that a fine of 300 marks would be levied for each hour which passed before the labor was provided. Eventually the men were obtained, and again a remission of the fine was secured.

When the Germans came into the town they seized the municipal funds, but three years later these were restored, apparently without explanation. Currency has been almost entirely in paper, and instead of using German money the

Ostend people had a note issue of their own. This reached $8,000,000.

The distribution of food through the commission was in very limited quantities. Once a fortnight each member of a household received 150 grammes (5½ ounces) of flaked corn, 50 grammes of dried peas, 500 grammes of beans, 150 grammes of fat bacon, and 400 grammes of lard or some other fat. There was also a packet of matches for each family, and occasionally a ration of salt. Every six months a household received a piece of leather for soling boots, Bread, made from a mixed meal of barley, peas, beans, and other things, coarse and unpalatable, should have been shared out on a basis of 300 grammes a day, but the ration often could not be obtained. For food and clothing other than that provided by the Relief Commission extravagant prices were demanded. The following prices prevailed:

	Per Pound.		Per Pound.
Meat	$1.90	Tobacco	$3.00
Barley	.40	Rabbits, each	5.00
Coffee	5.00	Soap, a bar	2.60
Tea	9.00	Suit of clothes	100.00
Butter	6.00	Boots	50.00
Lard	2.50	Hat	10.00
Eggs, each	.25		

Sub-Lieutenant von Beker, the Juge d'Instruction, was especially hated. A familiar practice with this officer was to act both as policeman and Magistrate. He made arrests and the next day imposed the fines. Other Germans who aroused the hatred of the people were Captain Hintze, "a foul brute." He heard that a woman had bought a piano so that her daughter could earn something by giving lessons. Hintze said he wanted the instrument, and when the woman protested he sentenced her to six months' imprisonment and moved the piano away. One of the Judges who condemned Captain Fryatt, a man named Zeppfel, afterward became a military Judge at Ostend. The most recent commandant of the town, Captain Fischer of the German Navy, seems to have been of a better type.

Instances of savage punishment of individuals and of brutality could be described until columns were filled. What happened at Lille in the way of disgusting medical examinations of respectable women and girls was repeated at Ostend in a more limited form. Any girl denounced secretly to the German authorities through spite, or who was supposed to have spoken to a soldier, had to submit to the ordeal, and it often happened that perfectly innocent women were made victims of the system. On Aug. 18 of this year two British airmen, whose names are said to be Ingram and Wyncourt, came down near the town and were taken prisoner. As they were being marched through the streets a Belgian took off his hat to them. The Germans fined him 1,000 francs and sent him to prison for a fortnight. The man told me the story himself this morning. At the Hotel de la Courronne the proprietor was fined heavily when one German stole another German's baggage. A girl servant in the hotel said that her 70-year-old father lived near Dixmude all alone. He had become frail, but permission was refused either for the girl to join the father or for the father to come to Ostend. The man died without the girl seeing him. "L'Allemand est sans coeur," she exclaimed bitterly to me, and in that cry she summed up Ostend's opinion of the boche soldier, and more particularly the boche officer.

Twice during the occupation the Kaiser visited Ostend. On each occasion the people of the town were strictly forbidden to leave their houses, and nobody saw the supreme War Lord.

Bruges Under the Yoke

By HUMPHREY PAGE*

AT the first entrance of the enemy billeting was general throughout Bruges, but at this time our house happily escaped, the Germans having promised that none should be quartered, against the owner's will, in a house occupied by the owner himself.

For the first year we were left in comparative peace, though always liable to the visits of officers in search of pleasant quarters, who frequently demanded to be shown all over the house, even insisting upon a visit to the garden. In January, 1916, an officer called and asked, as usual, to be shown over the house. As my wife was ill, and I happened to be out, the servant, knowing the promise not to billet in any house occupied by the proprietor against his wish, explained that I was absent, that her mistress was indisposed, that the place was our own, and that we did not receive lodgers, and with some difficulty induced him to depart. Two days later I was surprised by a visit from the Platz Major Loos, accompanied by his subordinate, who informed me that I was condemned to receive into my house two officers, a bureau, and ten men, in punishment "for impoliteness to a German officer." My wife was seriously ill at the time, as Loos could plainly see when he ran across her while inspecting the different rooms. But he was absolutely implacable, telling me to prepare immediately for the reception of the men, although I protested that I had never even seen the officer to whom I was said to have been impolite.

On Jan. 27 we received a billeting order for one officer and one orderly, who were to arrive during the night, and had scarcely time to congratulate ourselves that it was no worse, when another order was brought for a second officer and a second man, also to arrive during the night. The two orderlies' luggage arrived in the early afternoon, and after arranging their own room and preparing those of their masters they went off with the house key, saying they would return at midnight. At 2 A. M. we were aroused by their entrance with their officers, Ober-Lieut. Schäfer and Lieut. Schumann, both of the 10th Company, 2d M. I. R. (Marine Infantry). I got up to see what was going on, and told them that if there was anything further required I would attend to it in the morning, and upon Shäfer demanding a fire at once in his room I answered that we had received no directions to have fires lighted, and there was no one to make them at that time of night, and so left him.

Scarcely had we finished breakfast next morning when in walked Schumann and peremptorily desired that a "room already warmed" might instantly be placed at his disposal for their coffee. My wife explained that the breakfast room was the only one in which there was a fire burning, and was reserved for our own use, their rooms having already been selected by the Platz Major, who had also given us to understand that meals would be taken in the casino, and added, "If you persist in taking this room you practically oblige us to go into the kitchen." He answered rudely, "Ca ne me regarde pas," and immediately called the orderlies to prepare their breakfast. While they were taking their meal, I went to consult the town authorities. During my absence, Schumann ordered my wife, in presence of Shäfer and two other officers of the regiment, to show him over the whole house in order that he might select other rooms for himself. "Wait at least till my husband's return, as I am not very strong," she answered, but he only replied, "If you don't show them at once I will break them open with a hammer." Of course, she could only comply.

[Details are given of other insults offered the householder by officers who were billeted on him, two of whom insisted that their dogs be quartered in their rooms with them; both became

*Mr. Page is an elderly English gentleman who remained at Bruges during the four years of German occupation.

beastly drunk every night. Mr. Page continues:]

A flagrant violation of the German promise, as of all laws and conventions, was shown in the wholesale seizure of Belgian workmen, who were compelled either to serve on military works or else transported into Germany. On a protest being made, the excuse was that it was for the general good of Belgium, since nothing was more dangerous to the peace of the community than having a number of idle unoccupied men, who would naturally make their living by crime. The excuse that only the unemployed were taken was an absolute lie. Even skilled artisans, carvers, cabinetmakers and the like, men earning high wages, were sent to do rough work in the fields and trenches.

The Germans began by ordering men to appear on one or the other pretext, and then seizing them in full daylight; but as this led to great disturbance and many accidents, ended by taking them in the early hours of the morning, in many instances the bayonet being playfully employed to help them out of bed. Our cook told us of a very brutal case which had happened near our own house. A poor man whose wife had just died, leaving him with five or six young children, was dragged out of bed and told to go; when he protested and asked what was to become of his children, the only answer he received was: "Let the neighbors look after them."

In the Winter of 1916-17 the Germans, not content with quartering officers and men on the inhabitants, began to take entire possession of some of the largest houses, turning the occupants into the streets, even when the owners themselves were in occupation; this in direct violation of their promises. I hoped that we were safe, as our house had not a great number of bedrooms, but we were among the first to suffer, and in the afternoon of Feb. 19 a Belgian police agent arrived with an order from the Kommandantur of which the following is a translation:

Bruges. To the Belgian Police.
Kommandantur, 19.2.17.

The house at No. 20, St. Georges-street, is hereby seized. The occupiers must vacate the house before 6 P. M. on the 24th, and the keys must be handed over to the guard.

Nothing must be taken out of the house but clothes and body linen.

(Signed) FREIHERR VON BUTTLAR.

Scarcely had I finished reading it when three naval officers arrived to inspect the house, and I pointed out the special hardship of the order in our case as we had not, like the Belgians in similar circumstances, any relations in the town to give us house room, neither had we money, nor means of obtaining any.

Immediately as they left the house four sentries arrived and at once installed themselves in my best drawing room, gathering together all the rugs and cushions they could find to sleep on, and lighting the log gas-fire which continued to burn night and day till we left. As I stood watching them one of the brutes, a great burly fellow, jumped on to a polished table with his hobnailed boots and lighted all the burners of the lustre. Not knowing what might happen next, I ran off to the Kommandantur to ask that they might be sent away at 9 P. M. until the following morning, as no civilian was allowed out of doors after that hour and it would therefore be impossible for us to remove anything during their absence; but the request was refused, and for the next five days we had them, (and their numerous friends,) running all over the parqueted floors and plush carpets in their heavy, dirty boots. As the weather happened to be particularly bad and wet, and these barbarians utterly ignored the use of mats, you may imagine our misery.

A day or two later our house was occupied by ten naval officers and their orderlies, bedroom furniture having been introduced into my wife's boudoir, the library, dining room, and small drawing room. Had the place been used like most of the other houses seized, simply for sleeping purposes, things would probably not have been so bad; but the "gentlemen" in possession began by making a messroom of the broad inclosed veranda which runs along the whole of one side of the house, breaking through one end of it to construct a short cut to the kitchen. It was large

enough to accommodate a great number of officers, and all the naval men quartered in the neighborhood messed there.

Besides private houses, a great number of religious, charitable, and educational establishments were seized, and used either as barracks, offices, or hospitals; among these were the Dames Anglaises and the hospital for incurable women managed by the Sisters of Charity, who were ejected in spite of medical testimony that their removal would probably result in the death of a number of the invalids. Perhaps the most brutal of all was the expulsion of these sisters. A place was selected for them and their patients in some abandoned buildings in a distant part of the country, and their departure fixed for such a time that they could not reach their destination till nearly midnight, and they found on arrival that notice of their coming had only been received that same day.

The sisters in charge of the great lunatic asylum were treated in an equally barbarous manner, being ordered to be ready to start at 8 A. M. on one day, whereas no train was ready until 4 P. M. on the day following. They started at last with half the patients (some of whom were violent and had to be carried to the station bound with ropes) on a journey which was to last throughout the night and well into the next day, and this in the depth of Winter, their discomfort being increased by the fact that the bedding had been sent to the station at the time fixed, and when the travelers came to take the train they found that a considerable part of their bedding had disappeared; the remaining half of the patients followed a couple of days later.

Chronology of the Armistice Period

Record of Events From Nov. 15 Up to and Including Dec. 19, 1918

UNITED STATES

Discontinuance of press censorship in connection with cable, postal, and telegraph lines was announced Nov. 15.

Government took control of the cables operating between the United States and foreign countries Nov. 16. Newcomb Carlton, President of the Western Union Telegraph Company, placed in charge of all systems.

The Clyde, Mallory, Merchants' and Miners', and Southern Steamship Lines relinquished from Federal control Dec. 5.

The Agricultural bill, with legislative rider providing for national prohibition from next July 1 until the demobilization of the American Army, signed by President Nov. 21.

William G. McAdoo resigned as Secretary of the Treasury and Director General of Railroads Nov. 22. Carter Glass was appointed Secretary of the Treasury.

John D. Ryan resigned as Second Assistant Secretary of War and Director of Aircraft Production Nov. 22. Bernard M. Baruch resigned as Chairman of the War Industries Board Nov. 30, Dr. Harry A. Garfield resigned as Fuel Administrator Dec. 3, and Charles M. Schwab resigned as Director General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation Dec. 11.

The first troops of the expeditionary force returned on the Mauretania, which landed in New York Dec. 2. Other transports followed in rapid succession. Up to Dec. 12, 1,373 officers and 30,750 men had sailed for home.

PEACE CONFERENCE

United States Delegates to the Peace Conference were announced Nov. 18 as follows: The President, Robert Lansing, Colonel Edward M. House, Henry White, and General Tasker H. Bliss.

President sailed for France Dec. 4; arrived at Brest Dec. 13.

EXECUTION OF ARMISTICE TERMS

Twenty German submarines were surrendered Nov. 20. German High Seas Fleet of nine battleships, five battle cruisers, seven light cruisers, and fifty destroyers surrendered Nov. 21.

On Nov. 17 the allied army of occupation began its march for Germany.

Marshal Foch, with Generals Guillaumat and Gouraud, entered Strasbourg Nov. 25.

On Nov. 29 the Germans began withdrawing across the Rhine.

The American Army entered Germany Dec. 1.

British troops crossed the Belgian frontier and entered Germany Dec. 3.

On Dec. 12 the armistice was extended until Jan. 17.

The American Army crossed the Rhine on Dec. 13, and the French entered Mainz.

On Dec. 16 the American Army reached its final objective at Coblenz, and the British formally occupied Cologne.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

According to official figures announced by the Bureau of Navigation, a total of 145 American passenger and merchant vessels, having a gross tonnage approaching 375,000 tons, was lost through enemy acts from the beginning of the war to the cessation of hostilities on Nov. 11. In all, 775 lives were lost.

The total losses of merchant tonnage by allied and neutral nations from the beginning of the war to the end of October, 1918, through belligerent action and marine risk, was 15,053,786 gross tons, according to an official announcement from London, Dec. 5.

AERIAL RECORD

When hostilities suspended American aviators had destroyed 661 more German airplanes and 35 more German balloons than the Americans had lost. The number of enemy airplanes destroyed by the Americans was 926, and the number of balloons 73. Two hundred and sixty-five American airplanes and 38 balloons were destroyed by the enemy.

NAVAL RECORD

During the war British submarines sank 43 enemy warships and 272 other vessels.

The British warship Cassandra struck a mine in the Baltic Sea Dec. 4.

GERMANY

King Ludwig of Bavaria renounced his throne on Nov. 16, and the next day Duke Charles Edward of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Grand Duke Friedrich Franz IV. of Mecklinburg-Schwerin, and Grand Duke Friedrich II. of Baden abdicated, and Baden and Saxe-Meiningen were proclaimed republics.

The United Workers and Soldiers' Councils proclaimed Oldenburg, Oestfriesland, Bremen, Hamburg, and Schleswig-Holstein a North Sea republic, Nov. 22. Hamburg was named as the capital.

William II. formally abdicated on Nov. 29, and on Nov. 30 the act of renunciation was issued by the German Government.

The Crown Prince renounced his right to the throne Dec. 6, and the Prussian Government withdrew from the Hohenzollern family the privilege of immunity from law.

A Government headed by Friedrich Ebert was formed Nov. 16 and announced on Nov. 17 that bank deposits would not be seized, that the legitimacy of war loans would not be impaired, and that salaries, pensions, and other claims on the State would remain valid.

Several adherents of the Spartacus group of Socialists were killed in Berlin Nov. 22 in an attempt to seize the Police Presidency.

An agreement with the Ebert Government and the Soldiers and Sailors' Council, by which power passed to the Council, was proclaimed in Berlin Nov. 25.

Serious disturbances occurred in Berlin. The Executive Committee of the Soldiers' and Workmen's Council was arrested Dec. 6. On Dec. 7 the Spartacides clashed with returning troops and 180 casualties were reported.

Dr. W. S. Solf resigned as Foreign Minister Dec. 11.

Hugo Haase and Herr Barth, two of the three Independent Socialist members of the German Government, resigned Dec. 15. Georg Ledebour also severed his connection with the Government.

The National Conference of Soldiers and Workers' Councils met in Berlin Dec. 17.

AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY

Several hundred persons were arrested in Vienna on charges of conspiring with the Red Guard to proclaim a Bolshevist Government Nov. 20.

Formal proclamation of the Hungarian Republic was made Nov. 17. Archduke Joseph took the oath of allegiance to the new Government.

The Hungarian Government ordered the internment of General von Mackensen and his army.

JUGOSLAVIA

Crown Prince Alexander of Serbia was appointed Regent of the Jugoslav State by the National Council at Agram Nov. 26.

Italy's occupation of Fiume resulted in a protest to the Entente Powers from the Croatian National Council at Agram.

POLAND

Heavy fighting occurred between the Poles and the Ukrainians for supremacy in Galicia. The Polish troops were accused of murdering many Jews, and the Bolshevist element contributed to the general disorders.

General Joseph Pilsudski became dictator in Russian Poland.

Poland severed relations with Germany Dec. 15, charging the German authorities in occupied territories with acting contrary to Polish interests and working with the Bolsheviki. Count Kessler, the German Minister, with his whole staff, was ordered to leave Poland within twelve hours.

RUMANIA

The Transylvanian National Assembly proclaimed the union of Transylvania with Rumania Dec. 1. A resolution was passed declaring the union of all Rumanian people in all the territory they inhabit, and affirming the inalienable right of Rumanians to all the Banat Ter-

ritory between Maros, Theiss, and the Danube.

RUSSIA

Through a coup on the part of the Council of Ministers of the new All-Russian Government at Omsk, Admiral Kolchak became virtual dictator and commander of the All-Russian Army and fleet, Nov. 19.

Two Ministers, M. Avskentieff and M. Zenzenoff, who opposed his dictatorship, were arrested. General Horvath, General Ivanoff, and General Renoff, announced that they recognized the new authority.

New massacres were begun in Petrograd. Within a few days previous to Nov. 22 500 former officers had been shot.

The Councils of Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland appealed to allied and neutral Governments urging intervention in the Baltic Provinces against the invasion of Russian Bolshevist forces.

On Dec. 6 Admiral Kolchak issued an order deposing General Semenoff, the anti-Bolshevist military leader in Siberia. Colonel Valkov was named as Semenoff's successor.

Sweden recalled her diplomatic and consular representatives in Russia, charging that the representative of the Soviet Government in Stockholm had been transmitting Bolshevist literature from Russia, Dec. 8.

Word was received Nov. 20 that the Ukrainian Government had been overturned and Kiev had been captured by General Denikine at the head of pro-ally Cossacks. General Skoropadski, Ukrainian dictator, surrendered, and General Denikine was named as his successor.

The Ukrainian Bureau of Lausanne announced on Dec. 6 that Unionist forces had seized all the power in the Ukraine after a battle in Kiev, and that General Skoropadski, the Hetman, had been killed.

Russian minelayers arrived on Nov. 19 in Finnish waters off the Poumalo battery, belonging to the fortress of Ino, and began laying mines. On Nov. 20 three Russian warships flying the red flag of Kronstadt bombarded Vitikalla.

A republic was proclaimed in Lithuania Nov. 30, under the Presidency of Karl Ullman.

BELGIUM

A delegation of Socialists and Catholics asked the King of the Belgians for a more liberal constitution Nov. 16.

LUXEMBURG

The Luxemburg Chamber of Deputies adopted a motion demanding a referendum to decide the future form of government Nov. 18.

ENGLAND

Lord Robert Cecil, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, resigned, Nov. 22.

Lieut. Gen. Jan Christian Smuts resigned as a member of the War Cabinet, Dec. 16.

FRANCE

The French Minister of Commerce, M. Clementel, announced on Dec. 4 that the French Government had denounced all commercial treaties containing most favored nation clauses.

MONTENEGRO

King Nicholas was deposed by the National Assembly, Dec. 2. The Assembly declared for a union with Serbia under King Peter.

SPAIN

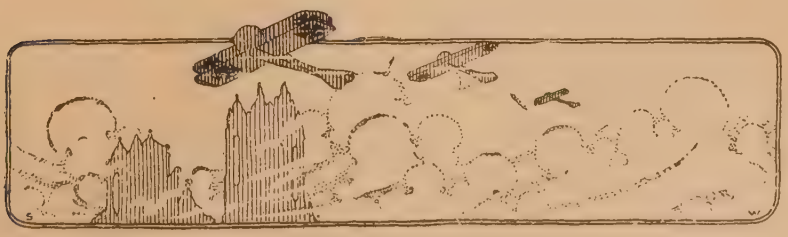
Spain recalled her Ambassador to Berlin, Dec. 9, following the announcement that Premier Romanones intended to expel the German Ambassador, Prince von Ratiber, and members of his staff, for spying and supporting the agitation against the Spanish royal family.

Catalonian Deputies in the Cortez withdrew from the Assembly and political parties in control in Catalonia declared for autonomous Government.

PORTUGAL

Dr. Sidonio Paes, President, was shot and killed by an assassin, Dec. 14. His assailant was killed by a crowd. Dr. Brito Camacho, leader of the Unionist group in the Chamber of Deputies, and Magalhaes Lima, leader of the Republican Party, were arrested.

Admiral Canto y Castro was elected President by Parliament.



Wartime Sights in an English Harbor

By EDEN PHILLPOTTS

[By Arrangement With The London Chronicle]

Mr. Phillpotts, who spent twenty years depicting the life of Dartmoor in more than a score of novels, has penned this picture of a Southern English bay as it looked on the last evening of the war:

WITH the naked eye, from a perch east of the bay, one marks little but the deep inlet of the sea, as it were a lake, with the further shore of undulating hills dotted along a rolling skyline, broken by the roofs of farms and the rounded bosses of elm trees. One marks no more save that the land breaks at the fishing village, where it lies in a dimple of cultivated fields and green woodlands. But with a four-inch telescope all is changed; the good miles between are banished and the life and business of the harbor and hilltop alike brought so near that everything proceeds at close quarters. There lack only the hubbub and noise, for, like a living picture, all goes forward in silence.

To seaward, high overhead in the blue, a spot appears no larger than a midge. Slowly it swells to the greatness of a dragon fly. Then its humming becomes audible. It is a hydroplane back from her beat above the Channel. Soon the wing spread is visible above the gondola and the floats beneath it. Then the sun flashes on her colors and shows a green body and a tail painted red, white, and blue. She sweeps in a great curve above the bay; then the drone of her engine changes, she descends as gently as a bird, and scutters like a duck over the water through a rush of foam.

Beneath the limestone cliffs there glides the fishing fleet homing to harbor, with a hundred hulls and five hundred tan and russet sails flashing brave color in the evening glow. The irregular procession of the trawlers stretches from the Head to the harbor; and astern of each boat wheel and turn little clouds of white and gray gulls, touched to rose color by the warm radiance from the west. The catch is being cleaned for market, and the birds do well.

Soon the fleet is round the breakwater and making for moorings. Then boats put off, and the fish are rowed ashore, where auctioneers and salesmen wait for them.

Before dusk a couple of gray scouts, flying the white ensign, speed into the bay, cut a silver line through the red light that now rests upon the waters, and are soon away again; then sets out a little steamer, to guide ships to their nightly berths, for the bay is still guarded from submarine attack and the anchorage proof against all foes; and the steamboat from shore goes seaward to pick up travelers and bring them safely through the invisible barrier. They come creeping in presently, as though weary and glad to drop anchor and enjoy a night of repose in these peaceful waters. The red merchant flag of England predominates, but the allied flags and those of occasional neutrals can be distinguished.

One picks up the "Stars and Stripes" of the States, whose merchant flag and ensign are similar; the red and yellow of Spain; the blue and white of Portugal; the red, white, and green of Italy; and the red, white, and blue of France. There are strange, obsolescent types of steamships that haunt the sea nowadays, and beside the low, raking, modern vessels created by the war lie venerable, beamy ships—"dugouts"—brought from their repose to face the perils of deep water once again.

All, to the smallest cargo boat, mount a gun lifted over the stern, and nearly all, save the least, are camouflaged in wonderful and bewildering patterns. Some exhibit a stiff zebra design of perpendicular black and white bars, while others are painted horizontally with long flowing lines like the run of waves—black and white, green and blue. These appear to be best disguised, viewed from

this standpoint three miles off; but others are almost equally difficult to distinguish without a glass—craft painted cubist fashion in squares and blocks and sharp angles of black and white, russet and gray, jagged upon each other.

Even to their funnels and bridges, the steamers are thus decorated, until they present no more amorphous lumps than faint blobs of disconnected color lying upon the sea. Their lines entirely disappear, and what is visible almost ceases to suggest a ship even seen at anchor from this vantage ground 200 feet above them; but their concealment in a running sea must surely be complete, and from a periscope, or even the deck of a submarine, these disguised craft would have been hard enough to find even on rare occasions of perfect visibility.

There is a splash and a leap of foam as the anchor falls from each sharp bow and the chain-cable slips through the hawser. So the ships are still, and the last sunlight glitters in their copper and glass, then dives and leaves them shapeless, gray ghosts on the gray water. The sun departs, and heavy shadows soon pour down off the hills into the haven; the last sail is furled; a squat beacon opens its ruby eye at the end of the breakwater, and the riding lights begin to glimmer gold through the gathering darkness.

To the Dead: A Dedication

By MAURICE HEWLETT

In days to come when husht the strife,
And scab of rust aligns the blade
Wherewith, to save, you ventur'd life
And all the promise youth had made;
When the red roads are all relaid
And a man dares to leave his wife
For his day's work, sure that his maid
And she are safe from German knife;

When all the kings are crown'd or dead,
And every General made a lord;
When all the thanksgivings are said,
Dealt every medal and award—
Let there be one found to record
Your deed who were content to tread
The way of death, a nameless horde,
Unribbon'd and unheralded.

I think I see the bristled spills
That stud the field where thick you lie;
I know what heavy taint distils
From countless graves in Picardy;
I see the hoody crow and pie
Preening themselves with sated bills
There where a sick and leaden sky
Hangs like a pall upon the hills:

Then, if I stand on that gray plain
Where the sea-wind for ever moans
And low clouds fling the sheeted rain
Over the sand that hides your bones,
I think to hear your undertones
That say, "Tell them there is no gain
To us in any churchyard stones
To guard the bed where we are lain.

"But say that what we had we gave
So men should hold their heads upright;
And if no man need be a slave
Henceforth, we were content to fight.
When the peace-beacon throws her light
It may not warm us in the grave;
Yet let them spare a thought that night
To us who sleep beyond the wave."

I who have learn'd your simple lore
And gain'd by everything you lose,
Chiefest to love that country more
Which breeds such men for such a use,
How should I falter and refuse
What blood my heart has yet in store,
To write in it the holy dues
Of you who fought the Holy War?

Nov. 14, 1918.

Alsace and Lorraine Again French

Historic Demonstration in Paris to Celebrate the Return of the Lost Provinces

By PERCEVAL LANDON

Paris, Nov. 17, 1918.

THE trees of Paris have stripped themselves of the cloth of gold in which they welcomed the coming of the herald of peace. Along the Champs Elysées and the Tuileries Garden the carpenters worked all night beneath the silhouette of myriads of stripped branches, darkly outlined against the brilliant haze of a moonlit sky. The châlets, each named after a town or commune in the recovered provinces, have received the last touch of decoration; the gilt and crimson of the Presidential inclosure glitters in the bright, hard light of a sun that has not even yet melted the ice-covered gutters or the jewelry of frost that last night hung upon every twig and blade of grass.

The real work of decoration was done weeks ago, when the vast avenues and circles of guns were manhandled into their places with their muzzles depressed and their power for evil gone. These, not the flags and the festoons, are the real witnesses to the allied victory—these and the long routes of the cortège that passed today between them, from which no class or work or interest in all Paris or all France were left without its representatives. And among them the eyes of all Paris in attendance followed one section till it was out of sight, for the men of Alsace and Lorraine are coming home today after an imprisonment of forty-seven years. The great and bitter protest that they made in 1871 against their slavery has been the charter of their life from that day to this, and in the sure and certain hope of this return however slow its footsteps, they steeled their hearts in their captivity. The nightmare is ended, and in spirit all Lorraine and all Alsace today was present when the Chief Magistrate of the French Nation welcomed back her long-lost children.

PLACE DE LA CONCORDE

It would be difficult for the most inveterate boulevardier to recognize the Place de la Concorde today. Besides the sandbagged humps which protect the statues of Renown and Mercury at the gardens gate—these, by the way, have been studded all over with rusty German helmets, and bring back a sudden and significant memory of the towers of victory built by Persian conquerors, each pigeonhole of which contained a human head—the captured guns cover the surface of the square everywhere except upon the roads, and even these are encroached upon by the sulky muzzles and futurist patterns of the screens. A long row of German airplanes, almost intact, were aligned, atiptoe and ready for flight, along the wall of the Tuileries Garden, and trophies of flags made alive with bunting the fronts of the Ministry of Marine and its companion building. The statue of Lille was almost smothered with flags and garlands, conspicuous among which was the little motor flag of General Haking, the man who secured the evacuation of Lille, and then stood aside to let the French enter their own loved city first. Hard by, the statue of Strasbourg was even more ornamented.

There has been no scheme of decoration. The individual has set upon the great monuments his own little token as seemed good to him. And this want of careful prevision is characteristic of the significant and splendid spontaneity of all the celebration and ceremony of today. Paris is enjoying herself in her own fashion. In a proclamation that is still wet upon the walls the Municipal Council of Paris adjures the inhabitants thus: "Que Paris sort de la fière réserve qui lui a valu l'admiration du monde." There is a place and time for

all things, and today Paris, in the name of France, has gathered her lost ones to her breast in her own way, and the Allies feel with her to the full the poignant joy of the great redemption.

Before 11 o'clock there was already a sprinkling of men and women along the processional route, though the coldness of the weather increased, and except for a flash of sun about 12:30 the day settled down cloudy and cold. By noon all the coigns of vantage had been taken up, and the crowd, six or seven deep from end to end of the two-mile course, seemed almost to prevent the chance of others seeing much of the great event. Half an hour after noon the real importance of the crowd began to be visible. From north and south, from east and west, all Paris moved slowly inward upon the Champs Elysées and the Garden of the Tuileries. The great fountains of the Place de la Concorde burst out with a rush such as they had not known for years, and the first harbingers of the airplane squadron purred over our heads.

A GIGANTIC GATHERING

As the crowd increased, all temporary barriers were swept away; the airplanes manning the wall of the Garden of the Tuileries were scrambled over and in most cases broken to pieces by the crowd that would not be denied; every statue had its nest of human beings, and every tree, however weak, held up its human load. One o'clock came and went; but the continual tramp of Paris went on remorselessly. It was the strangest contrast in crowds that ever was seen. There was a deep happiness in every face, too profound for crying aloud, yet the crowd wore one unvarying color—black. Of course, it is true that on his holidays the Frenchman, and to a great degree the Frenchwoman also, wears black; but this was not the reason of the sable crowd of humanity that welcomed the homecoming of Alsace and Lorraine today. It was mourning, none deeper and none more profound; but it was mourning transfigured for the day, and there was not a man or woman there who did not wear black with a deeper sense that in each home some part of the great sacrifice that victory complete and final demanded had been paid as a gift to France.

GREAT PROCESSION

At 2 o'clock salvos of guns announced the starting of the great procession, and the bronze whirring of the airplanes overhead increased to a continuous chord—the ground bass that accompanied the service of the day. Perhaps the details of the procession, as one by one they entered the Place de l'Etoile and slowly took their course down the most famous triumphal way on earth, would seem to an outsider to have differed little save in magnitude from those which in the old days used to parade in Paris from time to time. There were, of course, the obvious differences of sex, of military service, and, in one case, of childhood also. But it was in reality such a gathering not merely of Frenchmen, but of all that France stands for, as even Paris was almost awestruck to behold. The start of the procession was well handled, and the first ranks of the descending flood reached the Place de la Concorde in fairly good time. Here there were gathered to meet them the President of the Republic, the Presidents of the two Chambers, and all the great officers and Ministers of State, together with the representatives of foreign powers.

The waiting was long, and the cold increased in bitterness as the afternoon wore on, but no one seemed to notice it or care. Not one in ten thousand could hear the words of the President's speech, but all Paris knew what it wished M. Poincaré to say, and they trusted him implicitly to say it. So when the great moment came, and the guns and the released pigeons told the great message to city and country alike, Paris may well have thought the misery of the long exile of their compatriots worth the completeness of their enemy's overthrow and the triumph of this glorious welcome home.

[*A translation of President Poincaré's address, delivered on this occasion, appears on the next page.*]

President Poincaré's Address

The President of the French Republic delivered this eloquent address at the Paris celebration of the return of Alsace and Lorraine, Nov. 17, 1918:

The thousands of Frenchmen who prepared this great demonstration had, at the outset, the purpose simply of placing at the feet of the statue of Strasbourg the offering of their love and fidelity. Victory has come to enrich their program with a magnificent addition and to enable them to celebrate in the triumph of France the return also of Lorraine and Alsace to the maternal home.

If ever our hearts have felt regret at our inability to retard the passage of the hours so that we might enjoy at our leisure the noblest pleasure of which our souls are capable, surely we feel that emotion now in these hours of national pride and harmony, when the nation that has so long been mutilated is again made whole. Since, however, we cannot prolong these divine moments, let us at least promise ourselves to keep their memory immaculate and bequeath it as an inestimable treasure to France, the eternal.

For forty-eight years our inconsolable grief has clothed this statue of sadness and captivity with crêpe and funeral wreaths. None of us was able to pass beneath the motionless eyes of this cherished figure, mute and veiled, without seeing there the symbol of steadfastness even in servitude, and without feeling to the bottom of our souls a secret humiliation at our defeat, mingled with a lasting remorse because of our inaction.

None of us, however—and I call the whole country as witness—not one of us would have been willing, even though he might thus wash out past stains and avenge outraged justice, to take the responsibility of a single word or gesture which might kindle the first blaze of a murderous world war. In silence and resignation we waited for the waking of slumbering justice. It was Germany herself who, believing justice dying and planning to give her the final thrust, involuntarily woke her from her long sleep. It was Germany who with her own hands tore up the monstrous treaty which she had imposed upon us by violence, and which placed under foreign domination an inalienable part of indivisible France.

The war which was declared against us, and which terminated such an odious series of provocations and threats, liberated us at last from the constraint under which we had been held by our love of peace and our horror of bloodshed. From the day when these robbers of our provinces attacked us without excuse we had the right and the duty of reclaiming the national patrimony which force had torn from us.

In the memorable session of Aug. 4, 1914, the members of the French Chamber, grouping themselves patriotically about the Government of the republic, took a solemn engagement not to lay down their arms until Alsace and Lorraine had been restored to the mother country. They kept their word. For more than four years the army and the people have suffered and fought continually; for more than four years they have known the extremes of hope and disappointment; for more than four years the nation, resolved to conquer, has seen without complaint or discouragement the flower of its youth harvested by death. Yet nothing has limited its effort, nothing has weakened its will.

This indomitable energy has won its recompense. Alsace and Lorraine have again become French. Germany has been so completely overwhelmed that, even before the peace treaty has been signed, she has been forced to appeal to us to protect her retreating army against the hostility of the population. Yes, behold her reduced to convict herself of falsehood. Yesterday she declared that the Alsatian people were reconciled to the German yoke and did not wish separation from what was then the German Empire; today, in frank distress, she begs us to save her troops. "Alsace pursues me," she cries. "Alsace threatens to strike me. Hold her hands!"

Alsace and Lorraine have again become French! How glorious it is to repeat those words—once words murmured in a dream, now words of actual truth. Soon all France will go to Alsace and Lorraine to offer them enthusiastic congratulations on their deliverance. What will be the emotion of those among us who for nearly fifty years have waited, tortured by the memories of that other war, waited for this day of glory and of resurrection! What will be the emotion of the President of the council, who, with so much ardor and foresight, so much faith and success, has labored for the liberation of the captive provinces!

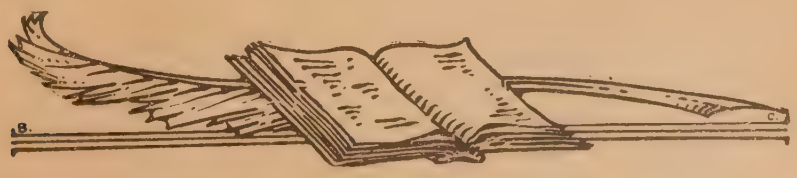
Alsace and Lorraine have again become French! The majority of the heroes who have died for them have never known them. They were not neighbors and friends, as some of us have been; they have not been lulled to sleep in infancy by Alsatian songs; they have not in their memories the ineffaceable visions of those blue mountains and broad plains. Yet they have sacrificed themselves to deliver these two captive provinces and restore them to the France which has not forgotten them. They have understood that the provinces were necessary to the unity of the nation, and that since they were torn away France has lacked a part of her flesh and a fragment of her soul.

Alsace and Lorraine have again become French! They have come into that which was theirs by right. They are French by geography, which placed both of them within the confines of ancient Gaul. They are French by decree of history, which under the ancient monarchy blended them with France; by history, which on July 14, 1790, consecrated this voluntary fusion; by history which has increased the glory of France by all the glory gained in the centuries past by the scholars and soldiers of Alsace and Lorraine.

Unity with France is theirs by virtue of the eloquent protest made by their representatives in the National Assembly at Bordeaux; by the unanimous re-election of those same representatives after the forced annexation; by the courageous declaration which their delegates made in the Reichstag in 1874; by the voluntary banishment undergone by those who sadly left their invaded hearths, and by the decision of those who remained there to perpetuate French traditions in the bosom of their family and cherish jealously the holy flame of memory.

To justify the return of Alsace and Lorraine to France, it is only necessary to recall these centuries of past glory, followed by years of bitter sorrow shared in common. A plébiscite would add nothing to the eloquence of facts. A plébiscite would be a mockery, since it would not be able to record the votes of the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine who were driven from their homes by the treaty of Frankfort. It would be a denial of justice, because it would submit to a new decision the liberties which these populations had long possessed before they were torn from them by violence. Restitution, pure and simple! Reparation for the past demands it. The conscience of the world insists upon it. The victory of our arms assures it.

All honor to our armies who have saved France and forced the demoralized enemy to beg for armistice and peace; to the allied armies who have matched our own in courage and endurance. But above all, we render homage to the dead. Their shell-torn bodies lie in the devastated regions where the fate of the world was decided, but their image will be forever enshrined in our hearts. All honor to the dead, the immortal ones who shall teach us how to live!



The German Revolution

Chancellor Ebert's Cabinet and Dr. Liebknecht's Radicals Among the Contending Forces

[PERIOD ENDED DEC, 15, 1918]

POLITICAL and other events in Germany continued as seen through a mist of drifting crosscurrents. A strong Government leadership with a definite policy could be distinguished but vaguely in development. Amazing topsyturvy changes swiftly followed one another throughout the former empire. The Council of National Plenipotentiaries under the Presidency of Chancellor Ebert, composed of three majority Socialists and three Independent Socialists, proceeded to fill the chief departments of State as follows:

Foreign Office, Dr. W. S. SOLF.
Treasury, Dr. SCHIFFER.
Economics, Dr. AUGUST MUELLER.
Industry and Demobilization, Dr. KOTH.
War Food, EMANUEL WURM.
Labor, Dr. BAUER.
War, Major Gen. SCHEUCH.
Admiralty, Vice Admiral MANN.
Justice, Dr. PAUL KRAUSE.
Post Office, Dr. RUEDLIN.

Dr. Solf, the most prominent member of the Cabinet, had been Foreign Secretary since the retirement of von Kühlmann. Dr. Schiffer was a leader of the National Liberal Party and formerly was Under Secretary of the Imperial Finance Ministry. Dr. Müller was a Social Democrat and formerly Under Secretary of the War Bureau. General Scheuch had been Prussian Minister of War. Vice Admiral Mann had been appointed Secretary of the Navy early in October, and previously was head of the U-boat Department of the Navy. Both Emanuel Wurm and Dr. Bauer were Socialist members of the Reichstag. Dr. Paul Krause was a National Liberal and was appointed Secretary of Justice in the Prussian Cabinet in August, 1917. He was Second Vice President of the Prussian lower house. Dr. Ruedlin had been Director of Railways and Minister of Posts in the Prussian Cabinet since August, 1917.

The Spartacus group of Extreme Radicals remained unrepresented, though Haase and Barth, differing from Dr. Liebknecht on the exercise of violence, had seats at the Council of National Plenipotentiaries. Announcement was made that the Government purposed holding elections for a National Assembly early in January, and that it held the support of the majority of the soldiers.

At the same time reports indicated great confusion throughout Germany owing to the powers assumed by various councils, committees, and officials. With this went a kaleidoscopic formation of new parties, chiefly noticeable being a regrouping of the Extreme Spartacides under Dr. Karl Liebknecht. Of councils, in Berlin figuratively these flourished on every tree of Unter den Linden, (now rechristened Roten Linden—Red Linden.) Thus, besides the Council of Soldiers and Workers there were the Council of Stock Exchange Men, the Council of Academicians—including professors and students—the Council of the Reformed Liberal Parties, that of Berlin Municipal Employes, that of Gardeners and Peasants, and many others. All these bodies were engaged in energetic debates and the passing of resolutions which, to the outside world, seemed to have but an obscure relation to the national crisis.

PRINCE MAX'S EXPLANATION

Two important documents bearing on the armistice and peace proposals were now issued in Germany. In the first ex-Chancellor Prince Maxmilian of Baden explained his position:

> My peace policy was entirely upset by the proposal for an armistice, which was handed to me in complete form on my arrival in Berlin. I fought against it for practical and political reasons. It seemed to me a grave mistake to allow the first

THE INSURGENT MOVEMENT, WHICH BLAZED OUT AT KIEL, SOON SPREAD ALL OVER GERMANY, FROM THE RHINE PROVINCES TO BERLIN AND THE BALTIC PORTS

step toward peace to be accompanied by such an amazing admission of Germany's weakness.

Neither the enemy powers nor our own people believed our military situation to be such as to make desperate measures necessary.

I proposed that the Government as a first measure should state exactly its program of war aims and demonstrate to the world our agreement with President Wilson's principles and our readiness to undergo heavy national sacrifices to fulfill those principles.

I was told in reply that there was not time to wait for the effect of such a statement, and that the situation at the front demanded that a proposal for an armistice should be made within twenty-four hours, to be supported by publication of the names of a new and unimpeachable Government.

A week later the military authorities informed me that they had been mistaken in the judgment they had formed concerning the situation at the front on Oct. 1.

LIEBKNECHT'S MANIFESTO

Follows the flaming Call to Arms of the Social Revolution by Dr. Karl Liebknecht, issued in the days just before the armistice:

Dear Comrades: For more than four years our rulers have been engaged in a robber war for the oppression of our neighbors. During the last ten or twelve years these same rulers have preached the bad doctrine of "Slavic danger." They sowed in our hearts fear of the Slavs. But this was merely camouflage for further imperialistic aggression. As if the way to St. Petersburg lay through Belgium and Northern France, they gave orders to let the armies loose.

During these four years the peoples of the world have bled until they can bleed no more. And what have we won? Have we won one hundredth part of what we and our rulers started out to get? Instead of this, we have lost until we have nothing more to lose. One thing we have won—the hatred of mankind.

And now we have, through the President of America, asked our enemies for peace. Comrades, now comes for you a fitting opportunity. Unite. Hold together under the banner of the "International." You should not hold yourselves as discouraged. It was never your war. You were driven by your rulers into the world slaughter. You have got what you deserved. It now lies with you to dismiss your rulers.

Act at once. It is your only prospect. Stretch the tyrant at your feet with a mighty blow. He now wavers. A well-aimed blow will at this time win your freedom, and will to some extent recompense you for all the blood that has been shed during the last four sad years.

Lay down your weapons, you soldiers at the front. Lay down your tools, you workers at home. Do not let yourselves be deceived any longer by your rulers, the lip patriots, and the munitions profiteers. Rise with power and seize the reins of government. Yours is the force. To you belongs the right to rule. Answer the

call for freedom and win your own war for liberty.

For more than four years have your oppressors used you as the tools with which to fill their pockets. More than four years have they offered your sons, fathers, brothers, as victims and have starved millions, so that they might coin profits out of your blood.

Had you won the war you would have remained helpless slaves; you are beaten. Victory is within your grasp. It lies with you to seize it.

Comrades! Soldiers! Sailors! And you workers! Arise by regiments and arise by factories. Disarm your officers, whose sympathies and ideas are those of the ruling classes. Conquer your foremen, who are on the side of the present order. Announce the fall of your masters and demonstrate your solidarity. Do not heed the advice of the Kaiser Social Democrats. Do not let yourselves be led any longer by unworthy politicians, who play you false and deliver you into the hands of the enemy.

Stand fast like many of the genuine Social Democrats in your companies and regiments. Seize the quarters of your officers; disarm them immediately. Make sure that your officers sympathize with you. In case they do so, let them lead you. Shoot them immediately in case they betray you after they have declared themselves supporters of your cause.

Soldiers and marines! Fraternize! Take possession of your ships. Overpower first your officers. Place yourselves in communication with your comrades on land and seize all harbors and open fire, if necessary, on loyal groups.

Workers in munition factories: You are the masters of the situation. Stop work immediately. From this moment on you are only making bullets which will be used against you and yours. The bullets which you now make will never reach the front.

Stop making bayonets which will be thrust into your entrails by the knights of the Government. Arise, organize, seize weapons and use them against those who plan to make slaves of you after they have made their own peace. End the war yourselves and use your weapons against the rulers.

FEAR OF BOLSHEVISM

By Nov. 18 the last German ruler had abdicated and the revolution was everywhere predominant. Harold Williams, however, wrote from Geneva that, as seen from there, it was "extremely unlike the Russian revolution—no exultation in liberty, no particular indignation against the authors of the national misfortune, no recognition of the wrong done by Germany to the world, not the faintest sign of national repentance. The overthrow of the German monarchs is regarded with indifference or scarcely concealed regret. * * * The discipline of the German people is surprising. It apparently submits to the new authority as readily as to the old and is only concerned to adapt itself to new conditions. The prevailing anxiety is to maintain order, in view of the demobilization and the Bolshevist danger."

In corroboration of this danger, Friedrich Ebert, opposing the formation of Red Guards, issued this statement:

> I have no anxiety for the new Government, because it is sustained by the confidence of the masses. We have received news that the troops were orderly when the armistice was declared. In the back areas, however, it was different. Many cases of haste to return home are reported. In Baden and Württemberg the troops streaming back from the front constitute a great danger to security.
>
> Negotiations are in progress to obtain food from America, for food is what we need. Peace and order mean transport facilities. All Soldiers' Councils must place themselves at the service of the Government to hasten demobilization. Democracy can march only if its head is untouched. Then, too, we have the prospect of getting peace conditions which at least may be somewhat favorable.
>
> If the enemy sees anarchy among us, he will dictate conditions which will destroy German economic life. Therefore, go forward to common work for the future.

EFFORTS OF EBERT CABINET

An additional statement put forward conjointly by Ebert and Haase was intended to reassure the masses in their financial holdings. Its three clauses follow:

> First, we do not intend to confiscate any bank or savings bank deposits nor any sums in cash or bank notes or other valuable papers deposited in the bank safes.
>
> Secondly, we do not intend to cancel any subscriptions to the Ninth War Loan, or in any other way to impair the legitimacy of those loans. The Government, however, is determined to enforce the strictest measures that large fortunes and great incomes shall contribute appropriately toward the public expense.
>
> Thirdly, salaries, pensions, and other

claims on the State, held by officials, employes, officers, wounded and other soldiers and their relatives, will remain absolutely valid.

During the ten days thereafter reports and counter-reports regarding the stability of the Ebert Cabinet, in face of the attacks by the Spartacides, sped one after the other out of Germany. Violent speeches by such as Dr. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg instigated some rioting in Berlin, but the total result in loss of life and property damage was insignificant—fifteen deaths in all.

KURT EISNER'S ATTACK

Throughout Southern Germany, however, there were manifest signs of growing irritation with the indecisive policy of the Berlin Government. It was especially the case in Munich. Premier Kurt Eisner, who had come to the front as anti-Prussian, vigorously denounced the Ebert Cabinet, and demanded the immediate summoning of an all-German National Assembly. He was supported by Bavarian soldiers in rejecting any form of dictatorship by the Berlin Council of Soldiers and Workers. Further, in a proclamation to the Saxon people, "the "new Government of Saxony declared "that it was striving for the abolition "of the old Federal Constitution, and for "the union of the Saxon and German "peoples in a republic, including Ger-"man Austria. Self-government and the "protection of their cultured interests "should be granted to the component "parts of the republic. The authority "of the Soldiers' and Workers' Councils "should be defined most speedily by the "National Council. * * * Expenditure "could be covered by assessments on big "fortunes, especially those derived from "war profits. Incomes derived from the "exploitation of labor should be abol-"ished."

A telegram from Berlin announced that Philipp Scheidemann had resigned as Minister of Finance, and been succeeded by Herr Landsberg, Secretary of Publicity, Art and Literature.

On Nov. 24 a new republic of the North Sea Coast was proclaimed, with Hamburg as its capital. A resolution of the Kiel Greater Workers' and Soldiers' Council declared that "all banks, prin-"cipal industries, and great landed prop-"erty should be national property. All "legislation shall be in the direction of "the socialization of the State, in collab-"oration with the Soldiers' and Work-"ers' Councils. The bourgeois class to "be excluded." At the same time the Council of the People's Commissioners issued the following welcome to returning soldiers, signed by Chancellor Ebert, Hugo Haase, Philipp Scheidemann, Dittmann, Landsberg, and Barth:

> You marched into the field for the Fatherland when you had nothing to say and a handful of autocrats had the power in their hands and distributed the booty among themselves. You had to fight in silence, while hundreds of thousands at your side had to die. Today you return to your own country, where in the future only the people themselves will have anything to say.
>
> Germany free, our Socialist public will join the League of Nations. You will find not only all the political rights you hitherto have been deprived of, but the Fatherland shall also be your property economically.
>
> United labor and action in a Germany possessing a Government relying upon the workers and soldiers can alone help us and obtain from our former enemies peace.

FEDERAL CONFERENCE

Before an assemblage of seventy delegates representing twenty-one German States, Commissioner Ebert opened a Federal Conference on Nov. 25 to formulate the rules of the promised National Convention. In the debate Dr. Solf and Herr Erzberger were scathingly attacked by Premier Eisner of Bavaria as "un-"aware that a tremendous earthquake "had shaken Germany." He also demanded more definite phrases from Ebert, and, for the Southern States, that the convention be not called in Berlin. Toward evening machine guns were posted in front of the palace where the delegates sat in conference as a warning to the Liebknecht wing of the Spartacus group. The main result of the conference was the selection of Frankfort for the National Convention. Otherwise it developed indications of a political break between Berlin and Southern Germany, and the setting up of a Rhine Republic

On the heels of the conference Dr. Karl Liebknecht issued a pronunciamento to the proletarians of all nations asserting that the only salvation for the world was socialism and demanding that peace be "concluded under the banner of the world's revolution."

INCREASING CONFUSION

Meanwhile, strikes were reported as spreading throughout German industrial regions. Factories in Berlin and Dresden threatened to run down to a standstill. The new Government was declared to be in danger of a counter-revolutionary plot, in which high military officers of the empire were involved. On Nov. 27 Kurt Eisner, the Bavarian Premier, announced that relations had been broken off with the Berlin Foreign Office, "owing to the efforts of Ber-"lin to deceive the people by with-"holding the truth about conditions." In turn Eisner was denounced by Berlin as a dreamer and non-German. Baden followed in the demand for a rupture with Berlin. The Soldiers' Council of Greater Berlin, at a stormy plenary meeting, appointed a representative of each of the seven regiments in Berlin to weigh charges against the Executive Council. Ebert and Haase issued a warning that Liebknecht's Spartacus element had seized control of all wireless stations, and that they would not assume responsibility for such dispatches at home or abroad. From out the political turmoil attention mainly centred on the struggle between Chancellor Ebert and Bavarian Premier Eisner.

On Dec. 1 the German Government announced an investigation into the German crimes in Belgium, including the murders of Edith Cavell and Captain Fryatt. It named as responsible General von Sauberzweig, the former Military Governor of Brussels; General Baron Kurt von Manteuffel, Military Commander at Louvain, and Baron von der Lanchen, Civil Governor of Brussels.

A military plot to restore the Kaiser was frustrated. Among the leaders were said to have been Field Marshal von Mackensen, General von Boehn, and General Sixt von Arnim, together with Lieutenant Dr. Gustav Krupp von Bohlen.

PROLETARIAN RULERS

The new Military Governor of Berlin, Otto Wels, formerly a trade union Secretary, granted an interview to an American correspondent, in which he stated that the Government counted on 10,000 republican guards to maintain order; all other troops were controlled by the Council of Soldiers and Workmen. He added that the Spartacus group did not want a National Assembly, and if they gained control it would be because the Allies had failed to send food. The correspondent estimated that 200,000 troops were returning to Berlin at the rate of 80,000 a week.

The mania for forming councils of every profession and trade spread to the Berlin Opera House. There a farcical parliament of artists, singers, ballet dancers, stage hands, musicians, and supers debated self-determination of salaries and hours of attendance. As an extreme example of the general topsy-turvydom it was stated that the President of the Republic of Brunswick was formerly a mender of old clothes, the Vice President a juggler at the Café Maxim, and the Minister of Education a woman who could hardly read or write.

At a great mass meeting in Cologne on Dec. 6, definite plans were presented for the formation of a separate Westphalian Republic. The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

> In view of the radical political changes, recognizing the impossibility of creating a proper Government in Berlin, and convinced that the countries adjacent to the Rhine and Westphalia have in themselves sufficient political, cultural, and economic power to form a new State, this meeting expresses its firm will to uphold the unity of the German Fatherland, but at the same time to undertake the construction of a new German State to be composed of the Rhineland and Westphalia. To that end this meeting asks the recognized leaders of all parties in the Rhineland and Westphalia and other adjacent countries as soon as possible to arrange a proclamation of an independent Rhenish-Westphalian Republic as a part of Germany.

EBERT'S POPULARITY

In Berlin the Spartacides seized upon the return of the soldiers to create disturbances. While the soldiers marched

on Dec. 6 to demonstrate their loyalty to the Ebert-Haase Government, the Spartacides countered with a demand for demobilization. In the street fighting which resulted some 180 casualties were reported. Columns of underofficers marching toward the palace were at first thought to be bent on a revolution, but on the appearance of Ebert tremendous cheers dispelled any such doubt. He addressed them from a table, which had been placed on the pavement, announcing his earnest desire to maintain law and order and adding: "We are determined that nothing and nobody shall prevent us from calling a national convention at the earliest possible moment."

Ebert's personality completely won his audience. He was saluted with loud shouts of "The German Republic and her first President, Comrade Ebert!" An advance detachment of Guard regiments entered on the scene carrying immense posters reading: "We shall stand no nonsense from either the Spartacides or the Junkers." One of the body mounted the table vacated by Ebert. "We must not permit ourselves," he cried, "to be made the tools of sinister aims against the Government. Therefore we must organize ourselves." Ebert spoke again, whereupon both columns, followed by an immense crowd, moved to the War Ministry, and thence to the Prussian Building, now the headquarters of the Soldiers' Council, where more speeches were made. The attempt of the Spartasides to incite the returning soldiers to upset the Ebert Government thus failed.

THE SPARTACIDE REVOLT

About this time red bills were posted all over Berlin with the inscription: "Kill Liebknecht wherever you meet him; he is your and your country's worst enemy." Liebknecht was reported to be surrounded by bodyguards, and to be sleeping every night in a different place. Considerable liberty of speech, however, was still granted the Spartacides. A dispatch from Berlin Dec. 7 noted the disappearance of red flags, and in their place the city fluttered with red, black, and gold revolutionary emblems of 1848.

A clearer view of the conflict between the returned soldiers and the Spartacides on Dec. 6 recalled scenes in Petrograd after the revolt. Mobs of citizens apparently in doubt as to which side to support made a third party to a wild tumult. A pandemonium of rioters surged into the public offices and spread over the city. Dr. Karl Liebknecht darted hither and thither delivering violent street corner speeches. Machine-gun and rifle fire claimed numerous victims and shattered plate-glass windows in the principal streets.

A notable incident was the attempted arrest of the Executive Committee of the Soldiers' and Workers' Council by returned soldiers under the impression that it was opposed to the Government. Herr Barth of the Government, however, pleaded with the soldiers on behalf of the Council. The subsidence of the near revolt was as remarkable as its outburst. By Dec. 8 events had fallen back into a drifting state, but had left greater confusion in the Socialist ranks. An investigation of the riot was ordered by Dr. Solf. Meanwhile, the old Junker and Pan-German parties in new guises began to reassert themselves. Rumors of plot and counterplot filled the political atmosphere to the exclusion of any definite policy.

Elsewhere in Germany, Herr Auer, having been forced to resign from the Bavarian Ministry by armed soldiers, was reinstated by Kurt Eisner, the Premier. In Baden, August Thyssen and a number of other great manufacturers were arrested and ordered sent to Berlin to face charges. At Chemnitz a Uhlan regiment refused to disarm and routed adherents of the local Soldiers' and Workers' Council. In Saxony all the royal property and estates were seized by the new Government.

On Dec. 10 Berlin reported that more troops had been sent for by the Ebert Government to crush a Spartacus revolt at Potsdam. At the same time the principal merchants of the city had gathered to discuss Anglo-German trade relations. On Dec. 11 the Berliner Tageblatt announced that the Reichstag would be summoned next week to give a parliamentary basis to the new Government.

Berlin was said to be stirred by reports that the Allies intended to occupy the city. Many women thrown out of work were joining the Spartacides.

RESIGNATION OF DR. SOLF

Dr. Solf resigned from the Cabinet on Dec. 11. Efforts of the Soldiers' and Workers' Council to persuade Adolph Joffe and M. Radek of the former Bolshevist Russian Embassy at Berlin to return to take part in the forthcoming Congress of Councils on the 12th were checked by the Government. Jan. 1 was fixed as a day of general rejoicing in Berlin in honor of the revolution. A message from Berne, Dec. 12, stated that seven Baden frontier villages had passed resolutions for unity with Switzerland.

Premier Eisner of Bavaria granted an interview to an American correspondent in which he stated that he did not want to be a statesman, but to tell the truth, and that the people were in a mood to be freed from the past. Subsequently, at a meeting of the Independent Socialists, he declared himself opposed to the acts of the Berlin revolutionary Government, "because right was a better weapon than might. But," he added, "if anybody dares to disturb revolutionary accomplishments then it must be force against force." He asserted that he had driven Solf and Erzberger from office. Spartacism appeared openly in Munich, demanding the resignations of Ebert and Scheidemann and others connected with the "blood bath" of Berlin.

STRIKE IN BERLIN

Large numbers of workers went on strike in Berlin on Dec. 13 for higher wages and "famine subsidy." Foremost publishing houses, together with the great firms of Siemens & Halske and Schwarzkopf & Co., were especially affected. Various councils, having taken control of the industrial situation, ordered a suspension of operation. The employes of Schwarzkopf's paraded the streets carrying red flags bearing the inscription, "Spartacus Gesellschaft, formerly Schwarzkopf & Co."

The German armistice was extended until Jan. 17 at 5 A. M. by the allied leaders at Treves. The Allies reserved the right, if the necessity should arise, to occupy the right bank of the Rhine north of the Cologne bridgehead and as far as the Dutch frontier, thus giving them possession of the great Krupp centre, Essen.

On Dec. 14 Konstantin Fehrenbach, President of the Reichstag, having convoked a meeting of that body on his individual initiative, announced that he reserved "further indication of the time and place of meeting." Fehrenbach's action caused much uneasiness even among those favorable to the plan. The commission appointed to make a preliminary draft of a national constitution reported completion of its deliberations. The new constitution was said to have been modeled on the American and English charters. The resignation of Dr. Solf remained, so far, unaccepted, though insisted upon by Haase and Barth, the two minority Socialist members of the Cabinet. A threat of virtually all the trained officials of the Foreign Office staff to resign if Dr. Solf went was the cause of Ebert's and Scheidemann's hesitation to face entire disorganization of the foreign work of the Government with the departure of Solf. Soldiers of the Prussian Guard removed Liebknecht's red flag from the Town Hall at Potsdam.

CLASH OF RIVAL PLANS

The Council of People's Commissioners authorized the formation of a volunteer national guard to maintain public safety. The new organization was to be under complete control of the commissioners, and pledged to defend the Socialist Democratic republic. Against this plan the Spartacus group issued the following program of immediate steps for safeguarding the revolution:

Disarmament of all police officers, non-proletariat soldiers and all members of the ruling classes.

Confiscation by the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils of arms, munitions, and armament works.

Arming of all grown up male proletarians and the formation of a Workers' Militia.

The formation of a proletariat Red Guard.

Abolition of the rank of officers and noncommissioned officers.

Removal of all military officers from the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils.

Replacement of political organs and the authorities of the former régime by representatives of the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils.

Abolition of all Parliaments and municipal and other councils. The election of a General Council which was to elect and control the Executive Council of the soldiers and workmen.

Cancellation of all State and other public debts, including war loans, down to a certain fixed limit of subscription.

Expropriation of all landed estates, banks, coal mines, and large industrial works.

Confiscation of all fortunes above a certain amount.

In Munich Liberal and Centrist political leaders launched a campaign for dissolution of the Soldiers' and Workers' Council. They demanded temporary re-establishment of the former Bavarian Assembly as the only means of preventing allied occupation of Munich. Confusion of ideas prevailed throughout Germany. In some parts great dissatisfaction with the Soldiers' and Workers' Councils had led to the formation of People's Councils. Again, younger men of good intentions were too apt to rely on the argument of machine guns. Opinion was divided on the subject of Bolshevist danger. While German soldiers returning from the front were anti-Bolshevist, against this was set the approach to the German frontier of a Russian Bolshevist army with the declared object of establishing a front on the Rhine.

The Central Congress of Delegates from Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils, 450 in attendance, met at Berlin Dec. 16. The Radical Socialists were overwhelmingly defeated; a resolution to invite Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, their leaders, to attend the Congress as guests was defeated five to one.

Holland and the Refugee Ex-Kaiser

The situation of the ex-Kaiser and Crown Prince as refugees in Holland became one of the main themes of political discussion in Germany. On Nov. 30 the text of the Emperor's abdication, only two days old, was issued at Berlin. It read:

By the present document I renounce forever my rights to the crown of Prussia and the rights to the German imperial crown. I release at the same time all the officials of the German Empire and Prussia and also all officers, noncommissioned officers and soldiers of the Prussian Navy and Army and of contingents from confederated States from the oath of fidelity they have taken to me, as their Emperor, King, and supreme chief.

I expect from them until a new organization of the German Empire exists that they will aid those who effectively hold the power in Germany to protect the German people against the menacing dangers of anarchy, famine, and foreign domination.

Made and executed and signed by our own hand with the imperial seal at Amerongen, Nov. 28, [1918.]

WILHELM.

On the same date the Cologne Gazette published an interview with Dr. Wegener, in which he stated that five days before the Emperor fled from Germany the former ruler had endeavored to shift the blame for beginning the war to the shoulders of Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg; that it was Bethmann who had insisted on the Kaiser's yachting trip to Norway to "prevent war," and that the Kaiser knew only of current events from Norwegian papers. "I knew no more about it than that," Dr. Wegener quoted the Kaiser. "Against my will they sent me to Norway."

In a dispatch from Amerongen, George Renwick described the surroundings of the ex-Emperor in exile. In the two weeks following his flight from Belgium he had secluded himself more and more, but upon occasion was seen at a window writing as if against time. From villagers it was gathered that he had become greatly dejected, and even the arrival of the former Empress had failed to lighten his mood. That he was suffering no financial distress, however, was indicated b ythe fact that he had $4,760,000 cash available in bank. Meanwhile, a demand for his extradition and trial for high crimes was taken under consideration by the Allies. The Dutch Government took the position that, as the

Kaiser had abdicated the crowns of Germany and Prussia, his status was that of a private citizen not subject to internment. On the other hand, his military suite were compelled to deliver their swords.

DUTCH PREMIER'S PRONOUNCEMENT

The Netherlands Government, however, showed increasing uneasiness regarding the presence of its uninvited guest. On Dec. 10 Premier Reys de Beerenbrouch delivered a speech in the lower house of the Dutch Parliament relative to the ex-Kaiser. Here is the official text of it as given out by the Netherlands Legation at Washington:

It will not be a matter of surprise to the Chamber when her Majesty's Government declare that also to them it would have been preferable if circumstances had induced the ex-Kaiser to choose his place of refuge elsewhere.

On Nov. 9 the abdication had taken place. The ex-Kaiser is shown to have fully recognized the fulfillment, by his crossing the Dutch border, of the abdication proclaimed by the German Government. He considers himself a private person.

On Sunday, Nov. 10, the Government learned that in the early morning of that day the ex-Kaiser had entered Netherlands territory. We were faced with the fact. The Government had not had the slightest knowledge of plans for a flight to Holland. All stories and suppositions to the contrary are pure fabrications. Neither directly nor indirectly has any person connected with the Netherlands Government taken any steps in the matter. This also in contradiction of the newspaper rumors about General Van Heutz.

The Government were completely surprised by the arrival of the ex-Kaiser. The Government have been well aware of the fact that the country will derive no benefit from allowing asylum in the case. They have, however, considered that a refusal of asylum was inadmissible, as such a refusal would have been in contradiction of a tradition which has been alive and in existence for centuries.

From the moment that the ex-Kaiser was within the Netherlands borders it became a matter of urgency for the Netherlands Government to decide where his abode would be. There could be no question of free choice. A place of residence was, therefore, assigned to the ex-Kaiser by the Netherlands Government.

The Government are aware of the interest taken in the fate of the ex-Kaiser, both in Holland and abroad, and are now faced with the question of the future. The Government can take no other view than that of the fait accompli, combined with that of the right of asylum. The Government totally reject as contrary to the truth every supposed connection between the presence of the ex-Kaiser on Netherlands territory and any alleged unneutral views or actions on their part.

Account will have to be taken of the development of international events, as well as of the situation within the country. With a view to the latter, guarantees must be obtained that, in case of a continued presence of the ex-Kaiser, no disturbances need be feared. In contrast with the utterances of more or less prominent persons and organs of the press in foreign countries, no foreign Government has protested against the presence of the ex-Kaiser in Holland.

The feeling abroad may, however, lead to a situation in which the Netherlands Government would be faced with a formal demand for extradition. Such demand would then have to be tested in the light of the existing laws and treaties. It is also possible that foreign Governments should wish to confer with the Netherlands Government in order to assign to the ex-Kaiser a permanent place of residence. Without wishing to anticipate in the matter, the Netherlands Government state that for various reasons they might be willing to participate in such consultations, provided a solution in accordance with the honor and dignity of the country would be proposed.

The Netherlands Government, in conclusion, regard, therefore, the presence of the ex-Kaiser as provisional. A definite stand will be taken as soon as the moment for a final decision shall have arrived. The Netherlands Government are firmly resolved not to allow any infractions—for example, with a view to influence the political situation—of the simple right of asylum. The Netherlands people, as well as the foreign nations, may confidently rest assured as to this.

Though the former Kaiser received further intimations that his presence was not altogether desirable, he showed no inclination to change his place of residence.

CROWN PRINCE'S ABDICATION

The former Crown Prince, in contradicting a report that he had abdicated at the same time as his father, stated: "I have not renounced anything, and I have not signed any document whatever." He added that, should the German Government decide to form a re-

public, he would be content to return to Germany as a simple citizen, ready to do anything to assist his country—even to working as a laborer in a factory. But three days later, Dec. 6, he issued the following:

> I renounce formally and definitely all rights to the crown of Prussia and the imperial crown, which would have fallen to me by the renunciation of the Emperor-King, or for other reasons.
>
> Given by my authority and signed by my hand; done at Wieringen, Dec. 1, 1918.
>
> FREDERICH WILHELM.

His internment on the Island of Wieringen was witnessed by a NEW YORK TIMES correspondent. Thither he was brought on a small Government yacht to inhabit the extremely modest local parsonage. For Dutch neighbors there were none other than fisher folk. Though seemingly ill at ease he struggled hard to present a pleasant exterior, and skipped ashore with a sad effort to appear unconcerned. The correspondent was moved by this dismal plight of the former heir to the imperial throne of Germany to recall the pompous message delivered by the ex-Kaiser about six months before: "This morning William stormed the Chemin des Dames."

The Naval Mutiny at Kiel

Germany's military collapse and the beginning of the German revolution are shown, by increasing evidence, to date quite definitely from the attempt of the desperate Imperial Government to send the German fleet out for a final battle. The men of the High Seas Fleet refused to be sacrificed in that way, and the most critical moment of the mutiny came on Oct. 31, 1918, when one half of the fleet seemed about to open fire on the other half. The tense situation is described in the following letter from a German marine to his father, published in the Bergische Arbeiterstimme:

> It is to be hoped that this letter does not get into wrong hands. Great things have happened in our Imperial Navy. All the ships of the line and armed cruisers are mutinying. Perhaps something of the matter has reached your ears, but I will here tell you about it clearly and distinctly.
>
> We with our flotilla had been for some time in the North Sea, and had been in touch several times with the British and had observed from various signs that something was going forward. As we now wanted to put in for a few days, we saw the whole German fleet, with all the big ships and torpedo boats, lying at anchor, and we had also to lay to. Every one was amazed; no one knew anything definite. Suddenly it was said that the Fleet Commander wished to manoeuvre in the German Bight. Naturally, no one was taken in by this obvious absurdity; but imagine the stupidity of undertaking great naval manoeuvres in the middle of a crisis.
>
> The first order to be ready for sea was fixed for Wednesday night, and then it was postponed till Thursday, [Oct. 31.] We who were in the ships lying at a little distance away did not know what was taking place. We heard, indeed, some whispering of mutiny and uproar, but did not believe it. Yesterday the order was issued by the commander of the First Squadron that B 97 and B 112 and no other ships of our half-flotilla were to be at his disposal at 8 o'clock. At that hour we went alongside S. M. S. Ostfriesland, and the commander of the First Squadron came aboard us. We did not know what to make of the whole business, until the commander of our half-flotilla had the whole crew summoned on deck. He then delivered a speech which I shall never forget during the rest of my life.
>
> Something deplorable had happened. The crews of various ships in all the squadrons had refused to obey. When the fleet should have put out to sea the men had used the fire-extinguishing apparatus and extinguished all the boiler fires. They had done the same at every order to make ready for sea, and consequently prevented the fleet from putting out. They were asked their reason for this conduct, and they answered that they would disobey no other order, but would in no circumstances put out to sea. They would not take part in the German fleet's battle of desperation.
>
> Those in high quarters said to themselves, "Let us, rather than surrender the fleet, stake everything on one card; let us blow everything to smithereens rather than surrender our fine fleet to the British." As the commander of S. M. S. Thüringen said, "We will fire our last 2,000 rounds, and will go down with flying colors." The sailors said to him that he would have to go out alone, and then the smash-up started. In the First Squadron it was worst in the Thüringen and the Helgoland. The mutineers had barricaded themselves in the forepart of the ship. In

the Helgoland they took possession of three guns.

I cannot give a full report of our half-flotilla commander's speech. He told us straight that when ordered to do so by the commander of the torpedo boat appointed for that purpose, in case "duty" should demand it, we must train our guns on our own comrades. I cannot relate to any one what we were required to do. We got our machine guns, guns, and torpedoes ready, and proceeded to perhaps some 200 yards from the Thüringen. Meanwhile a steamer with 250 marine infantry had arrived to remove the rebels. Should they refuse to go aboard B 97 must intervene with her guns. Dear father, if you knew how I felt when we had aimed our guns at our comrades—what impotent rage filled me. But what were we to do? It all came so suddenly—no understanding with other ships, no one to back us up. But we still continued hoping that the matter would end up satisfactorily. Ultimately after an hour the rebels gave in and displayed the Red Cross flag. They then quietly allowed 600 men to be brought aboard the steamer.

A weight fell from our hearts. We were within a hair's breadth of destruction, for even if we did not fire on our comrades we had trained on us three 15cm. (6in.) guns, and if only one shot had been fired from our guns there would have been not a splinter left of B 97. I shall never in my life forget Oct. 31. It was a thousand times more terrible than at Oesel and in the Channel.

In the Helgoland and some other vessels the tumult had meanwhile somewhat abated. They had indeed attained their end. The fleet will not put to sea in the near future, and if we in any case must also suffer by it our time is nevertheless coming soon or peace must come soon—otherwise we shall make peace ourselves. The navy will take no further hand—if only the army and the people would follow soon. * * *

Berlin's Greeting to Returning Soldiers

Defeated Troops Hailed as Conquerors

The following description of the first formal entry of the defeated German troops into Berlin was sent from that city Dec. 10, 1918, by a correspondent of The New York Times and CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE:

PUNCTUALLY at 1 o'clock the head of the procession reached the Brandenburger Gate. It was composed of four companies of Prussian, Bavarian, Württemberg, and Baden Infantry. So dense were the masses that these companies at first found it impossible to make headway, and the first squadron or two following had to make a roundabout way to Unter den Linden. There must have been millions of patriotic sightseers about this time.

General Lequis with his staff appeared at the head of the Guards. He and his officers wore field-gray uniforms, which hardly distinguished them from the others, seeing that all wore steel helmets. The only decoration seen was the General's Order Pour le Mérite. In the centre of Pariser Platz, General Lequis was met by Mayor Wermuth and People's Commissioner Ebert. Greeting the returning troops, Wermuth emphasized the everlasting thanks which, he said, were due the troops for fighting four years to the bitter end. The speech of Chancellor Ebert was as follows:

Your deeds and sacrifices are unexampled. No enemy overcame you. Only when the preponderance of our opponents in men and material grew ever heavier did we abandon the struggle.

You endured indescribable sufferings, accomplished incomparable deeds, and gave, year after year, proofs of your unshakable courage. You protected the homeland from invasion, sheltered your wives, children, and parents from flames and slaughter and preserved the nation's workshops and fields from devastation.

With deepest emotion the homeland thanks you. You can return with heads erect. Never have men done or suffered more than you.

The German people have shaken off the old rule. On you, above all others, rests the hope of German freedom. The hard requirements of the victors are heavy upon us, but we will not collapse. We will build a new Germany. With the strength and unshakable courage which you have proved a thousand times, see to it that Germany remains united and that the old misery of a system of small States does not overtake us again.

The unity of the German Nation is a work of religion, of socialism. We must work with all our strength if we are not to sink to the state of a beggar people. You are laying down the arms which, borne by the sons of the people, should never be a danger but only a protection for the people, whose happiness your industrious hands must build up from new foundations.

Ebert was interrupted repeatedly by roars of applause from the multitude. While he was speaking a Spartacide agitator sought to attract the attention of the masses in a corner of the square. He succeeded so well that he was rushed by the soldiers and locked in the Art Academy.

When Ebert finished the bands began to play "I Had a Comrade Once," and the procession proceeded to Unter den Linden. There were some fourteen Guard Regiments in line, some carrying parts of their trains along, notably still smoking ambulant kitchens, nicknamed goulash guns. The troops received a heartier welcome than they would have if they had come as victors with Kaiser Wilhelm at their head.

The following description of the entry was written by a Berlin correspondent of the Rotterdam Courant:

The entry of the Guard Regiments through the Brandenburger Gate was a remarkable manifestation of national sentiment. The pressure in the streets was so great as to endanger life. The march of the entering troops in regular formation was at first impossible.

Eventually men from the entering troops had to be told off to assist in making a way for their comrades. Nowhere had cordons been formed in advance, not even in front of the grand stand, from which members of the Government watched the spectacle, but the mad throng was good-humored and this was shared by the troops in spite of their violent exertions and almost hopeless efforts to keep back the crowd.

In wave after wave the soldiers struggled forward amid flags, greenery, and flowers. In front of the procession marched a row of soldiers holding high banners in the colors of the new republic, black, red, and gold. Then came detachments representing regiments of all the Federal States with their own colors in their rifle barrels. First came the Bavarians with their blue and gold, fine fellows, still well equipped, and many on horseback. Others were seated on caissons, which were also covered with flowers and greenery.

Alongside many of the infantrymen marched their wives or sweethearts. The cheering was not very loud, but ran as a murmur along Unter den Linden, where all the windows, balconies, and roofs were occupied by spectators. Neither on the houses nor among the incoming soldiers were any red flags to be seen, but from the Russian Embassy the symbol of revolution was flown. Some of the bands played "Deutschland über Alles," others played soldiers' melodies, but not a single revolutionary tune was heard.

On the grand stand in Pariser Platz one saw far above the crowd Ebert and Burgomaster Wermuth, with one General. Ebert was wearing a silk hat, like many other bourgeois spectators. No high officers were seen in the procession.

Flowers and cigarettes were thrown from the windows and balconies to the passing troops, who were also met by motor cars laden with brilliant chrysanthemums. Berlin was once more a military town, full of enthusiasm for the soldiers and their deeds.

There was nothing in the entry to call to mind the national defeat. In spite of the lack of sunshine the picture was full of color by reason of the lavish display of flags and flowers. All the afternoon the troops were passing through, coming from the west, and tens of thousands of people did not tire of watching them.

Political Confusion in Austria

Attempts at Self-Determination

[PERIOD ENDED DEC. 15, 1918]

THE war left the former empire of Austria-Hungary in a condition of political and economic chaos surpassed only by that of Russia. With the abdication of Emperor Charles on Nov. 11, 1918, each nationality in the heterogeneous empire devoted its energies to creating an independent Government and seizing what it considered its share of territory and economic resources. In some cases three or four rival factions contended for control of the new Government.

In the former kingdom of Hungary the Jugoslavs, Rumanians, Ruthenians, and Czechoslovaks claimed eighty-three provinces, though there were only sixty-three in the whole kingdom; rival nationalities were claiming the same territory. The Hungarian State was practically reduced to the city of Budapest and the neighboring plain as far as the Rumanian line. Formal proclamation of the Hungarian Republic was made Nov. 17.

The collapse of the Magyar hegemony had created a serious economic situation. The Hungarian coalfields were occupied by the Czechs and Jugoslavs, and neither Budapest nor Vienna could get food or coal from the provinces that had formerly been under their control. By the end of November Vienna was in desperate need. The Czechoslovaks refused to send any food unless Austria relinquished all claim to certain mixed German and Czech districts of Bohemia.

Of the political situation in German Austria a correspondent wrote on Nov. 16:

> Four political groups are striving for ascendency. There is the German National Committee, of which some Socialists like Herr Seitz are members. This committee has raised a National Guard, wearing yellow, red, and black cockades. Against this committee there is one composed of the Viennese Democrats, who are opposed to union with Germany. They, too, have raised a National Guard, wearing white and red cockades. There is a committee of extremists, mostly workmen, with their National Guard, wearing red cockades. Finally, there is a party working in the dark, headed by Cardinal Piffi, and aiming apparently at the restoration of the monarchy. Their plot, however, was discovered and Cardinal Piffi was placed under guard.

German Austria from the first voiced its desire to be annexed by Germany. Under Secretary of State Bauer at Vienna telegraphed to Commissioner Haase of Berlin on Nov. 15: "German "Austria has given expression to its will "to be united again with the other parts "of the German Nation from which it was "forcibly separated fifty-two years ago." He begged that negotiations for such a union might be entered upon at once.

The first and most strongly organized element of the former empire was that of the Czechoslovaks, who, on Nov. 15, proclaimed a full-fledged republic, with its capital at Prague and with Professor Thomas G. Masaryk as President. When the Czechoslovak National Assembly ratified the choice of Masaryk as President at its first session, Nov. 19, it also chose Dr. Karl Kramarz as Premier and Franz Tomasak, former member of the Reichsrat, as President of the National Assembly. Two days previously the United States Government had extended a credit of $7,000,000 to the new republic.

Dr. Kramarz for many years had fought for the rights of the Czech people. He was arrested at Prague on July 1, 1915, and, following his trial at Vienna, was sentenced to death. King Alfonso of Spain appealed in his behalf and the death sentence was commuted to fifteen years' imprisonment. Dr. Kramarz was released under Emperor Charles's amnesty proclamation on July 14, 1917. He said to an interviewer Nov. 19:

> Our chief ambition is to live peacefully and prosperously and to become a strong friend of the Entente against the Germans. We also desire to establish the frontiers of ancient Bohemia. However, we will be fairer with the Germans than they were with us. We will not oppress

those within our borders. We will give them every liberty, their own schools and language, but the Government must be ours.

Meanwhile the South Slavs had been laboring to organize the Republic of Jugoslavia, with its temporary capital at Agram, and with the ultimate aim of becoming part of a greater State headed by Serbia. An important meeting at Geneva on Nov. 7 settled the details for this union. The agreement was made between Nicholas Pashitch, Prime Minister of Serbia, and delegates from the National Council of Agram (Croatia) as representatives of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The delegates to the conference were the President of the Jugoslav Parliamentary group of the Vienna Reichsrat, Dr. Anton Koroshetz, and two other members of the Agram National Council, Dr. Chingria and Dr. Chorovitch, Premier Pashitch, and Dr. Anton Trumbitch, President of the Jugoslav Committee in London. The proceedings were thus summarized by Professor Voyslav M. Yovanovitch, Director of the Official Serbian Bureau at Washington:

In a written note presented to the conference the delegates from Agram asked the Serbian Government and the other allied Governments to recognize the National Council of Agram as the supreme power of a State newly constituted within the frontiers of the Serbo-Croato-Slovene Nation, hitherto being parts of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and as Commander in Chief of the fleet of that State, until the formalities of the final union with Serbia were carried out.

They further asked that the Jugoslav troops should be recognized by the Allies as a belligerent and friendly force, and gave Dr. Trumbitch full powers to represent the National Council of Agram before the allied Governments until a common organ was created to assure the common diplomatic representation.

The conference unanimously hailed with enthusiasm the creation of a common Ministry for the United Serbian, Croat, and Slovene State.

The conference further proclaimed that there were no longer any interior political or customs frontiers between the entire Serbian, Croat, and Slovene territory. The local administration of the Jugoslav countries will not for the time being undergo any modification. The changes to be made will be definitely settled by the Constituent Assembly.

The conference further protested against the action of the Italian authorities on Jugoslav territory.

The National Council at Agram on Nov. 26 chose Crown Prince Alexander of Serbia to be Regent of the Jugoslav State. Later Montenegro also took action toward a full union with the new State under Prince Alexander.

From the time of Austria-Hungary's collapse there were conflicting claims between Italy and Jugoslavia regarding the allotment of former Austrian territory on the eastern side of the Adriatic. The clash of interests was most marked at Fiume, whose occupation by the Italians was made the subject of strong Jugoslav protests. Similar friction ensued in Galicia between the Poles and Ukrainians, in this case with bloodshed. As the year 1918 drew to a close, indeed, the whole distracted area of the former Dual Monarchy was bristling with problems for the Paris Peace Conference to settle.

Demobilizing the War Machine

How the United States Government Entered on the New Tasks Confronting It After the Armistice

[Period Ended Dec. 18, 1918]

THE energies of the United States Government in the period following the signing of the armistice were chiefly directed toward the reduction of its military and naval forces and the dismantlement of the huge war machine that it had constructed. This of necessity involved many momentous problems. The process, if too sudden, would invite economic disaster. Yet it was felt that the country should be put on a peace footing without unnecessary delay. Modifying both these points of view was the fact that, while hostilities had ended, peace had not been concluded, and that conditions in the Central Powers were restless and unsettled.

It was announced on Nov. 19 that Secretary Daniels had issued to all ships and stations of the navy an order which expressed the desire of the department that all members of the regular service and of the Naval Reserve force who had enlisted for the duration of the war should be released as soon as possible. Application for such release was to be made in writing and indorsed by officers in command who would forward them to the Bureau of Navigation. This applied to officers as well as men of the Naval Reserve Force.

DEMOBILIZING STUDENT CORPS

On Nov. 26 an order was issued from the War Department for the demobilization of the Students' Army Training Corps, which had been instituted on Oct. 1 in 500 colleges and universities throughout the country. It was estimated that this would result in the discharge in December of about 150,000 students from the United States Army.

Many of the students had been either in college or about to enter before they became members of the corps. When demobilized these continued their studies, with the exception that military drill and instruction were dropped. Members of the corps who had been taking mathematics and other studies which form a part of the regular curriculum received credit for work done in those studies when they returned to the normal college course. Officers of the corps desiring to remain in military service, if recommended by their commanding officers, could continue in the service.

DISBANDING THE ARMY

In accordance with a statement issued by General March, United States Chief of Staff, on Nov. 16, the demobilizing of the men in camps in this country was progressing at the rate of 30,000 a day.

Troops from abroad began to arrive in large numbers on Dec. 2, when the Mauretania brought in 4,000. After that time every day witnessed the arrival of shiploads of troops. It was stated at Washington on Nov. 29 that the War Department had named October, 1919, as the time when the last regiments of the American Army would be returned from France. For the present 470,000 men were to constitute the army of occupation under Major Gen. Dickman, and the rest of the troops would be returned as rapidly as the department deemed possible or advisable. Boston, New York, Newport News, and Charleston were designated as the ports at which returning troopships would land the men, who would be debarked as near to their homes as this arrangement made possible.

WORK FOR RETURNING SOLDIERS

In his annual report, made public Dec. 11, Secretary of the Interior Lane outlined a comprehensive plan for the employment of disbanded army men. "As an immediate program," said the Secretary, "we should first offer an opportunity upon our present irrigation projects for all who wish work at clearing

"and leveling the land not now cultivated, but for which water is available. * * * As a second step I would urge an appropriation for one or more of the largest irrigation schemes for which surveys are in an advanced state." Mr. Lane continued:

> After a soldier has returned to his home, if his old position is not open and he wishes to turn to an independent life, there would be laid before him a number of projects which the Government had undertaken in the different sections of the country. Let us assume no more than three—one an irrigation scheme, another a drainage project, a third the development of a body of cut-over lands. The one would need to have great dams constructed to impound and divert waters, a hydroelectric plant, miles of canal and tunnel, perhaps, thousands of acres to be cleared and leveled, fenced and broken. This would mean years of work at good wages, work in the open under housing conditions that would seem palatial to the soldier of the trench, and at the end a piece of land on which would be erected a house and barn, a farm home in a group of farm homes. For this he must pay. But already he has received wages out of which he can have saved the necessary first installment on his place of 10 or 15 per cent. The balance with interest he can pay in forty yearly installments, or earlier if he can.

Mr. Lane declared that in the United States there are more than 200,000,000 acres of waste land which can be made into farms.

HIGH MORALE OF ARMY

Not a single member of the American Army had been put to death since the beginning of the war because of the commission of a purely military offense, Major Gen. Crowder, Judge Advocate General, stated in his annual report Dec. 9. General Crowder said this fact was the outstanding feature of his report. Very few death sentences had been imposed, and none of those imposed for purely military offenses had been carried into execution.

Records of the Judge Advocate General's office showed that 12,357 officers and men were brought before general courts-martial, of whom 10,873, or 88 per cent., were convicted. More than half the charges against officers were listed under three heads: "Absent without leave, drunkenness, and conduct unbecoming an officer."

Convictions of enlisted men for desertion were actually less than in the previous years, although the strength of the army had increased many fold.

The report showed that one enlisted man was tried and convicted of "being a spy," and that 773 men were convicted of sleeping on post.

GENERAL HEALTH CONDITIONS

In his annual report, Dec. 6, Surgeon General William C. Gorgas stated that the health of the American Army both at home and abroad had been excellent, and the mortality rate from disease probably lower than in any similar body of troops in the history of warfare.

Complete statistics of deaths in army camps were not included in the report, which covered only the fiscal year to June 30, 1918. In 1917 total deaths from disease were 2,984, and the death rate per thousand 6.3. This compares with a seven-year average of 4.9 per thousand. Contrasting this record with that of previous years, General Gorgas pointed out that if the morbidity of typhoid fever had been the same as in 1898 there would have been 1,400 deaths from that disease alone, whereas there were only 23. Measles was placed at the head of the diseases causing death, although the report showed that 65 per cent. of the deaths were due to resultant pneumonia.

Between 300,000 and 350,000 deaths from influenza and pneumonia occurred among the civilian population of the United States since Sept. 15, according to estimates of the public health service made public Dec. 4. These calculations were based on reports from cities and States keeping accurate records, and public health officials believe they were conservative.

The epidemic still persisted, but deaths were much less numerous. A recrudescence of the disease was occurring in many communities throughout the country, but this was believed to be sporadic and not to indicate a general renewal of severe epidemic conditions.

Insurance companies had been hard hit by the epidemic, Government reports indicated, although there were no figures available to show total losses sustained

by these companies. The Government incurred liabilities of more than $170,000,000 in connection with life insurance carried by soldiers in army camps, not including those in Europe. About 20,000 deaths occurred in the camps in the United States, War Department records showed.

Though the War Department had announced, on Nov. 23, that the total casualties in the American Expeditionary Forces had aggregated 236,117, the detailed casualty lists were slow in coming, and the total of these lists on Dec. 15 was only 157,605.

CUTTING DOWN EXPENSES

A report made Nov. 29 by John Burke, Treasurer of the United States, to the Secretary of the Treasury, after showing that the public debt on June 30, 1918, was $12,396,000,000, stated that it cost $5,645,000,000 to run the American Army during the year ended June 30, 1918; $1,368,000,000 for the navy, and $1,516,000,000 for the civil Government proper. The Shipping Board spent $862,000,000, and $181,000,000 was paid out in pensions. The grand total was $9,572,000,000.

Representative Sherley, Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, estimated Dec. 5 that at least $12,000,000,000 would be saved by the various executive departments of the Government through cancellation of war contracts and cessation of unnecessary work. Mr. Sherley said, after reading a statement from the Secretary of War, which was submitted to the committee, that more than $7,000,000,000 out of the $24,000,000,000 appropriated to the War Department would be covered into the Treasury through the cancellation of contracts and the saving in other directions.

The statement of Secretary Baker showed that the total appropriations for the army since the United States entered the war were $24,281,000,000. Of this amount there had been disbursed up to Oct. 31, 1918, in the United States $9,159,000,000, and in France $1,168,000,000. The total amount disbursed and obligated in Europe and America was $14,753,000,000. This left a remainder of $9,528,000,000 unobligated.

The amount obligated but not disbursed was given as $4,250,000,000. The Secretary expressed the hope of saving $2,600,000,000 of this sum. Estimated savings in the cancellation, termination, and reduction of contracts were:

Ordnance	$800,000,000
Medical Department	82,000,000
Signal Corps	10,000,000
Engineer Corps	229,000,000
Aircraft production	402,000,000
Military aeronautics	5,000,000
Chemical Warfare Service	20,000,000
Quartermaster Corps	400,000,000

The Secretary said that he expected to effect a total saving of $12,000,000,000. On Dec. 5 recommendations for termination of contracts aggregated approximately $2,613,000,000. Some of the larger contracts canceled were:

Power and expenses	$275,000,000
Artillery and ammunition	750,000,000
Rifles and machine guns	53,000,000
Motor vehicles	282,000,000
Textiles (cloth)	264,000,000
Airplane parts	256,000,000
Gas defense equipment	130,000,000
Iron and steel products and railway materials	53,000,000
Construction Division material and facilities	150,000,000

More than a billion dollars had been cut from the navy's estimates of expenditures for the coming fiscal year. Secretary Daniels stated that the estimates sent to Congress were based on the war program, and that the reduction process that already had eliminated over two-fifths of the $2,600,000,000 total was continuing.

EXPENSES OF WAR PERIOD

The annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. McAdoo, issued on Dec. 4, among other striking features showed how the American people paid billions in taxes, raised four great Liberty Loans, and created a pool of credit with which the Treasury paid the bills of the army and navy, the Shipping Board, and other Government departments, lent billions to the Allies and millions to war industries, helped support the families of soldiers and sailors, and tided farmers over periods of financial stringency.

For the fifteen months ended with

June, 1918, Secretary McAdoo estimated that the actual cost of the war, with allowances for the Government's ordinary expenses in ordinary times, amounted to $13,222,000,000. Nearly half of this, or $6,499,000,000, went into permanent investments in the form of ships, shipyards, war vessels, army camps, buildings, and in loans to allies or to American war industries. Of the year's expenses 31.6 per cent. came from taxation.

The civil establishment of the Government during the year spent $1,507,000,000, while the War Department spent $5,684,000,000 and the navy $1,368,000,000. For the support of the army alone the Government paid out $4,412,000,000. The naval expenditures included the construction of new vessels, machinery, armament, equipment, and improvements at navy yards. Total ordinary disbursements for the year amounted to $8,966,000,000, and ordinary receipts, excluding money received from Liberty Loans, amounted to $4,174,000,000. Loans to allies during the year amounted to $4,739,000,000 additional.

Mr. McAdoo forecast expenditures for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, at $20,687,000,000 for Government purposes and $1,375,000,000 for loans to allies and $2,540,000,000 for redemption of outstanding certificates and other debt cancellation. Total estimated disbursements for the year were put at $27,718,000,000.

The United States public debt June 30, 1918, was $12,396,000,000, without taking into consideration the $1,319,000,000 free balance in the Treasury partially to offset the debt. The public debt had been increased since then by the Fourth Liberty Loan of nearly $7,000,000,000, and by Treasury certificates of indebtedness amounting to several hundred million dollars.

The Secretary's report disclosed for the first time the activities of the Treasury's sinking fund to buy up Liberty bonds in an effort to keep their price from falling far below par. Up to Nov. 1, it was shown, $244,036,500 worth of bonds, face value, had been purchased in the open market for $234,310,000, or at an average price of about 96 per cent., and subsequently held by the Treasury. Of this sum $172,445,000 were Second Liberty Loan bonds, of both 4 and 4¼ per cent. issues, $70,935,000 were Third Liberty Loan bonds, and $656,000 were First Liberty Loan converted bonds.

TOTAL WAR DEBTS

The Federal Reserve Board authorized the following, Nov. 20:

> The successful placing of the Fourth Liberty Loan, by far the greatest public debt operation of the kind in history, calls attention to the continuous and extensive increase of the obligations of the belligerent countries as the war proceeded. While final figures are in most cases available only up to a relatively recent date and while therefore an element of estimate must be empolyed in every computation which seeks to show the present status of public obligations, it may be stated in round numbers that the war indebtedness of all kinds incurred by the belligerents on both sides is probably not far from $175,000,000,000. As compared with the total estimated wealth of the world prior to the outbreak of the European war, this figure therefore represents a very material proportion.
>
> The close of the war leaves all the belligerent countries, our own among them, with a very difficult price and credit situation as a consequence of the inflated state of credit throughout the world. It is therefore obviously the interest of any country which can do so to avoid any aggravation of conditions by careful adjustment of its financial program to the underlying economic factors. There is nothing that can be accomplished by inflation that cannot be better accomplished in other ways less objectionable in their economic effects.

NAVAL CONSTRUCTION

Figures disclosed in the annual report of Rear Admiral Griffin, Chief of the Bureau of Steam Engineering, Dec. 12, showed that, one month before the war ended, the American Navy was operating a total of 1,959 vessels of all descriptions, of which 264 were actively participating in the war in European waters.

Admiral Griffin said the regular navy on the date of his report consisted of 570 ships, supplemented by 93 vessels from the coast guard, lighthouse service, Coast and Geodetic Survey, and fish commission. In addition, the navy was then operating 937 converted merchant craft, yachts and the like, and the naval overseas transport service, consisting of 247

Shipping Board and other supply vessels, with 112 more about to be commissioned. Construction under way for the regular navy at that time included 376 new ships of all kinds and 52 tugs.

"Since the United States became a belligerent," the report states, "the magnitude of the engineering work of the navy, both mechanical and electrical, not only in its actual amount but in the rapid development of facilities for its execution, has been without parallel for the same period of time in the history of the world's navies."

To keep up the fleet abroad, three repair bases were established in France, one in Great Britain, one at Gibraltar, and two in the Mediterranean. These were supplemented by six repair ships, which achieved remarkable results in repairing vessels at sea.

On Dec. 5 the Clyde, Mallory, Merchants and Miners, and Southern Steamship Companies were relinquished from Government control and returned to their owners. Steamship companies owned by railroads were retained under the management of the Railroad Administration. The four lines turned back to private management had been taken over by the Government on April 13 under war powers of the President and their operation consolidated with other steamship lines under the Railroad Administration.

VALUE OF DRAFT ACTS

General March, Chief of Staff, paid a tribute to the value of draft legislation in a report to Secretary Baker on Dec. 5. He said in part:

> I recommended to you on July 18, 1918, the adoption, as the American program, of eighty divisions in France and eighteen at home by June 30, 1919, based on a total strength of the American Army of 4,850,000 men. This was approved by you and by the President of the United States and adopted as our formal military program. To carry this program into effect required the adoption by Congress of a change in the draft ages so as to include men between the ages of 18 and 45 years, and also created a deficiency over the enormous appropriations already made by Congress of some $7,000,000,000. The presentation of the program to Congress, accompanied by the statement that this increase in the army, if laws were passed by Congress which would make it effective, would lead to success in 1919, produced prompt and favorable consideration by that body. Up to the signing of the armistice troops were being transported to France monthly in accordance with that program. The results speak for themselves.

RESIGNATION OF OFFICIALS

The virtual termination of the war was followed by numerous resignations of officials who had been prominent in war activities. The most important was that of Mr. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury and Director General of Railroads. His letter of resignation reviewed his work of the last six years and stated that he needed a long period of rest. His prime motive for resigning, however, was declared to be the necessity of recouping his personal fortune, which had been impaired by his long service in Washington. The resignation was accepted by the President on Nov. 21 in a letter which expressed deep regret and warm appreciation of the service Secretary McAdoo had rendered to the country. Carter Glass of Virginia was appointed to succeed Mr. McAdoo as Secretary of the Treasury, and entered on his duties Dec. 16.

On Nov. 21 John D. Ryan resigned as Director of Air Service and as Second Assistant Secretary of War. The resignation of Charles M. Schwab as Director General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation was accepted by the President on Dec. 7. On Dec. 3 Dr. Harry A. Garfield handed in his resignation as Fuel Administrator, and it was accepted the same day. Bernard M. Baruch's resignation as Chairman of the War Industries Board was accepted on Dec. 4, to go into effect Jan. 1, 1919.

By an order issued Dec. 13 Postmaster General Burleson removed Clarence H. Mackay, President of the Commercial Cable Company, George G. Ward, Vice President, and William W. Cook, General Counsel, from all connection with the operation or control of the cable lines owned by that company, and Newcomb Carlton, President of the Western Union Telegraph Company, was placed in charge of all the cable systems taken

over under the President's proclamation of Nov. 2.

AIRPLANE MOTORS

It was developed at the War Department, Nov. 27, that, when the armistice was signed, contracts had been awarded for the manufacture of 95,993 airplane motors. The original number of Liberty motors contracted for was 22,500. This was raised to 51,100 Liberty twelves. Contracts also were made for 10,000 Hispano-Suiza 300 horse power motors, 8,000 eight-cylinder Liberty motors, and other models.

The production up to the signing of the armistice was 31,814, of which 15,131 were Liberty motors. In October 5,603 motors were turned out, with a contemplated production of 8,000 in January, 1919, and 10,000 a month for the four months following. Besides the 31,814 motors, the War Department provided 12,000 airplanes and 700 kite balloons.

NATION-WIDE PROHIBITION

On Nov. 21 President Wilson signed the Emergency Agricultural Appropriation bill with its legislative rider providing for national prohibition from July 1, 1919, until the United States Army should be demobilized. The Agricultural bill including the amendment prohibiting the manufacture of beer and wine after Dec. 1 passed the Senate on Aug. 29, 1918. That was known as the "bone dry" measure. The amendment soon passed the House, and President Wilson clinched it on Sept. 18, 1918, by issuing a proclamation which included the prohibition of near-beer or other substitute beverages.

The President's proclamation stated that the use of foodstuffs and foods for brewing of malt liquors, including near-beer, for beverage purposes, after Dec. 1, was prohibited. The President called attention to the fact that the prohibition applied regardless of whether the beverage contained alcohol.

Anticipating the end of beer brewing, some of the large breweries in the country turned their activities toward the manufacture of near-beer. One of the largest breweries erected an additional plant solely for the manufacture of a beer substitute. The Food Administration promptly followed up the President's proclamation by ordering the malting of grain stopped.

CONTINUED FOOD SHORTAGE

On Sunday, Dec. 1, a message from Mr. Hoover, United States Food Administrator, was read in churches throughout the country. It said in part:

> Again in full confidence, I call upon the American people to set aside Sunday, Dec. 1, and the week following, for the consideration of America's opportunity for renewed service and sacrifice.
>
> The change in the foreign situation necessarily alters the details of our food program, because the freeing of the seas from the submarine menace renders accessible the wheat supplies of India, Australia, and the Argentine. The total food demand upon the United States is not diminished, however. On the contrary, it is increased. In addition to the supplying of those to whom we are already pledged, we now have the splendid opportunity and obligation of meeting the needs of those millions of people in the hitherto occupied territories who are facing actual starvation. The people of Belgium, Northern France, Serbia, Rumania, Montenegro, Poland, Russia, and Armenia rely upon America for immediate aid. We must also participate in the preservation of the newly liberated nations in Austria; nor can we ignore the effect on the future world developments of a famine condition among those other people whom we have recently released from our enemies. All these considerations mean that upward of 200,000,000 people, in addition to those we are already pledged to serve, are now looking to us in their misery and famine. Our appeal today is, therefore, larger than the former appeal to the war conscience of our people. The new appeal is to the "world conscience," which must be the guiding inspiration of our future program.

The Federal Food Board furnished, Dec. 1, the following estimate of what was required from America:

> We must provide food for our armed forces abroad—at present more than 2,000,000.
>
> Help provision the big allies—France, England, and Italy, approximately 125,000,000 people.
>
> Furnish a greater part of the food necessary for the little nations starved under the German yoke—the Belgians, Serbians, Rumanians, Greeks, Czechs,

Jugoslavs, and others, embracing some 75,000,000 people.

Send food to the 50,000,000 people in Northern Russia, many of whom are already facing famine conditions owing to the collapse of transportation facilities and lack of organized Government.

Assist the neutral States in Europe, embracing about 40,000,000 people, who are now all on short rations, and the 90,000,000 enemy people to secure for themselves the food necessary to sustain life.

Export between 18,000,000 and 20,000,000 tons of food to Europe and at the same time keep sufficient food in this country to maintain the health and strength of our own people.

ALIEN PROPERTY HELD

The following synopsis of the trust accounts of the Alien Property Custodian was rendered as of Oct. 31, 1918:

Cash deposited with Secretary of Treasury:		
Invested in Government securities	$54,786,443.82	
Uninvested	4,544,126.32	
		$59,330,570.14
Cash with depositaries		9,545.78
Stocks		169,366,959.65
Bonds (other than investments made by Secretary of Treasury)		59,365,453.15
Mortgages		11,720,995.74
Notes receivable		6,167,031.98
Accounts receivable		50,648,582.18
Real estate		7,567,987.55
General businesses and estates in operation or liquidation, merchandise, miscellaneous investments, &c		89,278,885.39
Enemy vessels		34,193,690.00
		$487,649,701.56
Number of trusts reported to Alien Property Custodian		27,755
Number of trusts opened		19,371

European Neutrals and the Armistice

Effects of Germany's Collapse on Holland, Scandinavia, Switzerland, and Spain

[PERIOD ENDED DEC. 15, 1918]

FOR the neutral nations of the world the problems of the war, even though it was not their war, overshadowed all other political questions. So it was that the signing of the armistice on Nov. 11, 1918, was celebrated on the west coast of South America with scarcely less enthusiasm than in London, Paris, and New York.

The neutral countries near or bordering on Germany felt the harsh impact of the revolution in the Central Empires. The fall of the Kaiser and his flight was a signal for loud demands from the radical parties in all these countries. In Holland there was for a few days a real fear of an overthrow of the Government. In Switzerland a general strike began, which was to be—in the minds of Bolshevist and German leaders—the beginning of a violent revolution. Copenhagen had its syndicalist riots, and in Sweden there was a manifesto calling for the establishment of a republic. All these revolutionary movements quickly subsided, but in all the neutral countries the days since the ending of the war have been a time of strain and stress.

The following is a brief summary of the principal events in the recently neutral European countries from the signing of the armistice to Dec. 15, 1918:

HOLLAND

The sharp crisis through which Holland passed during the middle of November was indirectly the result of the surrender of the German Army and directly the result of the German revolution. Through the four years of the war Holland had been drawn this way and that by the two great warring forces between whom she stood. The end of the struggle released pent-up streams of discontent among her masses which for a few days caused a widespread uprising and an outbreak of violence against the Government.

At the very time of the signing of the armistice speeches made by the Socialist leader Troelstra and others of his party caused the wildest excitement throughout the country. Troelstra declared openly that the time had come for the working people of Holland to take the affairs of Government into their own hands, and that they would not be content with demanding what they wanted but would take it by revolution, and at the same time he warned against anarchy and Bolshevism.

"We shall have to discuss the important question whether we shall elect a Supreme Council of Soldiers and Workmen for the whole country," he said, "and also the creation of local councils. If we decide that, then the National Council from that moment is the supreme authority in the country."

At the same time the National Revolutionary Committee issued a manifesto demanding the sweeping away of royalty and the diplomatic service, renunciation of the State debt, and many other radical changes.

At the session of the Second Chamber on Nov. 13 Troelstra renewed his attack on the Government and the Queen. He said among other things at that meeting:

> We now assert that the militarist influence emanates from the Queen and her entourage, which is in contradiction at every point with the spirit of the people. The Government appeals for order because the Social Democracy sees that the moment has arrived to take over the power of the State. The workers will not abandon their rights for a mess of pottage. We do not desire anarchy or violence, but the historic events in Germany happened practically without violence, because there they understood that the moment had arrived for socialism. We should betray the workers if for fear of violence we allowed this historic moment to pass. The Government will not be able to rely upon the army because the army consists of workers who have been treated by the wealthy classes in such a manner that the army has become their worst enemy. Neither will the Government be able to rely upon two-thirds of the police force to act against the Social Democrats. We aspire to power because the Government no longer has the power or the right to Government.

At the same session of the Chamber another revolutionary Socialist, David Wynkoop, made a speech demanding the immediate abdication of the Queen and calling for a general strike of the workingmen of the country. He proposed that the demobilizing troops should not surrender their arms until they were assured of food supplies for themselves and their families.

The Government of Queen Wilhelmina took energetic steps to meet this outbreak of radical feeling and discontent. A proclamation addressed to the people on Nov. 14 urgently appealed for cooperation during the "grave crisis" that had arisen. It said that a minority was threatening to seize power in the State and announced the Government's intention to maintain its authority and keep order.

The Government proceeded to make good its word. Soldiers were put on guard at public buildings, cavalry was sent to patrol the streets of The Hague, and troops were assembled in Amsterdam, where revolutionary demonstrations had taken place. The Government recalled from London M. Colyn, the former Minister of War, as one who could wield a great influence in his country. There were a few minor clashes between the troops and the demonstrators.

The trouble in Holland subsided as quickly as it rose, and ended in enthusiastic expressions of loyalty toward the Queen, whose personal popularity was a strong influence for order. On Nov. 18 thousands of people assembled on the parade grounds at The Hague to pay homage to the Queen. Her husband, the German Prince Henry, shared in the demonstration, as well as the members of the Cabinet and the President of the lower house, all of whom were present.

At the same time Troelstra and the leaders of the radicals, realizing the failure of their attack on the Government, withdrew from their position, and by Nov. 20 an English observer in Holland could report that the revolutionary agitation had completely broken down. A great demonstration in favor of the Socialists had been arranged for that day, and there was considerable apprehension, but when the crowds came together in the various centres the orange rosette of loyalty was seen everywhere and the whole demonstration resolved

itself into an expression of fealty to the established Government. It was then clear that the German revolution had been stopped at the frontier. Holland had thus escaped the first shock of the violent catastrophe in Germany.

Discontent in Holland was further quieted by the ability of the Government to make better arrangements with the Entente Powers and America for shipping and food supplies. While Germany is still a blockaded country and there is not yet any free trade with Holland under the British blockade rules, there has been a relaxation of the most stringent rules and it has been possible for the Dutch authorities to increase food allowances in the most pressing cases.

Beside the difficult questions for Holland involved in the presence of the Kaiser on her soil, there is another matter between Holland and the Allies. That is the question of the retreat of some 68,000 men of the German Army across that part of Holland included in the Province of Limburg, forming a salient into Belgian territory. On Nov. 12 German troops from the northeastern part of Belgium presented themselves at the Dutch frontier and asked permission to pass through the narrow neck of Dutch territory into Germany. The Dutch Cabinet took up the matter on the next day and decided to grant the right of passage through Dutch territory after the Germans had laid down their arms in Holland. It was at first reported that the allied Governments had agreed to this departure from the strict letter of the law of nations. From Paris, however, the semi-official Havas Agency issued a statement saying that the allied representatives had only been informed of the decision of the Holland Government after the Germans had entered the country, and that they had expressed no opinion on the subject.

THE SCANDINAVIAN LEAGUE

The three Scandinavian countries which have acted together throughout the war have decided to continue their agreement through the Peace Conference and will act together during the discussions of a League of Nations, according to the Official Journal of Copenhagen, which published the following statement on Dec. 3:

> According to decisions at meetings of the Scandinavian Cabinet Ministers, the Governments of the three northern countries have appointed committees to prepare material for the purpose of looking after the common interests of neutral States at the Peace Conference and after the conclusion of peace. These committes have held a series of meetings in Copenhagen and agreed on a detailed proposal with a view to the possible organization of a League of Nations. This proposal embraces especially the general obligation to subject disputes between States to arbitration, the establishment of an International Council, a permanent International Court of Justice, international institutions of investigation and arbitration, and the permanent organization of peace conferences or conferences on international law at The Hague.
>
> The question of the position of the northern States to suggest international restriction of armaments and international enforcement of such organization has been temporarily discussed by committees, and will be further considered during the continued co-operation between the three countries. In respect to this, a Danish committee has been appointed, headed by the Minister of Defense, Dr. P. Munch, and a Swedish committee headed by Hjalmar Branting, while no new member has yet been appointed for Norway.

DENMARK

With the complete defeat of Germany a very interesting and important question was raised for the little kingdom of Denmark, and the discussion of this question is filling Danish newspapers to the exclusion of most other phases of the peace settlement. It is the sudden revival of the half-century-old Schleswig-Holstein question, now raised in the belief that it will find a just settlement. But in half a century it has ceased to be a dispute over two duchies. The present Government of Denmark makes no claim to all this once bitterly fought over territory, but on the other hand, would not be willing to assume responsibility for it. The position of Denmark is that the people of Northern Schleswig should now have an opportunity to express their political wishes, whether for joining Denmark or taking their chances with a

newly organized Germany. As the district in question is overwhelmingly Danish, there is no doubt as to the result of a vote.

The Schleswig-Holstein matter was brought up prominently by the letter of President Wilson in response to an appeal addressed to him by American citizens and residents from Schleswig and Denmark. The President in his reply, addressed to a representative of the Danes, said:

The White House,
Washington, Nov. 12, 1918.

My dear Mr. Bodholdt: In addressing myself to you I wish to include not only Carl Plow of Petaluma, Cal., and Jens Jensen of Chicago, who with you have been the chief spokesmen of Slesvig in this country, but all the Slesvigers who have signed the petition directed to me, as well as the still greater number of Americans of Danish race who have indorsed that petition.

The statement you have given me, signed by former residents of Slesvig and indorsed by a still greater number of Danes, all now American citizens, voices anew an unforgotten injustice. I can but assure you that your appeal to America's sympathy and passion for justice will not go unheard, for it founds itself wisely upon the rights of men to rule themselves and to choose the manner in which that self-rule shall be exercised. I do not doubt that your voice and that of your former countrymen will be heard and heeded wherever the thought of the nations turns to the righting of old wrongs kept fresh by the lengthened oppression of the intervening years.

It is for the whole world which has borne the burdens of war to share in the adjustments of peace. Not America alone but all the peoples now quickened to a newer sense of the values of justice must join in the relief of a grievance whose continuance would traverse the principles for which more than a score of nations are now fighting.

Please accept on behalf of the Slesvigers in this country my thanks for the faith of which their petition is an evidence and on behalf of your race in the old country my earnest wish for the hastening of the day when right and justice shall prevail to deliver them from oppression. Cordially and sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

The stand of the present Danish Government on this question is given by an attaché of the legation in Washington, who wrote to THE NEW YORK TIMES, under date of Nov. 26, as follows:

The petition to the President and his answer are based on the same ideal foundation: the right of peoples to determine their own allegiance. And this means that not Schleswig-Holstein but only the northern part of Schleswig will be returned to Denmark. Holstein is more German than Prussia itself and even the southern part of Schleswig Germanized to such an extent that only by force could it be brought back under Danish rule.

North Schleswig, however, or South Jutland, as the Danes call it, is Danish in language, Danish in culture, Danish in sympathies, and has through more than fifty years unceasingly fought for its Danish nationality and its Danish mother tongue. But even so, neither the Danes nor the Schleswigers themselves would like to see North Schleswig returned to Denmark without a vote being taken to show Germany and all the world than Denmark only gets back what is hers by every moral right. * * *

It cannot be emphasized strongly enough that Denmark wishes for a solution along purely national lines, not only because this is in accord with its own real feelings and best interests, but because it conforms with the often expressed principles of the Allies and America, that the new national settlements must be just and final. The Danish Nation wants returned to Denmark the Danish parts of Schleswig in such a way as not to give cause for future misunderstandings. This stand is in fact only a continuation of Denmark's neutral policy, maintained during the war with equal loyalty to both sides.

NORWAY

Sentiment in Norway has been very strongly in favor of the Allies, and a lesser degree of industrialism in that country has furnished a less favorable soil for socialism than in Sweden, for instance; the revolution in Germany and the signing of the armistice, therefore, did not bring any strong reaction. Norway now looks to payment for her heavy loss of ships through the German submarine operations and the surrender of the raiders in British and French harbors.

While sentiment was almost solidly for the Allies in Norway, the main political question has been the redistribution of election districts, the Social Democrats, whose strength is in the towns, playing off against the Left or Agrarian Party. Price-fixing and armament were the issues of the Fall election, the Socialists

standing out for much of the former and little of the latter.

The shipping account with the United States has been taken up in Norway since the ending of hostilities. It was announced from Washington on April 22, 1918, that the Shipping Board had chartered 400,000 tons of Norwegian sailing ships for trade outside the submarine zone. Now the Norwegian press is calling for an adjustment of the payment for the use of these vessels, which has been long held up.

SWEDEN

In Sweden there was an instantaneous echo of the German revolution in demands put forward by the Independent Socialist Party for the removal of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic. A manifesto calling for the organizing everywhere of Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils on the Russian model was published. Stockholm for a few days was a centre of many flying rumors. This agitation quickly subsided with the announcement that the Government was to carry through further democratic reforms. The proposed reforms include giving the franchise to both sexes on equal terms, and placing the control of foreign affairs as well as the right to declare war and make peace in the hands of the representative assembly.

LUXEMBURG

To no neutral country did the signing of the armistice mean more than to the little Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. Occupied by the German troops in the very first days of the war, it was suddenly freed of the invader. Ten days after the signing of the armistice, General Pershing entered Luxemburg, the capital, and, standing at the side of the young Grand Duchess Marie Adelaide on the balcony of her palace, reviewed a regiment of American troops.

The military events in the Grand Duchy belong rather to the story of the American Army of Occupation, but here it may be noted that sharp political differences manifested themselves as soon as the country was free of the German Army. Before the entry of the American Army crowds marched through the streets chanting "Abdicate! Abdicate!" before the palace. There is a party favoring the annexation of the Duchy to France, another to Belgium, and another for the preservation of its independence. During the occupation of the American troops no forced political change is looked for.

The Grand Duchess sent an appeal to President Wilson, announced on Nov. 26, to defend the rights of Luxemburg as an independent State in the Peace Conference. The message was referred to the Supreme War Council at Versailles.

The Luxemburg Chamber in the meantime had adopted a motion demanding a referendum to decide the form of the Government. A motion in the Chamber supported by Liberals and Socialists demanding the abdication of the Grand Duchess was rejected.

SWITZERLAND

A curious effect of the ending of the war was the attempt of Bolshevist representatives in Switzerland to bring about a revolution after a general strike. THE NEW YORK TIMES correspondent at Berne, writing on Nov. 20, after the strike had been settled, said it was established that Bolshevist agents had planned to bring about a bloody revolution in Switzerland with the hope of its spreading to Italy and France. The Bolsheviki worked through Germans, and succeeded in bringing about a three-day tieup of public utilities. The Swiss Government immediately sent the First Division, composed of French Swiss, to the German Swiss cities of Berne, Zurich and Basle, where they succeeded perfectly in keeping order. The Russian Bolshevist agents were immediately arrested, and with the legation staffs were sent across the border of the country. The Swiss Government had previously, on Nov. 9, announced its intention of breaking off all relations with the Soviet Government at Moscow because of its persistent attempts to spread revolutionary propaganda through Switzerland and the neighboring countries.

The greatest benefit to Switzerland of the signing of the armistice has been the opportunity to demobilize its army,

which for four years has been a heavy strain upon the national exchequer. By the end of October the Government had reduced the frontier guards to about eight battalions, which were detailed to guard against smuggling and to carry out the economic agreements binding Switzerland not to transmit material to Germany.

General Ulrich Wille, who has been in chief command of the Swiss forces during the war, has asked to be relieved of his duties since the signing of the armistice.

SPAIN

The collapse of the Central Powers had a profound effect in Spain. This was due to the fact that, from the beginning, Spain had been the object of most serious German efforts at propaganda making, and that certain circles had shown themselves amenable to the German instruction. The political course of the country had constantly been guided by the belief that the war would end in a stalemate, with a compromise peace, or a not impossible German victory.

Toward the end the Spanish Government had taken a stronger tone with Berlin over the long-continued submarine outrages against Spanish ships, and had announced the intention of compensating itself with German interned ships for losses suffered at sea. An agreement was reached with Germany on this basis. Still there was no shaping of a course on a clear understanding of impending allied victory. So the news of the signing of the armistice was received with conflicting feelings. The Liberal press gave evidence of undivided satisfaction, and there was a new stirring of interest in a league of nations, which had not previously found great favor in the Spanish press. Important newspapers now urge the high importance of Spain's aligning herself with that movement.

King Alfonso sent to President Poincaré of France this message on the signing of the armistice:

> At the moment of the signing of the armistice I must, my dear President, congratulate you with all my heart on having reached the end of this glorious epic of the French Army and Nation, which have shown us all what bravery and patriotism mean.

There have been rapid shifts of Cabinet in Madrid. The Government headed by Count Romanones lasted until Nov. 17, and was succeeded by one formed by the Marquis de Alhucemas, in which Romanones remained as Foreign Minister. This Cabinet lasted until Dec. 3, when Romanones was again called upon to form a government.

The Reformist Party has begun holding meetings in behalf of sweeping reforms. Among the measures demanded by the party are the following:

> Any bill rejected by the Crown to become a law without further reference to the Crown if Parliament reapproves the measure; the royal prerogatives to be exercised under responsibility to the Ministers; the entire Senate to be chosen by the electors; every province which demands autonomy and is in a position to fulfill the necessary conditions shall receive it; military service to be universal and obligatory, with any exempted person paying during the term of service required a tax proportionate to his income; State schools and technical education to be largely increased.

Another source of political unrest in Spain is the revival of the movement for an autonomous Catalonia. Señor Cambe, leader of the Catalonian autonomists, on Dec. 10 announced that, if his bill was not accepted, Catalonian deputies would have to be withdrawn. A few days later these deputies withdrew in a body. Protests were made in Madrid against the Separatist movement, and a form of boycott of the province was said to have been agreed upon by Madrid concerns.

A final chapter in its relations with the old Germany was written by the Spanish Government in the withdrawal of its Ambassador at Berlin, which was announced on Dec. 9. The Spanish Government had also withdrawn its last diplomatic representative from Russia. Spain had never recognized the Soviet Government, but had retained her diplomatic corps in Russia.

Russia's Struggle Against Chaos

Collapse of Germany Weakens the Hold of Bolshevism on the Paralyzed Nation

[Period Ended Dec. 15, 1918]

AFTER the anniversary of the Bolshevist revolution in the middle of November bloody clashes took place on the Archangel front. For several days the Soviet gunboats shelled the Russo-allied posts on the Dvina River and made infantry attacks against them. The Bolsheviki were repulsed with heavy losses. The attack had been intended to drive the foreign troops up the Dvina. American troops were holding the middle sector of this front. Toward the end of November the Soviet forces withdrew their gunboats from the Dvina for fear of being frozen in, and mounted big guns along the river.

Later dispatches reported an advance by a Russian-American force up the Pinega River. Marching over frozen swamps and snow-covered roads, it captured the town of Shetagorskoie, 120 miles from Pinega. According to a Helsingfors report, dated Nov. 28, Pskov and Dunaburg were captured and Narva bombarded by the Soviet troops.

Throughout the month under record the Czechs in Russia were on the defensive. In a Cheliabinsk dispatch of Nov. 25, General Syrovy, the Czechoslovak commander, was quoted as saying that the Bolsheviki had broken through on the point of the Volga front near Ufa and Birsk, but that the Czechs expected to hold them. Dispatches from Siberia indicated that the Czechs were surrounded by enemies and were in a very dangerous position. At the Czech headquarters at Ekaterinburg the Soviet Army was estimated at 227,000, and it was stated that twenty-three new divisions were called for the Spring. German Generals were in command of the Soviet armies, in spite of Germany's agreement to withdraw her troops from Russia. General Blücher was Chief of the Bolshevist General Staff and General Eberhardt commander on the Samara front.

The position of the Czech forces in Russia was aggravated by the failure of the Allies to formulate a definite policy with regard to that country. After the German armistice the Czech soldiers made it clear that it was their desire to return to their homeland. Professor Masaryk, President of Czechoslovakia, stated on Nov. 30 that he wished the Czech Army to return home, but that the matter depended upon the decision of the Allies. But the Allies were busy with preparations for the Peace Conference and delayed definite action.

ADMIRAL KOLCHAK'S COUP

The month's outstanding event in the political history of non-Bolshevist Russia was the coup d'état which resulted in the establishment of Admiral Kolchak's dictatorship at Omsk. In the middle of November it seemed that the whole of non-Soviet Russia was solidly behind the All-Russian Provisional Government at Omsk, and that the political situation held no danger. On Nov. 12 the Amur Province, the only section of Siberia which had failed to recognize the Omsk Government, pledged itself to support it. At the same time the Allies were showing official interest in this Government, and Nikolai Avksentiev, its President, pleaded for allied recognition to "strengthen the new Government in the eyes of the masses" and discourage the reactionary elements.

On Nov. 18 the Directorate of Five, which headed the Omsk Government, was dissolved, and Admiral Kolchak, Minister of War and Marine, was declared dictator. General Boldirev, commander of the army of the All-Russian Government, thus described the Omsk events: "The counter-revolutionary "group seized President Avksentiev, Zen- "zinov, Argunov, and Gotovsky and took "them to an unknown place. Then the

"Council of Ministers, headed by Pre-
"mier Vologodsky, declared that it as-
"sumed all power and transferred it to
"Admiral Kolchak." According to General Horvath, the coup was a countermeasure against the activities of the radical wing in the Omsk Government.

The day after the coup d'état a number of members of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly were arrested at Ekaterinburg, Victor Tchernov, Minister of Agriculture under Kerensky among them. He was arrested by the Czechoslovak General Gaida on the charge of having issued a proclamation at Omsk calling on the people to revolt. The Cossack officers who had arrested the members of the Omsk Directorate were tried and acquitted.

THE DICTATOR DEFIED

A group of members of the Constituent Assembly issued a proclamation Nov. 22 declaring that "The departments ad-
"hering to democratic principles assume
"all power to enter into negotiations with
"the Czechoslovak Council and the mili-
"tary commanders," and urging the people to maintain order. On Nov. 26 the Omsk Government informed the allied representatives that it would not support Kolchak's dictatorship. General Semenov and General Boldirev also defied Admiral Kolchak. General Semenov cut the wires between Omsk and Vladivostok, asserted his jurisdiction over the Amur, Usuli, and Transbaikal region, and established his headquarters at Chita. Thereupon he issued an ultimatum to the Admiral demanding that he should give up his dictatorship. In reply, Admiral Kolchak deposed Semenov from the command of the Fifth Army, named Colonel Valkov as successor, and ordered him to arrest the rebel General.

The Czechoslovak Council in Russia defined its attitude toward the crisis at Omsk in a statement which pointed out that the Czechoslovaks were fighting "for the ideals of democracy and for lawfulness," and declared that "violent
"changes in Government could no longer
"continue." "The Czechoslovak National Council in Russia hopes," the statement concluded, "that the crisis in
"the Government caused by the arrest of
"members of the All-Russian Provisional
"Government will be adjusted lawfully.
"We regard the crisis as not yet ended."
The Allies failed to define their attitude toward this crisis, but pursued a policy of waiting.

FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Shortly after the establishment of Kolchak's dictatorship, the Omsk Government issued the following statement:

> The Government which is headed by Admiral Kolchak, as its supreme chief, bearing in mind that Russia has always sacredly fulfilled all its liabilities toward its own subjects as well as to other nations to which it was bound by treaties, has deemed it necessary to state in its declaration of Nov. 21 that it will not fail, as soon as Russia is reunited, to execute all liabilities of the State Treasury, i. e., payments of interests and amortization on internal and external State loans, payments on contracts and salaries of employes, pensions and all other payments arising from law, contract or other legal foundations.

The economic situation in Siberia continued to be one of utter destitution. The cities were flooded with refugees, and there was an extreme shortage of manufactured products, especially drugs and other medical supplies. The various American organizations were reported to lack co-ordination.

AN APPEAL FOR HELP

On Nov. 28, Catherine Breshkovskaya, known to the world as "the grandmother of the Russian revolution," arrived in Vladivostok on her way to the United States. After the Bolshevist revolution she had spent eight months in hiding. Then she made her way to Ufa and across Siberia. While at Omsk she addressed an appeal to America, in which she said:

> With your assistance we can reconstruct the Russian State and save it from the destructive forces of the German agents and their allies, the Bolsheviki. Thanks to the Allies' heroic efforts and to the noble and disinterested sacrifices of your country, we shall rid ourselves of that plague—the Bolsheviki—which would shatter the hopes of every champion of world liberty and progress.
>
> Russia still is full of enemy bands and agents who are continuing their treacher-our work. Our peasantry and workmen are discouraged by the many falsehoods of these agents, who work to our ruin.

Our peasantry and workmen, while abashed and disheartened, still are intoxicated by misleading promises. We want material supplies and intellectual forces to set a good example to our people. If left without your aid, all the forces of the dark centuries of monarchism will upset our work. These dark forces already commence to assert themselves, but we know that your army will never help monarchists.

We know that from you will come an answer to our plea and that the instructors you will send us will teach our young generation to work. You will co-operate with us for the welfare not of Russia alone but for that of the whole world.

Alexander Kerensky, the former Russian Premier, said to an interviewer on Dec. 11: "I implore America, as a true friend of paralyzed Russia, to see that she is not exploited by her former allies."

CONTINUED TERRORISM

According to a Stockholm report of Nov. 22, 500 former officers were shot by the Bolshevist Government at Petrograd within the month. Advices that reached Washington on Dec. 12 were to the effect that the political terror continued in Soviet Russia, many priests and monks being sentenced to death by the revolutionary tribunals. At Katernito, a small town in the Government of Viatka, ten persons were executed, and at Spassk twenty-five. Generals Ruzski and Radko-Dimitriev of the Russian Army were shot by order of a local Soviet. M. Ruschlov, former Minister of State, was also reported shot, and General Seyn, former Governor General of Finland, either shot or drowned at Kronstadt.

Fugitives from Russia described Petrograd as a "city of horrors," and conditions there as unendurable. According to Swedish press reports, hunger and terrorism had reduced the population of the northern capital to half of its former size. At the close of 1917 the population of Petrograd was 2,400,000; in June, 1918, it was only 1,400,000. The commune authorities were said to be issuing food to none but partisans of the Soviet régime.

The Labor Commissariat of Moscow passed regulations fixing the minimum wage of reporters and editors in the Moscow district at 350 rubles and the maximum at 1,200. The rate at which space writers were paid was also fixed, and a commission consisting of writers' and publishers' representatives was formed to see that the regulations were carried out.

GIRLS AS STATE PROPERTY

An issue of the Izvestia, the official Bolshevist organ, contained the following curious document, issued by the Soviet of the City of Vladimir:

Every girl who has reached her eighteenth year is guaranteed by the local Commissary of Surveillance the full inviolability of her person. Any offender against an eighteen-year-old girl by using insulting language or attempting to ravish her is subject to the full rigors of the Revolutionary Tribunal.

Any one who has ravished a girl who has not reached her eighteenth year is considered a State criminal and is liable to a sentence of twenty years' hard labor unless he marries the injured one. The injured, dishonored girl is given the right not to marry the ravisher if she does not so desire.

A girl having reached her eighteenth year is to be announced as the property of the State. Any girl having reached her eighteenth year and not having married is obliged, subject to the most severe penalty, to register at the Bureau of Free Love in the Commissariat of Surveillance. Having registered at the Bureau of Free Love, she has the right to choose from among men between the ages of nineteen and fifty a cohabitant husband.

Remarks: (1) The consent of the men in the said choice is unnecessary: (2) the man on whom such a choice falls has no right to make any protest whatsoever against the infringement.

The right to choose from a number of girls who have reached their eighteenth year is given also to men. The opportunity to choose a husband or a wife is to be presented once a month. The Buerau of Free Love is autonomous.

Men between the ages of nineteen and fifty have the right to choose from among the registered women, even without the consent of the latter, in the interests of the State. Children who are the issue of these unions are to become the property of the State.

The decree states that it is based on the example of similar regulations issued at Luga, Kolpino, &c. A "Project of Provisional Rights in Connection with the Socialization of Women in the City of Khvolinsk and Vicinity" was pub-

lished in the Soviet newspaper of that locality.

Sweden recalled her diplomatic and Consular representatives in Russia, as reported Dec. 8, for the reason that the Soviet envoy in Sweden had transmitted Bolshevist literature from Russia. The Swedish Government made it clear that they expected the Russian Ambassador and the other members of the Soviet Legation to leave Sweden. Several days previously the Soviet authorities had imprisoned Assad Khan, the Persian Minister to Russia. This step was apparently an act of retaliation for the arrest of the Soviet representatives in Turkestan by the British.

On Nov. 20 the Ukrainian Government headed by Hetman Skoropadski was reported overthrown and Kiev captured by Cossacks under the command of General Denikine. The Ukrainian National Assembly fled and a provisional Government was set up.

GERMAN HOLD RELAXED

On Nov. 23 a courier from General Denikine's army arrived at Saloniki, thus restoring direct communication between the Cossacks and the allied armies, which had been interrupted a year before. Three days later the British cruiser Agamemnon, accompanied by French and British torpedo boats, arrived at Odessa. French marines entered Odessa, and the fortress and city of Sebastopol were cleared of German soldiery by Dec. 13. On that day London received an official German statement to the effect that the German forces were leaving Odessa. British and Russian forces had previously occupied Baku on the western coast of the Caspian Sea.

Lithuania proclaimed itself an independent republic. The ceremony took place on No. 30 at Riga in the presence of the National Council. Karl Ullman is President of the Republic of Lithuania.

The Germans began the evacuation of the Baltic provinces in November, and the Soviet troops were reported to have crossed the Narva River and entered Esthonia between the Gulf of Finland and Lake Peipus. The Esthonians offered resistance, and appealed for allied intervention to assist them against the invaders. Early in December British warships reached Libau and entered Reval at the request of Esthonia.

On Dec. 13 General Mannerheim was elected Premier of Finland to succeed Premier Svinhufvad, who had resigned.

AFFAIRS IN POLAND

In the middle of November Polish troops were holding Warsaw and directing the demobilization of the German Army. At the same time Polish officers took possession of Posen. A week later a great part of the Province of Posen was in Polish hands. On Nov. 22 Lemberg was won from the Ruthenians by the Poles after many days of desultory fighting, which cost more than a thousand lives. During the fighting a bloody anti-Jewish riot broke out. Pogroms also occurred in other Galician cities and in Warsaw. The Polish Government ordered an inquiry and promised compensation for all damages.

General Pilsudski formed the Cabinet of the new Polish Government. It is composed of Socialists and members of the Peasants' Party, with General Pilsudski as Minister of War, and Andreas Woraczewski, a moderate Socialist and former member of the Austrian lower house, as Premier. The Government decreed an eight-hour day and the abolition of titles, but left all other reforms to the Constituent Assembly, which was to meet in January, 1919. The first act of Pilsudski's Government was to arrest the members of a number of secret Bolshevist organizations.

Poland severed relations with Germany, as announced in a Warsaw dispatch of Dec. 16, and ordered all Germans out of the Polish Republic because of intrigues. Count Kessler, the German Minister, with his entire staff, was ordered to leave the country, and the Pilsudski Government proceeded to mobilize an army for the enforcement of the order. At the same time there were indications of a movement at Posen for the union of German Poland with the Polish Republic.

[OFFICIAL]

German Brutality to Prisoners

Report of the Younger Committee on the Ill-Treatment of British Captives

There was issued in London on Oct. 14, 1918, an official report dated Aug. 29, "On the Treatment by the Germans of Prisoners of War Taken During the Spring Offensive of 1918," the work of a committee headed by Justice Robert Younger. It showed that the abuses revealed in an earlier report continued to be practiced behind the German lines. Another report by the Younger Commission issued in November disclosed similar cruelties to British prisoners in the coal and salt mines of Germany. The text of the main Younger report is as follows:

THE committee has collected the statements made to its examiners by upward of seventy of our men who, taken prisoner during the German Spring offensives on the western front, have since succeeded in making good their escape.

The escapes accomplished by the men whose evidence is here reviewed were exploits which, in most instances, called for a display of quite remarkable courage and resource on the part of those concerned. Each man took his life in his hand. That risk, however, did not deter him from making his bid for freedom.

It is probably correct to say that the number of prisoners captured as an immediate result of the offensive begun on March 21 last exceeded every expectation of the enemy, as it overwhelmed every provision, if indeed any at all was made, for their reception. This fact may afford some explanation of the total failure on the part of the Germans during, in some cases, more than forty-eight hours after capture to provide any food at all for the prisoners they took; it furnishes, however, neither explanation nor excuse for the utter inadequacy of the sustenance thereafter provided for the men; for the unauthorized nature of the work many of them were set to do; for the proximity to the battlefront of the places where they were called upon to do it; for the absence in many of the cages—they were little better—of any shelter, warmth, or sanitary conveniences of any kind; for the cruelty of some of the guards, or the brutality—for it was nothing less—of one or two of the doctors. Yet these things were the common lot of many of the men over the whole period covered by this report.

STARVING PRISONERS

At times the treatment to which the prisoners were being subjected seemed to some German officers, more sensitive than the rest, to require an explanation. The absence of sufficient food was due to the blockade; this was the excuse put forward by one. By another it was explained as being a reprisal for similar treatment of German prisoners at our hands.

The committee does not stop to deal at length with these pretexts. Let there be set against them the recorded statement of a German General at Villers on April 17, that he knew their men were being well treated in England. If any explanation is to be given of the unjustifiable treatment to which these prisoners have been required to submit, it must be looked for, the committee feels, elsewhere. Possibly it may be found in the resolve underlying a remark made in broken English by a German officer on March 22 at Marchiennes: "We will break your brave English hearts tomorrow."

Of the statements before the committee quite a large number are those of men who were captured in the first or very early days of the offensive. These men were in nearly every instance, as has already been indicated, left without food for periods varying from twenty-four hours to forty-eight hours, during

the greater part of which they were kept constantly on the march. One or two instances may be given. A man captured at Lagnicourt at 9 A. M., March 21, was marched with a band of prisoners, including a number of wounded, to Villers, arriving there at 3 in the afternoon. Thence they were taken across country to a cage "which seemed miles from anywhere," and which was reached at 9 P. M. There they spent the night in a barbed-wire inclosure, sleeping in the open without food or drink other than water from a small stream flowing near the cage. Next morning at 10 o'clock, still without food, the men were marched to Marchiennes, where they arrived at 6 P. M. No food on the journey—only some coffee. At Marchiennes they were given a small piece of bread and a little more coffee; nothing more. The men were famished.

GERMANS HAD PLENTY

Another man captured at St. Quentin about 1 o'clock in the afternoon of March 21 was, with others, marched by stages to Origny, reaching there on the 24th about the same hour. "During the march," he says, "we received no food at all, very little water, and camped all night in the open." Another captured at Ecoust on the 21st says:

> On the 22d I got nothing to eat. The Germans gave us nothing. They had plenty of food themselves, because they had captured the whole of the battalion rations for the 21st. We asked for food and were told we should get some further down the line. On the evening of the 23d about forty of us were sent to Rumaucourt, carrying about twenty wounded to a hospital, and here I had a cup of coffee substitute, which was very nasty, and two slices of bread and jam. Next morning the forty of us were marched to Villers-lez-Cagnicourt. We were given nothing to eat before starting, and we reached the cage about noon. We got nothing to eat till 4 P. M.

Another witness taken prisoner at Lagnicourt on the 21st of March thus describes his journey from Villers to Denain, which he reached on the 24th:

> At about 11:30 A. M. on the 21st we started to march off to Villers, where we arrived the same day after two hours' march. * * * At Villers we were put in a wire compound in the open. I think by the time we got there there were about 300 British prisoners, as we kept picking them up on the way. A good many were wounded—walking cases. We remained in the cage till the evening, and were given nothing whatever to eat or drink. About 5 P. M. we were fallen in—wounded as well. These latter got no dressing or any attention to their wounds, and were forced to come along with us. Our escort consisted of mounted Uhlans. We would halt anywhere by the side of the road at night, and march all through the day. We got no food whatever during the whole time. The French peasants tried to give us food, but the escort would not allow them. The escort had food themselves. They were very rough to us, keeping us in formation of fours and not allowing us to fall out to get water when we came to it. The wounded suffered very much, and we did our best to help them along. We arrived at Denain about 2 P. M. on the 24th of March.

UNDER BRITISH FIRE

These instances are typical. It seems unnecessary to multiply them. They disclose an initial treatment which was a fitting prelude to the semi-starvation which succeeded it in the improvised camps or cages in which many thousands of the men taken during these offensives have been subsequently confined.

The evidence of that treatment even now before the committee is voluminous. It is impossible to deal with it here in full detail. Its outstanding features are the utter disregard by the German command of its obligations with reference to prisoners, whether entered into before the war or since; the abuse of the Red Cross flag; the compulsory employment of prisoners, on pain, at times, of death, in operations directly concerned with the then German offensive; the setting of their imprisonment and place of work within range of the prisoners' own guns; their consistent semi-starvation; their insanitary surroundings; the absence of every facility for keeping themselves clean; the continued refusal of either clothing or warmth to men enfeebled by want of food and weakened by excessive toil and the denial of hospital treatment to those prostrated by disease.

Villers, near Arras, is a cage or camp of which several witnesses speak. Some of the men there were billeted in a church without a roof; others in a cage, with, at first, no buildings of any kind,

so that the men had to lie in the open. After a fortnight two huts and a marquee were erected by German labor. One of the witnesses, who was at Villers from the 11th to the 23d of April, thus describes his experiences during that period:

> Our work consisted of road-making, building light railways, carrying ammunition from one dump to another. The day's work was as follows: Reveille at 3 A. M., we were lined up, and as we passed the guard we were each given a drink of coffee, but no food. We were then formed up in companies of 100 each. We were then sent away to various places to work. We would start work about 8 A. M. Sometimes there would be a good distance to walk. We were given a spell from 12 to 1; then worked on to 5 P. M. We worked seven days a week. We were given no food at all until about 7 P. M. We had nothing to eat or drink from the time we received our coffee about 4 A. M. till we received our tea at 7 P. M. We were not allowed to get water on the march or at work. For tea we received some soup, made of a kind of dried fish and lentils, and one loaf to three men, but no coffee. The sanitary arrangements consisted of a hole in the ground, to which no attention was paid. The work was very hard and continuous. We dared not rest a moment. If we did, the sentries would strike us with the butt-end of their rifles. At Villers there was an order put up, printed in English, to the effect that no one was to make a noise at night, that no one was allowed firearms or a knife, that any one trying to escape would be shot without challenge, that all sentries had free use of their rifles.
>
> The prisoners were very weak and exhausted. During the spell between 12 and 1 they used to wander round, collecting nettles, which they brought to the camp at night to eat. We were given no opportunity for washing. There was a pump at the cookhouse, but the pump handle was removed to prevent us using it. The guards would give us no water. There was no heating or warming apparatus given us, and there was no means of drying our clothes. If we got wet we had to remain wet. We never received any parcels at all. We were given no clothes by the Germans.

ABUSES OF RED CROSS

Another of the witnesses, when at Villers, was employed in carrying shells to different German batteries about twelve kilometers behind the front line.

"We were under fire," he says, "from our big guns. Near our camp at Villers," he adds, "there was a large dump of ammunition. It was covered with tarpaulin, and there were two or three Red Cross flags put over it. Our artillery found it and blew it up. I saw it happen. Some Germans were killed. The dump was only about fifty yards from the camp, and some of our shells at the same time dropped in the camp. I was sick that day and was in the camp. One of our shells killed four of our men and wounded one."

Another witness, who was at Villers from April 2 to 18, says: "The men were so weak from want of food they were fainting every day."

Other witnesses speak of an epidemic of dysentery at this camp at the end of March, and it may here be noted that dysentery was rife in all the camps. It was owing, as one witness says, to the bad food. The first day it broke out at Villers eighty men were affected. An average of forty a day went sick with the same complaint.

"The sick parade one day amounted to 400 men. They were marched off to Bullecourt and made to lay light railways. Most of them went sick with bad feet and dysentery; they were all in a weak condition, but still made to work. We were all sleeping in the open air. * * * The camp was in a very insanitary condition. * * * We had no beds or blankets or straw. There were 1,115 altogether in this cage. * * * We R. A. M. C. men volunteered to take over the sanitary arrangements of the camp, but this was refused."

FORCED LABOR

At Ecoust, about nine kilometers from Villers, there was another cage, about which the witnesses say a great deal. One of them, with experience of both places, gives the following account, the essential particulars of which are reiterated by other witnesses:

> This was a cage, [he says,] similar to Villers, only the accommodation was worse, and also the sanitary arrangements. The guards also were more rough and brutal, and the place was constantly under shellfire from our guns, and also from our airplanes, which used to fly round to bomb the dumps and light railways round the camp. The food and work were the same, but we were closer to our

lines, and were under shellfire the whole time. The guards were Landsturm, old men too old for the trenches, or young men too young. * * * Our own N. C. O.'s had to work just the same as privates; there was no distinction made between warrant officers, N. C. O.'s and privates; all had to work alike.

On April 13, 1918, one of our big guns was shelling near the camp, and some of our men were working in a store just outside the camp and a shell burst and killed a Corporal of the West Yorks and wounded three others of our men—later in the day another shell burst and wounded one of the German guards. I think he will die.

While at Ecoust I noticed that there were some big marquees all flying the Red Cross flag, and a huge Red Cross marked on the ground for airplanes to see. In these marquees were stored all kinds of military stores and ammunition.

The state of our poor men was getting most pitiable owing to want of sleep, starvation, and ill-treatment, being forced to work whether sick or well, and the vermin was awful. We never had a chance of a wash or change of clothes the whole time I was a prisoner.

The witness was captured on March 21. He escaped on April 13. Appropriate attention, as is shown by the deposition of another witness, has since been given by our airmen to the marquees of which he spoke.

Salomé was a cage in which, early in April, there were confined 1,500 British and between 700 and 800 Portuguese. Later the British were billeted in an old church and the Portuguese were sent to Lille. The men were apparently interchanged freely between this camp and a neighboring one at Provin. The food at Salomé is accordingly usually described in the terms of that supplied at Provin. Here is a description of it by an intelligent and reliable witness:

The first thing in the morning we got a kind of oatmeal, for dinner a kind of stew of horseflesh or goat's meat; the latter was quite uneatable. Sometimes instead we got some very black kind of fish full of ammonia and salt, and uneatable. Often we got no tea; when we did we got a small piece of bologna sausage about the size of half a crown and a quarter inch thick, and sometimes, though rarely, a small teaspoonful of a kind of apple jelly.

This is what the same witness says of Salomé:

On April 20 we were all marched back (from Provin) to Salomé. We were billeted in an old church with guards at the front and rear. The place was fearfully crowded, and we had only straw to lie on, which got filthy and verminous; but the crowd was such that many of us were unable to sit or lie down; there were about 1,300 to 1,500 of us in the church—all British—a few Sergeants and Corporals among them. The Sergeants were not made to work, but the Corporals were. The food was much the same quality as at Provin, but less of it. It was very hard to live on it, and we got into a very weak and emaciated condition. Of course, we received no parcels, and were not allowed to write any letters. * * * Working parties were told off at different times, both day and night. Sometimes they would be turned out at 2 and 3 in the morning, and they as a rule were made to carry ammunition up to the front line and on to the dumps. * * * Salomé was continually being bombed, and shells constantly fell all about; on one occasion our cookhouse was destroyed, but no one killed. I never actually saw any one killed by our shells, but I was told of about fourteen British being wounded and several killed out of a working party one day. This I was told by several of the men who had been on the working party at the time. They were going up to the line either collecting dead or carrying ammunition. I personally was employed several times on the ration dump, carrying rations and unloading at the railhead, also working on the roads behind the line. I got as near the line as four kilometers, and was often under fire.

Other witnesses speak of the terrible condition of some Italian prisoners they saw at Salomé.

We used [says one] to see Italian prisoners going up the line to work. They were in a very bad condition, some of them walking skeletons. Their clothing was in a shocking condition. They were wearing broken clogs and old rags for stockings. We heard they were sent to work on the western front as a punishment.

This witness proceeds:

We were under shellfire the whole time we were behind the German lines. The German guards "get the wind up" whenever there is any shelling, and take what cover they can and take no notice of the prisoners.

BRUTAL GUARDS

At Prowy, about twenty kilometers behind Cambrai, where as many as 1,500 were confined in a disused sugar refinery, the men suffered terribly from cold and want of food. One of the witnesses, now among the escaped himself,

fainted from starvation. "The food consisted of one-quarter loaf of bread and coffee and vegetables given very irregularly, and very little of it." Another witness says:

We slept on cement floors, no blankets, no straw, and fires were not allowed. Our bread ration sometimes failed for thirty-six hours. Lots of men fell sick and fainted from exhaustion. There was a lot of dysentery, and the only medicine we got was nettle leaves boiled in water. One man of the R. M. L. I. died here from exhaustion. * * * The guards were very offensive, and used their rifle butts on us.

On the 17th of April 200 of us were marched to the Canal du Nord, about 10 kilometers this side of Cambrai; we were not under shellfire there. There were dugouts on the canal banks to sleep in, and we worked at laying railways, loading wagons, &c. There were already 200 men there before we arrived; they were in a shocking condition. * * * ["The poor fellows coming in from work," another witness says, "could only just toddle along."] At the canal we worked from 6 A. M. to 6 P. M. on the same poor ration as in other camps. The guards were very brutal and knocked us about a lot. We (two) couldn't stand it, and managed to escape on the 19th of April, 1918.

The following account of Cantin is illuminating:

On the 12th of April 200 of us left for Cantin, (about 16 kilometers behind the line.) We slept in a barn over a stable on verminous straw. We worked here in a pioneer park, loading ammunition and other war materials. On complaining to an officer, we were told that if we refused to work the ringleaders would be shot. The guards were very brutal, kicking us, beating us with sticks, and using their rifle butts on us. The food was even worse here; we were all starving. There was a lot of dysentery among the prisoners, but the doctors made us work all the same, and stopped our pay (3d. a day) and bread ration if we refused. Some of the men were fumigated, and got a bath, but there was no soap or towel. Many of the men were covered with sores.

In this connection the following incident, near the village of Lecluse, five miles from the firing line, may be conveniently taken from the evidence of another witness:

One day we refused to load shells, and one of our men complained to a German staff officer, who spoke English, telling him it was wrong to expect us to load shells for them, and that we wanted to make a general complaint. His only reply was to line us up in a squad and to order that the first man who refused to work should be instantly shot.

CRUELTY AT A HOSPITAL

The hospital at Valenciennes is the subject of a gruesome account by an escaped prisoner, who was there for a month—the 25th of March to the 25th of April:

All nationalities, except Germans, were mixed together—British, Italians, Russians, French, Bulgarians. Food: black bread with a very small portion of jam or butter—this was a day's ration—about 600 grams—substitute coffee. Midday: soup of macaroni, or peas or dried vegetables. Every one got this except special cases, who got rather better quality of bread and soup. At night some more coffee; the bread was of poor quality; there was a little meat in the soup. The doctor did far from his best; his conduct was a farce; he was supposed to come to the ward twice a day; he would come in and look round, and go out without attending to any one. * * * There were some very bad cases. The supplies were short, no soap at all; bandages were of paper; no toilet requisites. Sanitary accommodation very bad; urinals were right in the wards. Bedding made of sacking material, and stuffed with wood-wool. Bed sheets were issued, but these had to be in a most dreadful condition before they would be exchanged. Eggs were issued sometimes for the man with limbs off, but very few actually received any; nurse orderlies used to take them. One nurse in particular used to save up the eggs and special bread for several days and then send them away in a parcel. * * * In some cases the Germans took our clothing, and these men simply lay in bed with nothing on except the bed covering made of cotton maché. The bedclothes were very small and very thin, and very poor quality—more like cotton than wool.

A man named Private Ellis was in my ward with a bullet wound through his lung. He lay for some days unattended to, and was then taken to see the doctor. As he was in great pain, he was calling out; the doctor hit him a hard punch on the jaw and sent him back to the ward; he came back crying, and died next morning. I do not know the doctor's name. He treated the patients very roughly. He used to pull men about dreadfully. In the first week or two I was there I counted an average of fifteen deaths a day. I am positive that, with proper treatment, there would not have been anything like this mortality.

As a final instance, the committee

takes Sailly, of which the men who were there have much to say. One who reached it on April 27, and escaped on May 18, says of it:

> We were put in a cage, where there were 400 of us in all. There were huts and beds being made, but we were horribly crowded, and the vermin was awful. The camp was in the middle of a pioneer dump, and was heavily shelled. Twice at night we were turned out by the sentries, who kicked and struck us, and marched down the road toward Etang to get out of the shelling. Our work was loading shells and digging ammunition pits. We protested, but were told that German prisoners were being made to do the same work at Arras. The Landsturm guards were very brutal, and knocked us about with sticks and rifle butts. The food was again starvation diet. The men were like wild animals with hunger, and scrambled for any piece of food which may be lying about, also for cigarette ends. The water we had to drink was drawn from a filthy marsh near the camp. Besides much dysentery, there was a lot of dropsy, men's legs and bodies swelling terribly. There were about sixty men permanently sick, and five or six going to hospital daily. The doctor was kind and did his best; but it was no use, as he had no authority. The Sergeant Major and Quartermaster Sergeant were horrible brutes, and made men work until they dropped. It is impossible to describe the condition of the men in this camp. It can well be imagined the horrible, filthy condition men with dysentery were in who were forced to work. Daily about half a dozen would fall down at work, utterly exhausted, and have to be carried back to the cage. It does not seem to me that any of them can live for many weeks if these conditions continue. When it was known that we were going to try and escape, two others came and prayed us "For God's sake to try and get England to do something to help them to get out of that hell!"

Similar accounts are given by the witnesses of many other camps or cages more or less near the firing line. Many of them speak of Denain, but this was apparently primarily a distributing station. At Douai, where many were confined, "all the men were weak for lack of nourishment. It was a common sight to see them fall over for lack of food." Again, "the prisoners were often under long-range fire; shells frequently fell within 200 or 300 yards of us." At Cagnicourt, again, 1,200 men were confined in a cage—an open inclosure in a field. Later two huts were erected, but they could only hold 400 "sitting against each other with no room to lie down." Dysentery was rampant. Here, too, however, there was a "decent" German Sergeant Major. He, however, had "no powers." Bray was seven kilometers from the British lines. One witness confined there from April 11 to 13 was "under shellfire the whole time."

MEN DELIBERATELY SHOT

There are many incidents accompanying the capture of prisoners during these recent offensives referred to in the depositions. There is, for example, the experience of four Cameron Highlanders taken at Arras on March 28, who, as soon as they were made prisoner, were compelled for two hours to serve a German field gun with ammunition and dig out a position for it under British fire. And there are other cases of the same kind. The committee, however, selects two for special mention, because they each, although in different ways, illustrate the nature of the men and the organism to which our forces are now opposed.

On March 21 fifteen officers, N. C. O.'s, and men of the 1st K. S. L. I. were taken prisoner at Lagnicourt. One of these is now among the escapes. This is his account of the incident:

> We were defending a trench and held out to the last, when we were surrounded and had to surrender. The Germans beckoned us to come toward them, and as the first three of us—privates—showed ourselves to obey they were deliberately shot; the rest of us were taken prisoner.

The second incident is this. On the same day five men of the Staffordshires were taken together at Bullecourt. One of them has now escaped. This is his account of his capture:

> At the time of my capture a German officer was standing near the trench, and close by him there was a private with his bayonet fixed. One of the men of my battalion was scrambling out of the trench, intending, of course, to surrender. The private ran at my comrade to bayonet him. The officer ordered the private to halt, but no attention was paid to the command, and the officer without hesitation shot the private in the head with his revolver, killing him on the spot. The British soldier had not been touched. This happened close to where I was standing.

And here the committee, for the moment, leaves this subject. The latest date of escape of any of the witnesses, so far examined, was June 24. There is nothing in the depositions of these later escapes which leads the committee to conclude that any material improvement had so far been effected in the general conditions here described, which, like those dealt with in the committee's earlier report, to which reference has already been made, may be left for the present to speak for themselves.

On behalf of the Government Committee on the Treatment by the Enemy of British Prisoners of War.

ROBERT YOUNGER, *Chairman.*

August, 29, 1918.

Bulgarian Crimes in Serbia

By G. WARD PRICE

Official Press Correspondent in the Balkan War Zone

HERE is a story of coldblooded butchery without equal even in this war. It is the tale of a deliberate, systematic effort by the Bulgarians, extending over three months, to exterminate the national spirit of Serbia by killing every one in the parts of the country they occupied whom they thought capable of maintaining it.

I have gathered from many different sources information and evidence which establish the Bulgarian guilt beyond all doubting. Directly they had established themselves on Serbian soil in this region the Bulgarians began to change the Serbians by force into Bulgarians. After forbidding the use of the Serbian language, closing the Serbian schools, compelling every one to change the ending of his name from the Serbian "itch" to the Bulgarian "off," after installing Bulgarian Mayors, Bishops, tax collectors, and military police, they arrested in every town and village all the men who belonged to what may be called the intellectual class. They chose out the Parliamentary Deputies, Judges, teachers, lawyers, priests, and employers of labor, formed them into gangs and marched them away. From that time until the defeated Bulgarians evacuated Serbia the friends of these people heard nothing of their fate; but now the ghastly story is known in detail.

The men, numbering at least 3,000 from the towns and villages of the Vranja region alone, were taken in detachments of about fifty at a time to a place which the Bulgarians chose as their slaughterhouse, and there every night one party after another, from December, 1915, to March, 1916, had their throats cut or were stabbed to death. The village whose name the Bulgarians have thus made terrible is a small place called Surdulitza, twenty miles northeast of Vranja, near the Bulgarian frontier. I went there and saw the graves and the surviving relatives of the 2,500 victims to Bulgarian savagery who there met their end. The doomed men, against whom the Bulgarians had no other charge whatever except that they were patriotic Serbians and likely to keep up the national spirit among their fellow-countrymen, would arrive almost every day at Surdulitza under strong Bulgar guard. They were locked up in houses which I saw, and then at night marched down to a gully which I visited, where, tied four or five together with ropes, they were stabbed or bayonetted to death and buried where they lay. The peasants of Surdulitza offered to dig up the graves to let me see how the heads were severed from the bodies.

WHOLE VILLAGES EXTERMINATED

Not all the killing was carried out in this gully. On the other side of the village is a little wood. Every night the peasants of Surdulitza, who were forbidden to leave their houses after sunset, heard men's screams coming from among those trees. They knew too well what was happening, but did not dare to go near. And the following morning the fierce village dogs would bring into the streets human arms and even heads which they had torn off the bodies of

the murdered men. Two thousand five hundred is the local estimate of the number of the Serbians who at Surdulitza forfeited their lives to their nationality during the first three months of 1916. Not more than forty people were actually killed at Vranja itself, but once a fortnight all the surviving men were ordered out of the town while the Bulgarians ransacked and robbed their houses under pretext of searching for arms, and sometimes also outraged their women.

At Ushevtse, a hamlet to the north of Vranja, 120 men, women, and children, the entire population, were killed in one day. At Vladichi all the women were collected, and some of them violated. The rest were tied up and left, until two days later the Bulgarians came back and completed the work of outrage. Last year at Yelashnitsa and Krivafaja innocent peasants were stripped naked, tied down to braziers, and roasted over slow fires to make them confess that they possessed hidden arms. Lebane and Leskovatz were probably the worst martyred towns of all. At the former place twenty people were beaten to death.

Information about these last townships comes from Serbian municipal officials and the principal inhabitants of Vranja. I am personally entirely convinced of the sincerity of these men, and of the truth of the terrible charges they bring.

At Uskub I learned that outraging young girls was made a matter of routine by the Bulgarian authorities. Orders were issued for the girls to report themselves at the Bulgarian Headquarters. There they were lined up, and a General would walk down the ranks picking out the ones that pleased him. This story seems so extraordinary that I expressed doubt about it, but the Prefect maintains that the fact is established by the fullest corroboration. The girls chosen for the amusement of the Bulgarian officers were given the choice between submitting and being exiled to Bulgaria.

The Serbian prisoner of war camp on the outskirts of Sofia is terrible evidence of that hatred between Bulgarian and Serbian which runs like a poison through the whole system of the Balkans. A mile from Sofia, near the main road to Radomir, is a muddy compound about three acres in extent, surrounded by barbed wire. On Oct. 23, 1918, there were in this pen 103,000 Serbians of all ages, together with 600 Greek civilians, carried off from Seres and Drama; a smaller body of Russians, and a detachment of French. The French were lodged in a few whitewashed mud huts which the compound contains. The greater majority of the Serbians had lain out in the open day and night, in wind and rain, Summer and Winter, many of them for three whole years of captivity. They had no blankets or protection of any kind, and at night packed their wretched bodies close together for warmth like a herd of animals. Their food was one pound of dark bread a day. Their so-called soup, which they were preparing while I was there, was just a caldron of hot water, with a dozen maize-pods in it. For drinking and washing water in this inclosure there was a solitary trickle from one small tap. Thirty men waited two hours to get near it.

Ten Serbians had died during the night before I went there. In the morning the Bulgarians put their bodies into a cart and carried them away. An hour later the same cart returned, bringing the day's bread ration. When a man could no longer stand, his friends carried him into one of the verminous little huts. There he lay until dead, and next morning the bread cart carried his carcass away. Three fresh bodies were on the ground when I reached the camp at 10 o'clock, and I was taken to see the little earth-floored cabin which with grim irony was called the "hospital." There were five Serbians in it—four just frames of skin and bone. The fifth man lay stretched on his back on the bare ground. His eyes were glazed and fixed, his breath came in quick spasms, and flies were crawling over his face. He looked as if he had but a few more hours of suffering to live. "Does no one come to do anything for these people? Have you never seen a Bulgarian medical officer here?" I asked. "Never," was the emphatic reply of a Serbian and a Greek prisoner who spoke French.

Greek Protests Against Bulgar Brutality

On Oct. 19, 1918, the Rector of the University of Athens sent the following telegram to leading universities in England, France, America, and Italy.

It is not the first time that the University of Athens sends a protest to the universities of Europe and America against heinous and unparalleled crimes. Exactly five years ago the Rector of the university, voicing the feelings of the nation, addressed in the name of civilization and humanity an appeal to all the universities and denounced the abominable atrocities committed during the Summer of 1913 by the Bulgars against the inoffensive and unarmed population of Macedonia and Thrace. Today, again, the University of Athens, relying on the scientific and moral solidarity which unites all universities, those wells of truth and culture, utters a cry of indignation against the horrors committed by the Bulgars in Eastern Macedonia, a land surrendered to them without fighting. Ruin and desolation mark the passage of the barbarians and are met everywhere by the advancing Greek Army and its gallant allies.

Incendiarism, slavery, wholesale deportations, torments, and excesses of all sorts—these are the means used by the Bulgars in order to exterminate Hellenism. The University of Athens, the representative of Hellenism in its noblest form, protests with all its might against these shameful Bulgarian atrocities. It feels confident that when, thanks to the effort of the great leaders and the heroic soldiers of the democratic nations of the Old and New World, the time arrives for justice to redress the wrong, and freedom to fill with joy the oppressed peoples, the crimes of the Bulgars will appear more than ever heinous, and a just and proper punishment will be inflicted on their perpetrators.

PRIEST BURNED ALIVE

An officer of the Greek Department of Justice, after visiting Seres in Macedonia, reported Nov. 20, 1918, as follows:

In September, 1917, the inhabitants of Seres were 23,693, of which 14,938 were Greeks, 7,925 Turks, and 730 Israelites. In September, 1918, after the Bulgarian occupation, the inhabitants were 5,793, of which half were Bulgarians transported from the interior of Bulgaria; there were only 2,293 Greeks, the half of which were under 10 years of age. In Drama there were found twelve bodies of Greeks thrown in wells by the Bulgarians.

A commission of the Red Cross, upon request of Mr. Venizelos, visited Eastern Macedonia and witnessed the destruction of towns and villages as well as other horrible crimes. English prisoners arriving from Bulgaria in Saloniki relate the martyrdoms suffered during their captivity. An English officer tells how he saw a Greek priest hanged by the feet and roasted in a small fire.

The Archbishop of London, who arrived in Athens after a visit to Macedonia, communicates that he was told much of the Bulgarian atrocities and the destruction of the property of the Greek population, and was a witness himself of inhuman acts. Sub-Lieutenant Manthrakis, a prisoner of war, relates that he was interned, together with English and French officers, in a cage, naked and without food. The Bulgarians stole from the English officer his gold artifical teeth.

CORROBORATIVE BRIEF

The correspondent of The London Times wrote from Sofia on Nov. 6:

Today I am semi-officially informed that out of 100,000 interned Serbs only 53,000 survive. Out of 8,000 in the Serbian prisoners' camp at Haskovo no fewer than 5,000 have died. At the Rumanian prisoners' camp at Rustchuk typhus broke out, but no Bulgarian doctor would tend the sick. A Rumanian doctor was compelled to perform this duty, but caught the infection and died. The sick were then shut up in a building by themselves and left to their horrible fate. Three hundred out of 450 perished miserably before the epidemic ceased.

Two hundred and fifty British prisoners captured seven weeks ago near Doiran were deprived of their boots, puttees, and tunics, and forced to march to Sofia, a distance of nearly 150 miles, barefoot, with no other clothing than their shirts and Summer shorts, and no other food than what they could pick up in the fields by the roadside, consisting of onions and roots and a few grains of raw maize. Bread they got only once, when, at Radomir, a small loaf was handed to each man. The journey lasted for sixteen days. These particulars were given me by five men of this unfortunate band whom I questioned separately.

Turkish Cruelty to Prisoners

Fatal Sufferings of Britons Who Fell Into Ottoman Hands at Kut-el-Amara

AN official report on the treatment of British prisoners of war in Turkey, issued in November, 1918, disclosed the fact that out of a total of 16,583 officers and men captured by the Turks, 3,290 had been reported dead, while 2,222 remained untraced, and, it is believed, have all perished. These figures, says the report, "give the exact measure of the meaning of captivity in Turkey." The most tragic fate befell the garrison which surrendered at Kut, to whom all the untraced belong—they perished in the dreadful march the Turks forced them to undertake across the Syrian Desert. Of 2,680 British noncommissioned officers and privates taken at Kut 1,306 died and 449 are untraced; that is, over 65 per cent. perished. Of 10,486 Indians, 1,290 died and 1,773 remain untraced.

After the surrender of General Townshend at Kut-el-Amara, April 29, 1916, the troops were plundered of all their valuables and then kept for a week, unsheltered in sun and rain, at Shamran—and during that week nearly 300 died. Then when the columns set out to cover the 100 miles to Bagdad the officers were forcibly separated and sent on independently by boat. As for the men:

> They were herded like sheep by mounted Arab troopers, who freely used sticks and whips to flog forward the stragglers. Food was very short, the heat was intense, the clouds of dust perpetual, and a great number of the men had now neither boots nor water bottles. Their escort stripped them still further; by the time of their arrival at Bagdad most of the Arab guard were dressed in odds and ends of the British uniforms, stolen during the march. There was little or no control by the Turkish officers, who usually rode at the head of the column. The only mitigating influence was that of the Turkish doctor who accompanied the march; his name—which was Ilia—deserves to be recorded, for he was untiring in his ministrations to the men; but he could, of course, do little among the thousands who needed him. One day—the fourth of the march—had absolutely to be given over to rest; this was at Azizie, where some 350 sick, British and Indian, were left behind in a sort of cowshed, densely crowded and filthily verminous, to follow later by river. The rest struggled on, many of them now half naked, all so near the limit of exhaustion that there were daily deaths by the roadside. So, after nine days' march, the column arrived at Bagdad on May 15, and were marched for three or four hours through crowded streets before being taken to the place where they were to encamp.

At Bagdad most of the men remained three months, and through the unceasing efforts of the American Consul, Mr. Brissell, they at length obtained a sufficiency of food.

The main body of the prisoners was sent across the Syrian Desert from Bagdad to Asia Minor; it was this journey which proved so fatal. The report continues:

> Officers who followed in their trace found parties of men lying exhausted under any shelter they could find, in all stages of dysentery and starvation; some dying, some dead; half clothed, without boots, having sold everything they could to buy a little milk. Only here and there had an attendant of some kind been left to look after them; generally there was no one but the Arab villagers, who mercilessly robbed them, or the under officer of the local police post, who stared indifferently, and protested that he had no authority to give help. The dead lay unburied, plundered, and stripped of their last clothing.
>
> All across the desert, at one place after another, these sights were repeated; starving and dying men, in tens and twenties, lay in any scrap of shade or mud-hovel that might be allowed them, and waited their end. Some had to wait long. Many weeks later, at a desert village about three days' journey from Aleppo, there was found a group of six British soldiers and about a dozen Indians, who for three months had lain on the bare ground of a mud-walled inclosure, subsisting solely on a few scraps thrown to them by Arabs or passing caravans. The Englishmen had been fourteen; eight had died; and of the survivors only one was still able to crawl two or three hundred

yards to a place where there was water. It begins to be evident how it came about that of the men who surrendered at Kut more than 3,000, British and Indian, have never been heard of at all.

The last part of the march, over the mountain ranges of the Amanus, had been the worst of all, and here too the same terrible vestiges had been left in many places. In the future it will be possible to throw further light on the whole of this crime of two years ago, even though much of it will remain beyond the reach of any investigation. For the present a brief and imperfect summary has to suffice. It is at least enough to insure that the march of the Kut prisoners will never be forgotten in this country. Their own silent and stoical endurance of the worst made a deep impression, we are told, on those who saw them emerge from this experience.

Constantinople Occupied

Landing of the British at Gallipoli and the Golden Horn

By H. COLLINSON OWEN

Lemnos, Nov. 10, 1918.

THE final act to one of the greatest dramas of the war was enacted yesterday (Nov. 9) when, in accordance with the terms of the armistice with Turkey, British troops landed unopposed to occupy the Gallipoli Peninsula.

We left Mudros in a destroyer at 4 in the morning to see the landing, and arrived off Cape Helles about 9. The first outward sign that we were in such historic waters was the sight of a mast sticking up off the rocky coast of Imbros. This marked the spot where the big monitor Raglan and the smaller one, M-28, went down when standing up hopelessly against the Goeben and the Breslau at the time of their ill-starred sortie last year.

Later in the day, up toward the Narrows, we saw the remains of submarine E-15, which ran ashore when trying to ascend the strait and was torpedoed from a launch by our own men under heavy fire, and a little further up the rusty bottom of the Turkish battleship Messudiyeh, looking like an immense turtle, marked one of our submarine successes. We passed over deep waters that concealed the remains of sunken British and French battleships, the Ocean, Irresistible, Majestic, Goliath, Triumph, and Bouvet. We anchored just off V beach, where the River Clyde was run ashore.

The Turkish troops occupying the peninsula had been removed some days before, and for the time being not a single Turk was to be seen. V Beach along to Cape Helles and so to W Beach is as unlovely and barren a strip of coastline as can be imagined. Above us to our right were the remains of the old fort of Sedd el Bahr, which the fleet knocked to pieces in the first bombardment. We walked up steep ground, passed over old trenches, both our own and the enemy's, and saw new ones constructed in case of the further attack which for months past the Turks had been expecting. Everywhere, too, were elaborate telephone connections. Here, on the ground which we had won and given up again, the Turks were expecting to fight us once more. The two heavy guns which we captured and blew up were still lying there, not far from a modern heavy battery with deep ammunition dugouts cut in rocky soil and a plentiful supply of six-inch shells neatly arranged in galleries.

IN THE DARDANELLES

We embarked again near the River Clyde in a patrol launch, and proceeded up the strait. Intelligence officers on board, maps in hand, were marking down various points of information and verifying the positions of batteries. Altogether, on both sides of the strait, there are about fifty batteries containing guns ranging from 6-inch to 14-inch, a considerable portion of which are modern. We passed within five yards of an ugly Turkish mine floating on the surface. We went ashore at Chanak and

WHERE THE ALLIED FLEET HAS TAKEN CONTROL SINCE TURKEY'S SURRENDER

walked to Hamidieh battery, a mile and a half away, which is the strongest on the strait. At Chanak were Turks in plenty, both soldiers and otherwise, and everybody appeared quite well fed. The population appeared pleased to see a group of British officers walking about, glad that the war for them was over.

Hamidieh fort was quite deserted. It has played a big part in the operations against the Dardanelles. It has three 14-inch guns, dating back to the eighties, and six 9.2-inch guns. Looking from one of the emplacements one could see right down to the mouth of the strait and beyond. At the moment of writing British soldiers are probably already in possession, and here, as at every other battery, a small party of Turkish noncoms and men will be temporarily left to put the guns clean and in order, and we shall hold the forts until such time as the Allies shall have decided what is exactly to happen to the Dardanelles in the future.

By the time we returned to Cape Helles a big transport and an old type cruiser, both loaded with British troops, were lying there. The unwieldy craft nosed slowly ashore and put her nose to the pier just alongside the bow of the River Clyde. Our men—troops who have seen much hard service in Macedonia—stepped ashore with their kits, and that was all the incident there was to the second landing in Gallopoli.

AT THE GOLDEN HORN

G. Ward Price, the Official British correspondent, wrote from Constantinople on Nov. 10:

At Chanak lay a gray transport steamer with British troops on board. She had arrived a little before us, and the khaki figures that lined her rail, staring curiously at the low-lying little town, with its old stone castle and its throng of equally interested inhabitants, were on their way to garrison the forts of the Narrows further up. With a Turkish pilot on board to guide us through the rest of the minefields, the destroyer made her way on into the Sea of Marmora, and increased her speed to thirty knots. So that at 3 o'clock this afternoon, under a cloudy sky, but one filled with the diffused lights of the East, we rounded the point of the old Seraglio and entered the Golden Horn.

There was no demonstration of any kind. It seemed as if no one had even noticed the arrival of this herald of the

British fleet. But as we drew near to the quay one saw that the houses and windows were thronged with people. The crowd had an unusual tone of red about it, derived from all the crimson fezzes bobbing to and fro as their wearers strained for a glimpse. And a few waved handkerchiefs. A German officer stood on the quay close to where the destroyer gradually came alongside. He was more interested than any one, but affected indifference and yawned with care from time to time. A little group of German soldiers and sailors gradually formed behind him as if for mutual moral support. For years they had been the self-ordained military gods of this place, but now their altars are overthrown and they see Turkish naval officers of high rank hurrying past them to pay respects to the representative of a nation they once thought they could despise. We are, indeed, much surrounded by an unwelcome neighborhood of Germans. Germans look down on us from their office windows opposite the quay. Here in my bedroom at the Pera Palace Hotel there are Germans talking in the rooms on either side of me as I write. I gather from fragments overheard that they are packing up. One is pleased to think that their compatriots throughout Turkey are doing the same. As we drove up from the quay, too, there seemed a considerable number of Germans, and also Austrians, in the streets. The Austrians saluted the party of British officers. The Germans swaggered by with a stare, the noncommissioned officers and men smoking cigars, which give them to English eyes a peculiar appearance of pretentiousness.

ARRIVAL OF WARSHIPS

An Associated Press cerrespondent at Constantinople cabled on Nov. 13:

For the fourth time in a century British battleships have passed through the Dardanelles and arrived at Constantinople on a mission of war. It was at 1:30 o'clock this morning that the flagship Superb was sighted in the Sea of Marmora, steaming slowly toward the entrance of the Bosporus. Behind her came the Temeraire, bearing General Sir Henry Wilson, who will command the garrisons of allied troops in the forts of the Dardanelles and the Bosporus. The Lord Nelson and the Agamemnon were next, and then followed, in the imposing procession of the line ahead, cruisers, destroyers, and other craft, making up the British squadron. Behind them came the French squadron in similar formation. Then followed Italian and Greek warships.

At the entrance of the Bosporus the fleet was divided into two parts. The Superb and Temeraire, followed by two French battleships, came on. As the silent line of great gray ships anchored close to the European shore of the strait, within near view of the Sultan's palace and the Turkish Chamber of Deputies, the two French battleships dropped anchor astern of them, and then followed the battleships of Italy and Greece.

But the rest of the allied fleet is lying around the corner of the Bosporus in the Sea of Marmora, and at noon today the whole fleet will weigh anchor again and go to its prepared base in the Gulf of Ismidt.

General Wilson has just landed on the quay. He was received by Djevad Pasha, Turkish Chief of Staff, and on the quay were drawn up as a guard of honor several hundred British and Indian prisoners of war in their light-colored clothes of blanket cloth. Massed everywhere as near as the Turkish police would let them come were dense crowds of Constantinople inhabitants. Most of these onlookers were Greeks who had been excited by the arrival of the Greek warships at the Turkish capital.

The Turks themselves watched the arrival of the allied ships with apparently complete indifference. Germans and Austrians who were abroad in Constantinople showed an inquisitiveness about this morning's events which one would have thought their own private feelings would have excluded. There were even Austrian soldiers down at the quay to photograph the ceremony.

Sultan Mohammed VI., in a statement issued Dec. 6, expressed great sorrow at the treatment of the Armenians by "certain political committees of Turkey," and added:

Such misdeeds and the mutual slaughter of sons of the same fatherland have broken my heart. I ordered an inquiry as soon as I came to the throne so that the fomenters might be severely punished, but various factors prevented my orders from being promptly carried out. The matter is now being thoroughly investigated. Justice will soon be done and we will never have a repetition of these ugly events.

The Dawn of a New Era

By FREDERIC HARRISON

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DO we realize the enormous changes in all forms of life which this Earth-War has brought about? Do we feel into what a new world we are entering—what a new epoch of civilization we have to make? As a very old man who has long been a student of history, whose business it once was to teach the principles that should govern the comity of nations, I see that these years of war, without example in range and in horror, have caused a new, let us trust a loftier, civilization to appear, in which militarism and national hostility may be transformed into an age of Industry and Peace.

Not that these four years of fighting alone have done this. The great evolution of enlarged Humanity has been moving on by stormy stages ever since the first Republic of France, and the successive waves mark the revolutionary growth in Europe. Onward it went, with the final overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy in 1830, England's Reform act and all that it caused in 1832, then the European revolutions of 1848-9, the establishment of the third and final republic in France by Gambetta in 1879, the British reforms in a long series during half a century—all these led up to the vast transformation that this colossal war has made manifest.

Take it in all its aspects and all its consequences, this New Era of which we see the dawn is greater and more blessed than the epoch when Europe began to settle after barbarism, more pure than the advent of the New Learning and the New Thought, more wise than the spasmodic revolutions in the times of Danton or Napoleon.

I look back with amazement on the progress of civilization even within my own lifetime. At my birth in 1831 slave-holding was legal within the dominions of the British Crown; in a Parliament of rotten boroughs Birmingham had no member, but Grampound had. Until 1834 there was no public grant for education, and then it was only £20,000. Exclusive State Churches dominated in Ireland, Scotland, and England. Food was cruelly taxed by tariff. Labor was oppressed, for no factories acts existed. The savage laws of felony and death had only just been partly redressed. Transportation of convicts to the colonies was in full course. Down to my time, about fifty to sixty criminals were hanged each year.

What a march of popular progress I have lived to witness: Reform in Parliament, in education, in free trade, in law, in Church. In these eighty-seven years the change has been as great as in 700 years since Magna Charta.

When I was a schoolboy the only republic was in America. Russia, it was thought, might overwhelm Europe. China and Japan were closed to Europeans. India was ruled by a trading company, and was constantly invaded by the northern races. The United States had a total population of little more than 12,000,000, one-tenth of whom were slaves. England's colonies were small primitive settlements, having constant difficulties with the colored aborigines.

Italy was parceled out among retrograde sovereigns, of whom the most arbitrary was the Vatican heir of St. Peter. Austria was a vast military empire holding the finest parts of Italy, and imposing its will and its practices upon a

network of German dukeries. There were no railroads, no ocean steamships, no telegraph, no cheap post, no free press, no public education, no pure water, no main drainage, no free commerce. Trade unions were criminal societies. Dissenters were possible rebels.

And now this Armageddon has opened an era in which the old order seems dissolved as in a cataclysm. Empires in China, in Russia, in Austria, in Germany are dissolving like storm clouds. Nearly half the human race have passed from despotism to republics. The terrific machinery of war that for two generations had been organized at Berlin has been pulverized, never to darken this earth again.

New republics have emerged out of the wreckage. Asia has been freed from the cruel desolation where the Turk had planted his foot. Africa has been freed from the murderous greed of the Hun. Japan is entering and in due time China will enter into the civilized community of nations. Some twenty different peoples have joined in arms to resist the menace of domination by one. The common cause of civilization in peril has roused free men from Newfoundland and the Mississippi to the Ganges, from the Cape of Good Hope to Australia, New Zealand, and Japan.

Miracle, above all, after nearly a century and a half, Britons and American citizens of various races have fought side by side, as brothers in arms, and almost again as one people with a common fatherland. Nothing so deep-seated as this, so potent in possible enlargement as this, has ever happened in the civilized world since the Catholic and feudal settlement in the age of the Crusades, when Europe had at least the bond of a common faith, and of a common spirit of chivalry, loyalty, and honor.

With all its vices and its limitations, mediaeval Europe had some common ideal, even if it misused and abused it. Our common ideal, we trust, is far grander and wider, more wise and more humane. 'Tis a weighty task that lies on us; to keep to it steadfastly, to make it live and grow to Peace among Men.

This awful time of bloodshed, ranging from the Arctic Circle to the furthest Pacific, has given new meaning to all the forces that have been gathering up for a century, and it has discovered many new forces and brought together former enemies. Only twenty years ago Britain and America, Britain and France, were at arm's length. Can Britain, France, the United States, Italy, ever be parted again? Will not the races of Russia, Turkey, of the Central Empires, owe their free life to us—now together the vanguard of civilization?

Four years of superhuman strain have transformed the face of the world. East and west, north and south, have come together as brothers, in ways that they never knew. Humanity has come into its own in Peace and Union! Inventions to use and control the material earth, which were dreamed of for generations, have suddenly become mighty realities.

The Roman poet said: "Wings were not given to man." Man has developed wings! There is no limit now to what air transit may do for human intercourse. Express service, postal service, will soon be by air, even if we do not scrap our railroads altogether. Submarine navigation has recast the whole condition of naval construction, even if we do not scrap our dreadnoughts altogether. At any rate, there never again shall be the old race of armaments, no huge standing armies, no dominion of the seas so as to menace the rest of the world.

The barbarous blood tax must cease. Nevermore shall the nations have to offer up their sons to Moloch. The hideous waste of labor in engines of destruction —more than half the entire cost of government—must cease. And with the waste of labor for destruction there must be ended also the waste of labor in debasing luxuries and wanton extravagance.

It will be a new world in this twentieth century. Shall we be new men, new women, worthy to use it rightly?

Women in War Industries

By EMILY NEWELL BLAIR

[NOVEMBER, 1918]

THE close of the war finds women employed in practically every industry. In agriculture they do everything, from raising bees to testing milk, not omitting the harvesting of crops. In construction and building trades they are employed in shipyards and airplane factories, and are qualified as skilled riveters, calkers, chippers, reamers and carpenters, electricians, painters, pipe fitters, plumbers, roofers, sheet metal and brickyard workers. There are woodswomen as well. There are women log inspectors and women miners. In munition and other industries incident to the war they follow such tasks as burring, tracing, chopping, assembling meters and coils, drafting, molding, cylindrical grinding, copper tipping, power dispatching, repairing and testing valves, straightening razor parts, diamond die drilling, machine burnishing, and wire bending. In the work of transportation they are taking their places as ticket agents at railroad stations and acting as street-car conductors and motormen, teamsters, chauffeurs, auto truck, taxi and ambulance drivers.

In view of this influx of women into branches of industry hitherto closed to them, a general and desirable curiosity is manifested as to the actual degree to which women have replaced men, how they are trained to fill these positions, the effect on industrial production, and the means taken to protect the health of women and standards of industry.

Although figures on the employment of American women since the beginning of the world war and since our entry into the war must necessarily be suggestive rather than authoritative, several surveys, taken under conditions making for accuracy, indicate the trend of the women-in-industry movement. In 1910 the number of women engaged in gainful occupations, according to the United States census, was 8,750,772. Today, according to the estimates compiled by the American Association for Labor Legislation, approximately 11,000,000 women are so engaged. These figures include clerks, stenographers, and professional women, as well as the skilled and unskilled workers. A survey made in 1914 authorized by the National Industrial Conference Board gives 1,649,687 women workers engaged in manufacturing industries alone. An investigation conducted by Marie Obernauer, now Chief of Examiners for the War Labor Board, and published by the Committee on Public Information in April, 1918, gives the size of the "Woman's Industrial Army of Defense," as she calls it, as 1,500,000. More recent figures, compiled from other sources, place the number of women employed in essential industries as 2,000,000.

Except in such cases as those in which industries have supplied the needs of soldiers instead of civilians, the Government instead of individuals, these workers must either have been transferred from the nonessential industries to the essential or recruited from the untrained women of the hitherto unproductive class.

SUPPLYING GOVERNMENT NEEDS

As the demand in the early days of the war was for trained women, naturally the larger number of women were found in those industries which had already employed them. According to Miss Obernauer's report, 900,000 women were engaged in five industries supplying the Government. Of this number, 80,000 were in canneries; 125,000 in the food, spice, condiment, drug and tobacco factories; 275,000 in textile occupations, 212,000 running machines in clothing factories, 130,000 in knitting and hosiery mills; 95,000 were shoe workers. In many cases these factories had merely changed their markets. Neither their output nor their number of employes had increased. But the report further calls at-

tention to the fact that it takes 300,000,000 yards of cloth to clothe, bed, and shelter an army of a million and a half in the field, that a million and a half men at the front require 15,000,000 knit undershirts, nearly 20,000,000 pairs of underdrawers, and 27,000,000 pairs of socks during the year; that the War Department had placed orders for 21,000,000 pairs of shoes to be delivered by June 1, 1918. It is fairly evident that to meet these demands there had to be an increased output and calls for more workers. This conclusion is further supported by Miss Obernauer's statement:

> Within a few months after Congress declared the existence of a state of war, calls for nearly 10,000 factory and mill trained women were made. The most insistent calls, and those hardest to fill, were not for women to make bandages and bullets, but to do woman's world-old job, to spin, to weave, to knit, to sew, and to conserve food—not in the old-time kitchen fashion, which produces in dozens, but in the new factory and mill way, under which the productive power of women labor is raised a hundred and a thousand fold.

In some cases it was necessary to bring the utterly unskilled into these trades. For instance, in the little town of Manchester, N. H., where war orders for shoes and leggings placed a problem before the McElwain Shoe Company, which would have created a serious housing problem if workers had been brought in large numbers from other communities, a special publicity campaign was organized by the United States Employment Office, urging women of the community to enter the factory as a patriotic duty. Many college women and others who had not previously been employed were induced to take up this work. So far as reports have been received, they have proved satisfactory.

IN MUNITION FACTORIES

Miss Obernauer's report, while emphasizing the importance of woman's world-old work, notes the readiness with which women went into munition factories. She lists 600,000 women as furnishing the scores of things that come under the category of equipment; 100,000 in establishments not recognized as munition plants, yet doing work essential to the waging of the war, such as the making of bolts and screws to be used on ships, wireless and other electrical appliances, spark plugs and parts of airplanes, submarines and army trucks; and 100,000 in private munition plants and Government-owned arsenals.

This readiness, she thinks, was not only the result of the higher wages paid in these new establishments, but was part of the war psychology of the women public, which fails to appreciate its own singular importance and consequent responsibility in the winning of the war by work on essential industries other than munition making. It may be, however, that this attitude is due partly to the fact that, except in cases of munition workers, there has been no credit, no glory, not even relief from monotony in the work of these war industries. The report says:

> To the work of other women the war has at least lent the attractio of newness and variety. For the factory and mill trained women in the older industries the war has only intensified the monotony of repetition work. It has meant less cloth of variegated colors and textures for a hetereogeneous civilian market and enormously more of uniform color and texture for the army and navy. It has meant fewer metal novelties and more standardized parts for the instruments of war. But the drill in monotony which has been the portion of these women in peace time has seasoned them for the more intensified monotony of war-time work.

The desirability of transferring women from nonessential to essential industries was at first strongly urged. Just one instance will suffice to note the nature of those transfers, which reports to the United States Employment Service indicate have been very large, particularly since the War Industries Board and the War Trade Board have been actively controlling the supply of raw materials, domestic and imported, of all manufacturers. The Government's gas-mask factory in Long Island City secured through the United States Employment Service of New York a corps of 1,000 skilled power-machine operators who had formerly been employed in the manufacture of collars and corsets to stitch their gas masks.

GOVERNMENT FIGURES

To the end, presumably, that information as to the need for such transfer, also for substitution, might be available, in January of 1918 the United States Employment Service published a report of a survey of industries engaged in war work, made to ascertain facts about the labor supply. The survey was made of war industries in forty-four cities in New York State and formed a basis of judging labor conditions in the manufacturing centres.

The 500 factories which were visited in the course of the survey employed 216,117 persons. About 176 of these factories called for additional labor before June, 1918. Woman labor was requested in only a little more than one-tenth of the total number. The women workers required were only 300. They were confined practically to the industries engaged in the manufacture of instruments and tools, and in many cases the manufacturers asked for "either men or women." It is notable in this connection that one firm which was investigated, although on its schedule it made no request for women to take the place of men, had already substituted 400 women and acknowledged its intention of substituting many more. Its action called forth vigorous protests from organized labor because it was said that lower wages were being paid to women in this plant than to men. The report continues: "It should be pointed out here "that until steps have been taken to use "all available skilled male labor in war "industries there can be no intelligent "control of women in industry."

Other reports, issued by the Merchants Association of New York in November, 1917, and by the National Association of Corporation Schools, Bulletin of October, 1917, and a compilation made by the New York State Industrial Commission on the basis of answers to a questionnaire sent in August, 1917, to 1,600 employers of labor in the State, show a relatively small number of women substituted for men. At the same time, the proportionate increase in employment of women appears to have been particularly marked in the war industries, especially in the metal and machine trades.

During April and May, 1918, an investigation of 600 selected establishments where it seemed probable that women might be employed on metal manufacturing processes was made by the National Industrial Conference Board, representing seventeen large manufacturing associations in the United States. The results of this inquiry were published in July, 1918, in a report entitled "War Time Employment of Women in the Metal Trades." This is apparently the latest report on women in industry to be made on anything like a large scale from direct investigation. A compilation made by this board from the abstract of the census of manufacturers of 1914 shows that women comprise only 4.6 per cent. of the total labor force in those metal trades in which they were employed, or 98,112 from a total of 2,140,789 employes. For ninety-six establishments which furnished the board definite figures on the substituting of women employes since August, 1914, the women substituted were 10,801 out of a total of 34,667 female employes, or 31.2 per cent.; 5,107, or nearly 50 per cent., have been added or substituted in ten munition establishments. Of the 330 manufacturers replying to the questionnaire, only 131 employed female labor in manufacturing processes. Out of a total labor force of 384,709, in these 131 establishments, 49,831 were women, making the proportion of women 12.9 per cent.

SPECIAL TRAINING FOR WOMEN

As the Government continued to induct men into military service, the demand for women workers necessarily increased. With this increased demand came increased interest in the problem of giving training to those women who were unskilled. The position of the Section on Industrial Training for War Emergency was that women should not do heavy manual labor or enter men's trades, except as necessary for the prosecution of the war; but when women had to do so in order to make up our industrial quota they must receive training. This section of the Committee on Labor, Council of

National Defense, was ultimately merged in the Training and Dilution Service of the Department of Labor.

The Federal Board for Vocational Education was also concerned with promoting industrial training, and disbursed a considerable sum upon a half-and-half plan for salaries of vocational instructors employed by the States. This board in August, 1918, emphasized the need of training for the following classes of women:

Those who have not hitherto been employed and have entered industry because of economic pressure or a desire for patriotic service; those who have been partially or casually employed and desire permanent employment; those who seek in the diverse opportunities at present offered a change from congenial employment to desirable work.

The board described the training that had been instituted to meet the needs of these classes of workers to meet the war emergency. Experiments were made in industrial plants in connection with their employment departments. Private schools and other institutions were stimulated to inaugurate new classes. Public schools in many cases adopted day, part-time, and evening classes to meet these new needs.

VESTIBULE SCHOOLS

But in most cases this problem of training women for industrial service has been handled by individual employers. At the present time the consensus of opinion among them seems to favor the "Vestibule Schools" as the method giving the quickest result in training unskilled workers. The vestibule school is so named because it is actually the entrance to the factory. Many plants are willing to employ unskilled women to operate machines under instructional supervision. These machines are duplicates of those used in the main factory, and the finished product of the vestibule school goes, after inspection, into the same channels as the factory product. As soon as the worker has shown ability to work without instruction, she is given regular employment. In some cases production from the vestibule schools equals the records set by the regular workers. The apprentice workers are paid a stipulated rate while learning, and when promoted to regular work they are advanced to pay by the hour or piece according to custom of that particular factory. In the Curtiss airplane plant at Buffalo, F. L. Glynn, who was formerly State Director of Vocational Education in Wisconsin, is, with assistants, in charge of a vestibule school occupying a balcony 50 by 600 feet, running down the centre of a great shop.

Ninety-seven industrial plants engaged in war orders introduced the vestibule school and were listed by the Training and Dilution Service. The form of training even under this system varies. The Bethlehem Steel Company has two different types of schools for women workers in operation. School No. 1 is in a separate building equipped with the necessary machines and tools. The new workers are here assigned to skilled mechanics as instructors, who teach the proper method of doing bench work and of operating any of the following types of machines: Drill presses, gun boring lathes, turret lathes, shapers, milling machines. As soon as they develop a certain degree of skill in the training school they are placed in the production shops. All these women learners have been paid at the rate of 25 cents an hour while in training. This was increased to 29 cents as soon as they could handle production work. The nature of the work in these shops made it necessary for workers to become all-around operators or bench hands—that is, they had to be given a broad training, including blueprint reading and the use of precision-measuring instruments.

Still another type of school is maintained by the Packard Company, which employs 1,000 women in its plant in operations requiring varying degrees of intelligence and skill, the lowest wage being 35 cents an hour for greasers and packers. A miniature factory, in which the learners are segregated from the experienced workers, is equipped for a school. The teachers are chosen from the regular workers, and instruct about 200 women at a time. The newcomer is set to work upon series of exercises

which are based upon the requirements of production work. With the help of eight blueprints and the materials which accompany them, the learners become sufficiently familiar with the terms and tools and simple processes to understand the language of the instructor when he teaches the machine. When she passes on to the machine she may choose the special kind on which she prefers training —the lathe, the turret lathe, milling machine, planer, shaper, or the drill. She may become more or less familiar with several. She must also become experienced in inspecting and assembling parts, and altogether spends three weeks before being sent into the plant.

EFFICIENCY OF WOMEN

As to efficiency maintained by women workers, the report of the National Industrial Conference Board referred to before includes a comparison of output which indicates that the output of women compares favorably with that of men.

It appears that in 30 establishments out of 99 the output of women is greater than that of men in all operations in which both were engaged; in 6 it was greater in some, equal in others; in 30 it was equal to that of men. In other words, in 66 establishments, or two-thirds of those furnishing definite information as to output, women's production was equal to or greater than that of men in the operations where both were employed. In only 15 establishments was it found that women produced less than men in all operations in which they were engaged. In the remaining 18 establishments, although less on some operations, their production was equal or greater on others. Further investigation discloses the fact that among those operations in which some employers reported women to be less efficient than men, there were very few which were not being carried on with much success by women in other establishments. For instance, in one automobile factory women were found inferior to men in light bench and machine work, yet in other factories doing similar work their output on the same processes was equal to or greater than that of the men.

As to the attitude of women, of 111 manufacturing establishments reporting on this subject 103 stated that the attitude of women toward their work was as good or better than that of men; 8 that it was worse. It should be taken into consideration that most of the factory work which women perform requires little initiative or self-reliance.

Comparisons of the wage rate of women with those of men is complicated by the fact that operations done by women have been modified, sometimes so that the work done is not identical with that done before by men, and that one class of workers might be paid by piece rate, others on time work. Excluding the 21 establishments for which there was no basis for comparison, in the 53 of the remaining 106 women received the same rates of pay as men, whether on time or on piece work; in 29, women's piece work was the same as men's, but their time rates were lower. In 24 both piece and time rates were lower.

The principle of equal wages for equal work found specially marked recognition among employers in those industries where the employment is a comparatively new feature. For example, eighteen establishments manufacturing foundry and machine shop products pay women equal rates where they do the same work as men, while eight pay them equal piece rates. In the munition industry five establishments pay equal rates, six pay equal piece rates but lower time rates. The relatively large number of cases where women receive lower rates in electrical manufacturing is due to the fact that women have been employed in this industry for a much longer period, and that certain occupations came to be regarded as women's work at a time when the principle of equal wages was seldom accepted.

A considerable number of employers * * * indicated no changes in equipment following the introduction of women workers, or changes only in the direction of increasing the safety provisions. * * * In several cases where increased war demands led to the employment of women on a considerable scale that additional equipment was chosen with the idea of its adaptability to female workers. * * * That is, making the machinery easier to operate, arranging for delivering materials, furnishing specially designed tools, providing well-lighted workrooms, and proper seating arrangement, which applies to the men as well as the women, these tend to reduce fatigue and increase efficiency.

ACCIDENTS TO WOMEN

It was reported that in a majority of cases the accident rate was lower for women than for men, but no accurate figures or even estimates were given. Many manufacturers attributed this to the fact that women were engaged in work of a less hazardous character than were the men. A Government report, based on an

investigation in 1908, showed the number of accidents to women at that time about one-third greater than to men. A significant feature of this tabulation was "that, of the accidents to women, practically 60 per cent. occurred during the "first week of employment and over 30 "per cent. on the first day of employment, as compared with approximately "35 per cent. and 19 per cent. respectively "in the case of men. The latter figures "indicate clearly that the learning period "is peculiarly dangerous for women "workers and emphasizes the desirability "of a thorough training, which appears "to be more necessary for women than "for men, as many women have little or "no previous mechanical experience."

In order that the health of women should be conserved and the proper protection thrown around them, early in the war the Ordnance Department established in its Industrial Service Section a woman's division, which has a supervisor in each ordnance district. It is her duty to co-operate with other officials of the Ordnance Department in keeping production at the top notch of efficiency by the upkeep of proper working standards among women employes and at the same time to see that the women are properly safeguarded. As an additional protection to the health of the workers special attention has been given to the training and recruiting of women health supervisors to be situated in Government-owned plants.

Since then the Department of Labor has created a Women in Industry Service to exercise the same function with regard to all women in industries controlled directly or having contracts with the Federal Government. These standards are set forth briefly in a resolution that recommends the standards as to hours, night work, wages, and conditions of labor, previously set forth by the Government in such orders as No. 13, issued by General Crozier. Order No. 13, addressed to arsenal commanders and manufacturers, suggests that efforts be made to restrict the work of women to eight hours even where the law permits a nine or ten hour day, asks that the employment of women on night shifts should be avoided, that rest periods every four and a half hours be arranged, that at least thirty minutes for meals, which are not to be eaten in workrooms, be allowed; that a Saturday half holiday be given, and that no woman be required to lift repeatedly more than 25 pounds in any single load. While it states that care should be taken to make sure that, when it becomes necessary to employ women on work hitherto done by men, the task be adapted to the strength of women, it strongly advocates equal wages for equal service.

OCCUPATIONS DIFFERENTIATED

This resolution of the War Labor Policies Board further sets forth its opinion that the shortage in labor should be met in part by introducing women into those occupations easily filled by them, and that they should not be employed in places or occupations clearly unfit for them, either because of physical or moral conditions or youth. The placing of women in hazardous employments and new occupations is to be regulated by standards especially applicable to these occupations, as set forth, from time to time, either by the Federal Government or by the State Labor Departments. The recruiting of mothers of young children for war industries is to be discouraged.

While the movement of women into industry must naturally create special problems, these same problems are themselves factors in the problems created by the conditions and necessities of industry itself. The introduction to the first orders issued officially as standards of industry may be quoted as indicating the Government's point of view: "In view of "the urgent necessity for a prompt in-"crease in the volume of production of "practically every article required for "the conduct of the war, vigilance is de-"manded of all those in any way associ-"ated with industry, lest the safeguards "with which people of this country have "sought to protect labor should be un-"wisely and unnecessarily broken down."

Women's War Work in Three Nations

By CAROLINE RUNTZ REES

THE first intimation that the British authorities set a practical value upon the services of women came in March, 1915, when the Board of Trade issued an appeal to them to volunteer for war service, opened a register for them, and frankly stated that women's work was needed. Women showed their readiness; in the course of the first week 20,000 registered, but employers were not yet ready to call upon them, and the registration was followed by disappointment.

The war register was very slowly drawn upon, but meanwhile women were being drafted into service by less official channels. They began acting as commissionaires, messenger boys, lift women, as doers, in fact, of all the miscellaneous work that meets the public eye. They pushed milk carts and cleaned ships in the docks; they took the places everywhere of men in domestic service; they replaced them in secondary boys' schools and in the banks; but even such occupations, easily attracting casual attention, were not really indicative of any vital change in the national life. Yet eighteen months later the War Office, officially compiling a book on "Woman's War Work" to show what categories of men might be released for military service by the substitution of women, listed under the head of "Munition Work Successfully Undertaken by Women" 20 trades, 205 processes, some of these with 18 subdivisions. Under "Manufactured Articles or Parts" 300 articles were named, with such broad headings as "Scientific Instruments." For the more exact work named in this publication women were trained in more than 60 technical schools and colleges; had, in fact, already in 1917 been so trained to the number of 32,000.

BRITISH MUNITION WORKERS

Whether scientifically or empirically trained, all Englishwomen could ultimately find some kind of war work to do. And their country looked to them not for efficiency merely, but for heroism. Danger was ever present in the munition factories, no less because of the nature of the material used than because the factory was one of the first objectives of the air raiders. A vivid account of the behavior of the girl operators in a factory at Woolwich Arsenal is given by one of the "principal overlookers" in a book called "Munition Lassies." The night shift was gathered for dinner in the canteen when the lights switched out suddenly; yet, the first confusion over, no one attempted to move. The workers rested quietly and 2,000 of them sang through the long night, while others, wearied out, fell calmly asleep through the cannonading, "which could be heard all around us and in the midst of us." After such a night the overlooker found "all operations in hand." One girl spoke the mind of the factory: "We must work our very hardest to make an end of those Zepps."

The conditions of the work in munition factories were unusually good. Wages were high and, from the first, the Government followed the principle of equal pay for equal work, at least so far as piecework was concerned. Good housing, good canteens, good superintendence were provided; the crowded tenements and poor food supplies of the early days of the war were things of the past. Special tribunals dealt with wages, and justice was in the main the result of their findings. Government or private employer also provided welfare workers, whose activities undoubtedly added to the comfort and well-being of the workers, even though regarded in some quarters—the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organizations, for example—as "open to very serious objections." So established, so important, was the Englishwoman's share in her country's effort to supply the field forces with ammunition.

Hardly less vital to the success of the Allies' arms was woman's part in the

production of food. It was largely in her hands; indeed, the increase in the number of women in agriculture between 1911 and July, 1916, was estimated by the Board of Trade at 66,000, and under the "List of Occupations in Which Women Are Successfully Employed in Agriculture" the War Office brochure counted, apart from miscellaneous work, thirty-seven "particulars of occupation." These women were so successful that it could be officially stated that, before America came into the war, England, alone of the Allies, had in the course of it materially increased her food supply.

The War Office compilation already referred to gives a list of sixty-six other trades in which women are "maintaining the industries and export trade of the United Kingdom," and this list is followed by seventy-two photographs of women at work, twenty-two of them starred as illustrating "heavy physical work," such as is performed by coal workers, shipyard workers, stokers, &c. These photographs portray employments so various as grooming horses, harrowing, making airplanes and motor cycles, setting type, electric spot welding, baking, handling and hanging leather. Skill and strength are obviously there, without detriment to feminine seductiveness, if one may judge by the two Pierrots in white caps, blouses, and leggings, barrowing in a flour mill, or the stoker in trousers and close cap, her shovel, full of coal, swinging to the furnace mouth, a towel over her shoulders and its end between her teeth. Dedicated as it is to a purely practical purpose, the War Office publication is yet, in the introductory note offered by the Adjutant General, a tribute to the "effective contribution of women to the empire in its hour of need."

SERVICES OF FRENCHWOMEN

Frenchwomen not only, like Englishwomen, showed readiness and ability to serve, but these from the first easily found the right paths to service. Mrs. Atherton quotes a moving tale of farmers' wives and daughters who did not allow the break of a single day to interrupt the procession of great trucks of produce from the outlying gardens and orchards to the markets of Paris, and this was but an earnest of the help Frenchwomen were to render in agriculture—instant, steady, and ennobled by the tonic incentive of its imperative necessity to their country. In work on the land they apparently outstripped their English sisters.

In munition work they almost equaled them. In the early Summer of 1915 there were some 14,000 Frenchwomen engaged in Government munition factories, for the most part in subsidiary processes. Private factories occupied some 30,000. In 1916 Government and Government-controlled factories gave work to no less than 109,000, and in the same period the processes on which women were working doubled in number. In other trades also, not immediately connected with national defense, there was, according to the Government reports, a similar striking increase. For example, in chemical industries the number of processes undertaken by women rose in ten months from six to twenty-two; in food production, from eleven to twenty; in metal work, from thirteen to seventy-eight; in textiles, from thirteen to thirty.

When the war had been going on for two years the Government opened the way for Frenchwomen to serve the army in an official capacity. In May, 1916, the Under Secretary of State for the Commissariat Department, recommending their extensive employment in the military sphere, took pains to brush aside objections to the employment of women even in the most confidential capacities. "It is perfectly possible," he writes, "to find women of irreproachable morality quite as trustworthy as any military secretary." In July, 1916, the Secretary for War indorsed and emphasized his colleague's recommendation, ordering that no soldier should be used for what women could do in any part of the army except in the active ranks; finally, at the year's end, the War Ministry, formulating rules for women in military camps, depots, and services, listed their occupations from that of chief employes of bureaus to that of cooks and washerwomen.

The conditions of service were good;

women's wages, maximum and minimum, were settled by the commandant of the district and yearly revised, and 10 per cent. was allowed for overtime by day, 40 per cent. by night. The question of paying women frankly for their work, without condescension or discrimination, needed consideration in France as elsewhere. The Under Secretary of State for Munitions, anticipating the fears of those who simply think that, with equal pay, the wages of women are too strangely out of the ordinary, the fear, moreover, that the manufacturer's dread of high wages might check output, decided, (Feb. 28, 1916,) that, in estimating women's wages, the expense of the modifications necessitated by their employment must be taken into account, as also the actual quality and quantity of their work. "If this is not enough," he was quaintly ready with the suggestion that soldiers' family allowances should be lessened for workers, so as to reduce the amount in those feminine pockets, yet—aye, there's the rub—not sufficiently to "remove the incentive to new and increasing effort." Equal pay for equal work became, however, the general rule for the Government employment.

As to the success of Frenchwomen at their new undertakings, official opinion is convinced. According to one report the women in factories have shown a "satisfactory aptitude, at times even remarkable and superior to that of men." In saw-mills, except for the heaviest work, employers assure the Government that women are as good as men, and from Dijon comes the striking testimony that employers do not think as well of the Greeks, Moroccans, Kabyles, and Chinese in the workshops as of women. In whatever form they receive the acknowledgment of their usefulness, Frenchwomen may justly feel that their work has in truth attained "that status which it needs and deserves," which it was the specified object of a Government committee to procure for it.

AMERICAN WOMAN'S STATUS

In spite of much talk, the same could not, at the end of the war, be said of the status of our own countrywomen. Of unpaid women workers the Red Cross, the Food Administration, the Liberty Loan Committee utilized a veritable army, yet a large margin would still have remained unco-ordinated had not a Government committee, the Council of National Defense, attempted to give official status, at least to the volunteer efforts of women, by the formation of its Woman's Committee. Definitely formed for war purposes, the creation of this body was prompted, according to the Secretary of War, "by an appreciation of the very "valuable service that the women of the "country can and are anxious to render "in the national defense and the desire to "establish some common medium through "which the council might be brought "into closest touch with them and into "the fullest utilization of their services." It was, however, to be purely advisory, and, although a notable record of work stands to its account, it so remained to the end.

The committee's country-wide organization, carried down to village and city wards, has nevertheless proved a telling contribution to national efficiency. The organized women of every town and village, eager helpers in the Liberty Loan, War Savings, Food Conservation, Red Cross, and lesser "campaigns," have also, at a request from Washington, carried out much other work, from forming branches of the Traveler's Aid Society or recruiting nurses and stenographers, to urging the passage of desirable bills through Congress, or investigating the observance of enacted laws.

VOLUNTARY REGISTRATION

The Woman's Committee, moreover, inaugurated in October, 1917, a national voluntary registration of women. In some instances, notably Illinois, it had a triumphant success; in others the results were less encouraging. The usefulness of the task lay chiefly in uncovering a great source of volunteer work. In the City of New Haven, for example, the committee was able, in the course of seventeen weeks, to supply to various patriotic and municipal associations 4,746 hours of volunteer service. On the other hand, the registration also revealed a certain reserve of paid labor. In the same city, where out of 18,000

registrations the 2,000 for paid labor brought about the engagement of only seventy-nine operatives, the educative effect of the registration was later felt by the manufacturers when they recruited among their own townswomen in order to avoid importation from without.

Even at the close of the war, however, when women were flowing into factories in response to the demands of an ever-increasing volume of work, they seemed to be taking the places of men in comparatively small measure. In the opinion of one woman director of the United States Employment Service, women were not, even then, really needed to take up men's work in factories; and this view is supported—or was six months earlier—by so competent an authority as Pauline Goldmark. One munition factory in Connecticut in 1918 increased for a time by 50 per cent. its weekly hire of women; women, however, supplementing, not supplanting, men. In a town where the Federal Employment Service had announced that three or four hundred jobs were waiting for women to fill them, another factory had, at the beginning of 1918, over fifteen hundred women employed, where in 1914 they had less than nine hundred. In another, on the other hand, war orders actually diminished the number of women and augmented the number of men needed for the increasingly heavy war work.

TAKING OVER MEN'S WORK

Although the increase of women operatives in a given factory seems, as a rule, not to have indicated that they took the place of men, there were signs of coming change in this regard. F. E. Weakly, for instance, writing in System, gave an interesting account of a factory engaged, the reader may gather, in munitions work, which was frankly planning to give men's places to women. On the entrance of the United States into the war the employer at once associated with him in employment work two women who, judging every task by the reach and body position required, the weight to be lifted and the fatigue involved, discovered several kinds of work new to women that could be done by them. The opening of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps enticing away from this factory "promising young executives hand-picked to take over departments in years to come," women were put in training to take even their alluring posts. Other manufacturing companies testified to the same effect, one even reporting ten university graduates in charge of the bonus and costs department.

So far as undertaken, the experiment of substituting women for men appears to have met with success. Various employers testify that women learn quickly, are more attentive to their work than men, do it accurately, and keep at it steadily. Excelling the men in perseverance, they are neater and prompter and observe factory regulations better; but, on the other hand, their record of absence is 20 per cent. greater. One firm even maintains that "after a short intensive instruction" women can accomplish tasks previously only given to apprentices of two or three years' standing. One otherwise enthusiastic employer was compelled, indeed, to admit that few women can appreciate the difference between a sharp and dull cutting tool or have any conception of the importance of dimensions or any judgment as to mechanical strength or requirements. But the latter shortcoming is really a blessing in disguise, for "they will not use that judgment which is frequently so disastrous on the part of men employes," nor "do things" with machinery on their own initiative in the masculine manner. The chorus of praise seems to be almost unanimous, pointed, in one instance, by the statement of an employer that, through the efforts of women, his output of rifles rose from 300 to 5,000 a day. As an antidote, the sex may digest the testimony of a factory manager who, admitting the "greater efficiency" of women, feels it more than offset by the difficulty of managing them.

Praise is, moreover, generally tempered with surprise. A manufacturer of small tools was astonished to find that women, whom he employed in an emergency, turned out more work and better work than men. His astonish-

ment is typical and sheds an instructive light upon the common estimate of women's intelligence and persistence.

The railroads still lead in the employment of women instead of men. In all forms of unskilled labor they are here liberally employed, and they have proved equally or even more successful in untrained work. Railroading is even beginning to offer women something in the nature of a career. One woman, an employe of the Western Union, has risen to be Tri-City Passenger Agent of the Burlington Railway in Iowa; another, a teacher and university graduate, holds a responsible position in the offices of the General Superintendent of Motor Power, and there are other such examples here and there.

To meet women on equal wage terms is much to ask of men even yet, even of American men. But until that simple solution of the problem is arrived at, as it has been in England, we must not expect our women to equal European women in effective contribution to the country's resources, whether in war or in peace industries.

Examples of Women's War Work

Women composed nearly 70 per cent. of the workers who shocked grain in the harvest fields around Fargo, N. D., in the Autumn of 1918. This war service was brought about through the local office of the United States Employment Service, Department of Labor.

Owing to the scarcity of agricultural labor in the community, the various farm-labor reserves, enlisted in Fargo by the Employment Service, were called out to shock large quantities of grain. Two thousand volunteers were employed throughout the season. At the close of the harvest the Fargo employment office, the Fargo Commercial Club, and the Fargo Rotary Club arranged a parade to commemorate the success of the season's work. Business was suspended in Fargo on the day that the procession, composed of the various groups that had performed faithful service in the harvest fields, marched through the streets. A tally by the Marshals of the parade revealed the fact that almost 70 per cent. of the emergency farm workers were women. The "shock troops," men and women, were dressed in their ordinary working clothes.

An experimental Woman's Agricultural Camp was established in the Summer of 1917 at Bedford, N. Y. This group of women, mostly inexperienced but all of sound health, of years varying from 16 to 45 and drawn from numerous professions—the colleges, trades, (mostly sewing,) and the teaching profession contributing the largest number—were convinced that owners of existing farms should be helped before new land was put under cultivation. They therefore established themselves in a central camp and, going by automobile to the farms which needed them, worked there in squads of six or eight, proving their own argument that all kinds of agricultural work could be done by women. From the farmer's point of view and that of the worker's health there is ample testimony that the experiment was a success. The camp was not, however, self-sustaining, although the wage which was considered normal in peace time was asked for the women's work.

According to information received from the Department of Labor, practically all the work incident to the issue of $6,000,000,000 worth of bonds for the Fourth Liberty Loan, with the exception of the two press divisions, was the work of women. James L. Wilmeth, Director of the United States Bureau of Printing and Engraving, reported that all the counting and examining of the bonds and much assistance in printing requiring accuracy and skill devolved upon the 2,000 women employes.

The large scope of women's war work in England is illustrated by an achievement "somewhere on the northeast coast," where a tract of waste land that lay below high-water level was rapidly converted into a shipyard of eight berths, largely by feminine labor. The work began in March, 1918, and the first ship was launched in November.

The President's Address to Congress

Delivered December 2, 1918

President Wilson delivered verbally his annual message to Congress on Dec. 2, 1918, in which he announced his intention of going abroad to attend the Peace Conference at Paris. The portions of the address relating to the war are here reproduced:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

THE year that has elapsed since I last stood before you to fulfill my constitutional duty to give to the Congress from time to time information on the state of the Union has been so crowded with great events, great processes, and great results that I cannot hope to give you an adequate picture of its transactions or of the far-reaching changes which have been wrought in the life of our nation and of the world. You have yourselves witnessed these things, as I have. It is too soon to assess them; and we who stand in the midst of them and are part of them are less qualified than men of another generation will be to say what they mean, or even what they have been. But some great outstanding facts are unmistakable and constitute, in a sense, part of the public business with which it is our duty to deal. To state them is to set the stage for the legislative and executive action which must grow out of them and which we have yet to shape and determine.

A year ago we had sent 145,918 men overseas. Since then we have sent 1,950,513, an average of 162,542 each month, the number in fact rising, in May last to 245,951, in June to 278,760, in July to 307,182, and continuing to reach similar figures in August and September —in August 289,570 and in September 257,438. No such movement of troops ever took place before, across three thousand miles of sea, followed by adequate equipment and supplies, and carried safely through extraordinary dangers of attack—dangers which were alike strange and infinitely difficult to guard against. In all this movement only 758 men were lost by enemy attack—630 of whom were upon a single English transport which was sunk near the Orkney Islands.

I need not tell you what lay back of this great movement of men and material. It is not invidious to say that back of it lay a supporting organization of the industries of the country and of all its productive activities more complete, more thorough in method and effective in result, more spirited and unanimous in purpose and effort than any other great belligerent had been able to effect. We profited greatly by the experience of the nations which had already been engaged for nearly three years in the exigent and exacting business, their every resource and every executive proficiency taxed to the utmost. We were their pupils. But we learned quickly and acted with a promptness and a readiness of co-operation that justify our great pride that we were able to serve the world with unparalleled energy and quick accomplishment.

PRAISE FOR THE SOLDIERS

But it is not the physical scale and executive efficiency of preparation, supply, equipment, and dispatch that I would dwell upon, but the mettle and quality of the officers and men we sent over and of the sailors who kept the seas, and the spirit of the nation that stood behind them. No soldiers or sailors ever proved themselves more quickly ready for the test of battle or acquitted themselves with more splendid courage and achievement when put to the test. Those of us who played some part in directing the great processes by which the war was pushed irresistibly forward to the final triumph may now forget all that and delight our thoughts with the story of what our men did. Their officers understood the grim and exacting task they had undertaken and performed it with an audacity, efficiency, and unhesitating courage that touch the story of convoy

and battle with imperishable distinction at every turn, whether the enterprise were great or small—from their great chiefs, Pershing and Sims, down to the youngest Lieutenant; and their men were worthy of them—such men as hardly need to be commanded, and go to their terrible adventure blithely and with the quick intelligence of those who know just what it is they would accomplish. I am proud to be the fellow-countryman of men of such stuff and valor. Those of us who stayed at home did our duty; the war could not have been won or the gallant men who fought it given their opportunity to win it otherwise; but for many a long day we shall think ourselves "accurs'd we were not there, and hold our manhoods cheap while any speaks that fought" with these at St. Mihiel or Thierry. The memory of those days of triumphant battle will go with these fortunate men to their graves; and each will have his favorite memory. "Old men forget; yet all shall be forgot, but he'll remember with advantages what feats he did that day."

What we all thank God for with deepest gratitude is that our men went in force into the line of battle just at the critical moment when the whole fate of the world seemed to hang in the balance and threw their fresh strength into the ranks of freedom in time to turn the whole tide and sweep of the fateful struggle—turn it once for all, so that thenceforth it was back, back, back for their enemies, always back, never again forward! After that it was only a scant four months before the commanders of the Central Empires knew themselves beaten; and now their very empires are in liquidation!

SPIRIT OF THE NATION

And throughout it all how fine the spirit of the nation was; what unity of purpose, what untiring zeal! What elevation of purpose ran through all its splendid display of strength, its untiring accomplishment. I have said that those of us who stayed at home to do the work of organization and supply will always wish that we had been with the men whom we sustained by our labor; but we can never be ashamed. It has been an inspiring thing to be here in the midst of fine men who had turned aside from every private interest of their own and devoted the whole of their trained capacity to the tasks that supplied the sinews of the whole great undertaking! The patriotism, the unselfishness, the thoroughgoing devotion and distinguished capacity that marked their toilsome labors day after day, month after month, have made them fit mates and comrades of the men in the trenches and on the sea. And not the men here in Washington only. They have but directed the vast achievement. Throughout innumerable factories, upon innumerable farms, in the depths of coal mines and iron mines and copper mines, wherever the stuffs of industry were to be obtained and prepared, in the shipyards, on the railways, at the docks, on the sea, in every labor that was needed to sustain the battlelines, men have vied with each other to do their part and do it well. They can look any man-at-arms in the face, and say, We also strove to win and gave the best that was in us to make our fleets and armies sure of their triumph!

And what shall we say of the women—of their instant intelligence, quickening every task that they touched; their capacity for organization and co-operation, which gave their action discipline and enhanced the effectiveness of everything they attempted; their aptitude at tasks to which they had never before set their hands; their utter self-sacrifice alike in what they did and in what they gave? Their contribution to the great result is beyond appraisal. They have added a new lustre to the annals of American womanhood.

The least tribute we can pay them is to make them the equals of men in political rights as they have proved themselves their equals in every field of practical work they have entered, whether for themselves or for their country. These great days of completed achievement would be sadly marred were we to omit that act of justice. Besides the immense practical services they have rendered, the women of the country have been the moving spirits in the systematic

economies by which our people have voluntarily assisted to supply the suffering peoples of the world and the armies upon every front with food and everything else that we had that might serve the common cause. The details of such a story can never be fully written, but we carry them at our hearts and thank God that we can say that we are the kinsmen of such.

COMPLETE TRIUMPH

And now we are sure of the great triumph for which every sacrifice was made. It has come, come in its completeness, and with the pride and inspiration of these days of achievement quick within us we turn to the tasks of peace again—a peace secure against the violence of irresponsible monarchs and ambitious military coteries and made ready for a new order, for new foundations of justice and fair dealing.

We are about to give order and organization to this peace not only for ourselves but for the other peoples of the world as well, so far as they will suffer us to serve them. It is international justice that we seek, not domestic safety merely. Our thoughts have dwelt of late upon Europe, upon Asia, upon the Near and the Far East, very little upon the acts of peace and accommodation that wait to be performed at our own doors. While we are adjusting our relations with the rest of the world is it not of capital importance that we should clear away all grounds of misunderstanding with our immediate neighbors and give proof of the friendship we really feel? I hope that the members of the Senate will permit me to speak once more of the unratified treaty of friendship and adjustment with the Republic of Colombia. I very earnestly urge upon them an early and favorable action upon that vital matter. I believe that they will feel, with me, that the stage of affairs is now set for such action as will be not only just [illegible] the new generous and in the spirit of happily age upon which we have so entered.

So far as our domestic affairs are concerned, as our domestic affairs are peace is the problem of our return to dustrial readjustment. That problem is less serious for us than it may turn out to be for the nations which have suffered the disarrangements and the losses of war longer than we. Our people, moreover, do not wait to be coached and led. They know their own business, are quick and resourceful at every readjustment, definite in purpose, and self-reliant in action. Any leading strings we might seek to put them in would speedily become hopelessly tangled because they would pay no attention to them and go their own way. All that we can do as their legislative and executive servants is to mediate the process of change here, there, and elsewhere as we may. I have heard much counsel as to the plans that should be formed and personally conducted to a happy consummation, but from no quarter have I seen any general scheme of "reconstruction" emerge which I thought it likely we could force our spirited business men and self-reliant laborers to accept with due pliancy and obedience.

RELEASE OF INDUSTRIES

While the war lasted we set up many agencies by which to direct the industries of the country in the services it was necessary for them to render, by which to make sure of an abundant supply of the materials needed, by which to check undertakings that could for the time be dispensed with and stimulate those that were most serviceable in war, by which to gain for the purchasing departments of the Government a certain control over the prices of essential articles and materials, by which to restrain trade with alien enemies, make the most of the available shipping, and systematize financial transactions, both public and private, so that there would be no unnecessary conflict or confusion—by which, in short, to put every material energy of the country in harness to draw the common load and make of us one team in the accomplishment of a great task. But the moment we knew the armistice to have been signed we took the harness off. Raw materials upon which the Government had kept its hand for fear there should not be enough for the industries that supplied the armies have been released and put into the general market

again. Great industrial plants whose whole output and machinery had been taken over for the uses of the Government have been set free to return to the uses to which they were put before the war. It has not been possible to remove so readily or so quickly the control of foodstuffs and of shipping, because the world has still to be fed from our granaries and the ships are still needed to send supplies to our men overseas and to bring the men back as fast as the disturbed conditions on the other side of the water permit; but even these restraints are being relaxed as much as possible, and more and more as the weeks go by.

AID FOR WAR SUFFERERS

After discussing matters of labor and trade at home, and recommending the plans of the Secretary of the Interior for reclaiming waste or arid lands, President Wilson continued:

I have spoken of the control which must yet for a while, perhaps for a long while, be exercised over shipping because of priority of service to which our forces overseas are entitled and which should also be accorded the shipments which are to save recently liberated peoples from starvation and many devastated regions from permanent ruin. May I not say a special word about the needs of Belgium and Northern France? No sums of money paid by way of indemnity will serve of themselves to save them from hopeless disadvantage for years to come. Something more must be done than merely find the money.

If they had money and raw materials in abundance tomorrow they could not resume their place in the industry of the world tomorrow—the very important place they held before the flame of war swept across them. Many of their factories are razed to the ground. Much of their machinery is destroyed or has been taken away. Their people are scattered, and many of their best workmen are dead. Their markets will be taken by others, if they are not in some special way assisted to rebuild their factories and replace their lost instruments of manufacture. They should not be left to the vicissitudes of the sharp competition for materials and for industrial facilities which is now to set in.

I hope, therefore, that the Congress will not be unwilling, if it should become necessary, to grant to some such agency as the War Trade Board the right to establish priorities of export and supply for the benefit of these people whom we have been so happy to assist in saving from the German terror and whom we must not now thoughtlessly leave to shift for themselves in a pitiless competitive market.

DUTY TO GO TO PARIS

The President recommended the reducing of the coming year's taxation from $8,000,000,000 to $6,000,000,000, the completion of the naval program adopted at the beginning of the war, and the serious consideration by Congress of the policy to be adopted regarding the railroads. He said it would be a disservice to the country and the railroads to permit a return to old conditions under private management, without modifications; but unless a satisfactory plan of readjustment could be worked out at an early date he would release the roads from Government control. He ended his address with these words:

I welcome this occasion to announce to the Congress my purpose to join in Paris the representatives of the Governments with which we have been associated in the war against the Central Empires for the purpose of discussing with them the main features of the treaty of peace. I realize the great inconveniences that will attend my leaving the country, particularly at this time, but the conclusion that it was my paramount duty to go has been forced upon me by considerations which I hope will seem as conclusive to you as they have seemed to me.

The allied Governments have accepted the bases of peace which I outlined to the Congress on the 8th of January last, as the Central Empires also have, and very reasonably desire my personal counsel in their interpretation and application, and it is highly desirable that I should give it in order that the sincere desire of our Government to contribute without selfish purposes of any kind to settlements that will be of common benefit to all the na-

tions concerned may be made fully manifest. The peace settlements which are now to be agreed upon are of transcendent importance both to us and to the rest of the world, and I know of no business or interest which should take precedence of them. The gallant men of our armed forces on land and sea have consciously fought for the ideals which they knew to be the ideals of their country; I have sought to express those ideals; they have accepted my statements of them as the substance of their own thought and purpose, as the associated Governments have acepted them; I owe it to them to see to it, so far as in me lies, that no false or mistaken interpretation is put upon them, and no possible effort omitted to realize them. It is now my duty to play my full part in making good what they offered their life's blood to obtain. I can think of no call to service which could transcend this.

I shall be in close touch with you and with affairs on this side the water, and you will know all that I do. At my request the French and English Governments have absolutely removed the censorship of cable news which until within a fortnight they had maintained, and there is now no censorship whatever exercised at this end except upon attempted trade communications with enemy countries. It has been necessary to keep an open wire constantly available between Paris and the Department of State and another between France and the Department of War. In order that this might be done with the least possible interference with the other uses of the cables, I have temporarily taken over the control of both cables in order that they may be used as a single system. I did so at the advice of the most experienced cable officials, and I hope that the results will justify my hope that the news of the next few months may pass with the utmost freedom and with the least possible delay from each side of the sea to the other.

May I not hope, Gentlemen of the Congress, that in the delicate tasks I shall have to perform on the other side of the sea, in my efforts truly and faithfully to interpret the principles and purposes of the country we love, I may have the encouragement and the added strength of your united support? I realize the magnitude and difficulty of the duty I am undertaking; I am poignantly aware of its grave responsibilities. I am the servant of the nation. I can have no private thought or purpose of my own in performing such an errand. I go to give the best that is in me to the common settlements which I must now assist in arriving at in conference with the other working heads of the associated Governments. I shall count upon your friendly countenance and encouragement. I shall not be inaccessible. The cables and the wireless will render me available for any counsel or service you may desire of me, and I shall be happy in the thought that I am constantly in touch with the weighty matters of domestic policy with which we shall have to deal. I shall make my absence as brief as possible and shall hope to return with the happy assurance that it has been possible to translate into action the great ideals for which America has striven.

America the Deciding Factor

Marshal Joffre said in a conversation with Dr. H. S. Krans of New York: "It was the weight of America, her moral and material resources, and surely not the least her very considerable army, thrown into the balance at the crucial moment, that turned the scales and won the victory. And the Americans showed themselves true soldiers and a military power that counted tremendously in the decisive conflict."

[OFFICIAL]

The United States Navy in the War

Secretary Daniels' Story of Its Achievements in Nineteen Months of Unprecedented Activity

Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, issued an official report on Dec. 8, 1918, in which he presented the following full account of the work of the navy during the war:

THE operations of our navy during the world war have covered the widest scope in its history. Our naval forces have operated in European waters from the Mediterranean to the White Sea. At Corfu, Gibraltar, along the French Bay of Biscay ports, at the English Channel ports, on the Irish Coast, in the North Sea, at Murmansk and Archangel our naval forces have been stationed and have done creditable work. Their performance will probably form the most interesting and exciting portion of the naval history of this war, and it is the duty which has been most eagerly sought by all of the personnel, but owing to the character of the operations which our navy has been called upon to take part in it has not been possible for all of our naval forces, much as they desired it, to engage in operations at the front, and a large part of our work has been conducted quietly, but none the less effectively, in other areas. This service, while not so brilliant, has still been necessary, and without it our forces at the front could not have carried on the successful campaign that they did.

Naval men have served on nearly 2,000 craft that plied the waters, on submarines, and in aviation, where men of vision and courage prevent surprise attacks and fight with new-found weapons. On the land, marines and sailors have helped to hold strategic points, regiments of marines have shared with the army their part of the hard-won victory, and a wonderfully trained gun crew of sailors has manned the monster 14-inch guns which marked a new departure in land warfare.

In diplomacy, in investigation at home and in all parts of the world by naval officers and civilian agents, in protecting plants and labor from spies and enemies, in promoting new industrial organizations and enlarging older ones to meet war needs, in stimulating production of needed naval craft—these are some of the outstanding operations which mark the heroic year of accomplishment.

FIGHTING CRAFT

The employment of the fighting craft of the navy may be summed up as follows:

1. Escorting troop and cargo convoys and other special vessels.
2. Carrying out offensive and defensive measures against enemy submarines in the Western Atlantic.
3. Assignment to duty and the dispatch abroad of naval vessels for operations in the war zone in conjunction with the naval forces of our allies.
4. Assignment to duty and operation of naval vessels to increase the force in home waters. Dispatch abroad of miscellaneous craft for the army.
5. Protection of these craft en route.
6. Protection of vessels engaged in coastwise trade.
7. Salvaging and assisting vessels in distress, whether from maritime causes or from the operations of the enemy.
8. Protection of oil supplies from the Gulf.

In order to carry out successfully and speedily all these duties large increases in personnel, in ships of all classes and in the instrumentalities needed for their production and service were demanded. Briefly, then, it may be stated that on the day war was declared the enlistment and enrollment of the navy numbered 65,777 men. On the day Germany signed the armistice it had increased to 497,030 men and women, for it became necessary to enroll capable and patriotic women as yeomen to meet the sudden expansion

and enlarged duties imposed by war conditions. This expansion has been progressive. In 1912 there were 3,094 officers and 47,515 enlisted men; by July 1, 1916, the number had grown to 4,293 officers and 54,234 enlisted men, and again in that year to 68,700 in all. In granting the increase Congress authorized the President in his discretion to augment that force to 87,800. Immediately on the outbreak of the war the navy was recruited to that strength, but it was found that under the provisions of our laws there were not sufficient officers in the upper grades of the navy to do the war work. At the same time the lessons of the war showed it was impossible to have the combatant ships of the navy ready for instant war service unless the ships had their full personnel on board and that personnel was highly trained.

In addition to this permanent strength recourse was had to the development of the existing reserves and to the creation of a new force.

NAVAL VOLUNTEERS

Up to 1913 the only organization that made any pretense of training men for the navy was the Naval Militia, and that was under State control, with practically no Federal supervision. As the militia seemed to offer the only means of producing a trained reserve, steps were at once taken to put it on a sound basis, and on Feb. 16, 1914, a real Naval Militia under Federal control was created, provision being made for its organization and training in peace, as well as its utilization in war. As with all organized militia, the Naval Militia, even with the law of 1914, could not, under the Constitution, be called into service as such except for limited duties, such as to repel invasion. It could not be used outside the territorial limits of the United States. It is evident then that with such restrictions militia could hardly meet the requirements of the navy in a foreign war, and to overcome this difficulty the "National Naval Volunteers" were created in August, 1916.

Under this act members of Naval Militia organizations were authorized to volunteer for "any emergency," of which emergency the President was to be the judge. Other laws included the same measure, provided for a reserve force, for the automatic increase of officer personnel in each corps to correspond with increases in enlisted men, and for the Naval Flying Corps, special engineering officers, and the Naval Dental and Dental Reserve Corps. It also provided for taking over the lighthouse and other departmental divisions by the navy in time of war. Briefly, then, on July 1, 1917, three months after the declaration of war, the number of officers had increased to 8,038—4,694 regulars, 3,344 reserves—and the number of enlisted men to 171,133—128,666 regulars, 32,379 reserves, 10,088 National Naval Volunteers. The increase since that time is as follows:

April 1, 1918:—	Officers.	Men.
Regular Navy—		
Permanent	5,441	198,224
Temporary	2,519	....
Reserves	10,625	85,475
Total	18,585	283,717
Nov. 9, 1918:—		
Regular Navy—		
Permanent	5,656	206,684
Temporary	4,833	....
Reserves	21,985	290,346
Total	32,474	497,030

THE NAVY THAT FLIES

The expansion of aviation in the navy has been of gratifying proportions and effectiveness. On July 1, 1917, naval aviation was still in its infancy. At that time there were only 45 naval aviators. There were officers of the navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard who had been given special training in and were attached to aviation. There were approximately 200 student officers under training, and about 1,250 enlisted men attached to the Aviation Service. These enlisted men were assigned to the three naval air stations in this country then in commission. Pensacola, Fla., had about 1,000 men, Bay Shore, Long Island, N. Y., had about 100, and Squantum, Mass., which was abandoned in the Fall of 1917, had about 150 men. On July 1, 1918, there were 823 naval aviators, approximately 2,052 student officers, and 400 ground officers attached to naval aviation. In addition, there were more

than 7,300 trained mechanics, and more than 5,400 mechanics in training. The total enlisted and commissioned personnel at this time was about 30,000.

THE SHIPS

On the day war was declared 197 ships were in commission. Today there are 2,003. In addition to furnishing all these ships with trained officers and men, the duty of supplying crews and officers of the growing merchant marine was undertaken by the navy. There has not been a day when the demand for men for these ships has not been supplied—how fit they were all the world attests—and after manning the merchant ships there has not been a time when provision was not made for the constantly increasing number of ships taken over by the navy.

During the year the energy available for new construction was concentrated mainly upon vessels to deal with the submarine menace. Three hundred and fifty-five of the 110-foot wooden submarine chasers were completed during the year. Fifty of these were taken over by France and fifty more for France were ordered during the year and have been completed since July 1, 1918. Forty-two more were ordered about the end of the fiscal year, delivery to begin in November and be completed in January.

Extraordinary measures were taken with reference to destroyers. By the Summer of 1917 destroyer orders had been placed which not only absorbed all available capacity for more than a year, but required a material expansion of existing facilities. There were under construction, or on order, in round figures, 100 of the thirty-five-knot type.

During the year, including orders placed at navy yards, the following have been contracted for: Four battleships, 1 battle cruiser, 2 fuel ships, 1 transport, 1 gunboat, 1 ammunition ship, 223 destroyers, 58 submarines, 112 fabricated patrol vessels, (including 12 for the Italian Government,) 92 submarine chasers, (including 50 for the French Government,) 51 mine sweepers, 25 seagoing tugs and 46 harbor tugs, besides a large number of lighters, barges, and other auxiliary harbor craft. In addition to this, contracts have been placed for twelve large fuel ships in conjunction with the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

Ships launched during the year and up to Oct. 1, 1918, include 1 gunboat, 93 destroyers, 29 submarines, 26 mine sweepers, 4 fabricated patrol vessels, and 2 seagoing tugs. It is noteworthy that in the first nine months of 1918 there were launched no less than 83 destroyers of 98,281 tons aggregate normal displacement, as compared with 62 destroyers of 58,285 tons during the entire nine years next preceding Jan. 1, 1918.

There have been added to the navy during the fiscal year and including the three months up to Oct. 1, 1918, 2 battleships, 36 destroyers, 28 submarines, 355 submarine chasers, 13 mine sweepers and two seagoing tugs. There have also been added to the operating naval forces by purchase, charter, &c., many hundred vessels of commercial type, including all classes from former German transatlantic liners to harbor tugboats and motor boats for auxiliary purposes.

Last year the construction of capital ships and large vessels generally had been to some extent suspended. Work continued upon vessels which had already made material progress toward completion, but was practically suspended upon those which had just been begun, or whose keels had not yet been laid. The act of July 1, 1918, required work to be actually begun upon the remaining vessels of the three-year program within a year. This has all been planned and no difficulty in complying with the requirements of the act and pushing rapidly the construction of the vessels in question is anticipated. Advantage has been taken of the delay to introduce into the designs of the vessels which had not been laid down numerous improvements based upon war experience.

WORK OVERSEAS

War was declared on April 6, 1917. On the 4th of May a division of destroyers was in European waters. By Jan. 1, 1918, there were 113 United States naval ships across, and in October, 1918,

the total had reached 338 ships of all classes. At the present time there are 5,000 officers and 70,000 enlisted men of the navy serving in Europe, this total being greater than the full strength of the navy when the United States entered the war. The destroyers upon their first arrival were based on Queenstown, which has been the base of the operations of these best fighters of the submarines during the war. Every facility possible was provided for the comfort and recreation of the officers and men engaged in this most rigorous service.

During July and August, 1918, 3,444,012 tons of shipping were escorted to and from France by American escort vessels; of the above amount 1,577,735 tons were escorted in and 1,864,677 tons were escorted out of French ports. Of the tonnage escorted into French ports during this time only 16,988 tons, or .009 per cent., were lost through enemy action, and of the tonnage escorted out from French ports only 27,858, or .013 per cent., were lost through the same cause. During the same period, July and August of this year, 259,604 American troops were escorted to France by United States escort vessels without the loss of a single man through enemy action. The particulars in the above paragraph refer to United States naval forces operating in the war zone from French ports.

During the same time—July and August—destroyers based on British ports supplied 75 per cent. of the escorts for 318 ships, totaling 2,752,908 tons, and including the escort of vessels carrying 137,283 United States troops. The destroyers on this duty were at sea an average of 67 per cent. of the time, and were under way for a period of about 16,000 hours, steaming approximately an aggregate of 260,000 miles. There were no losses due to enemy action.

The history of the convoy operations in which our naval forces have taken part, due to which we have been able so successfully to transport such a large number of our military forces abroad, and so many supplies for the army, is a chapter in itself. It is probably our major operation in this war, and will in the future stand as a monument to both the army and the navy as the greatest and most difficult troop transporting effort which has ever been conducted across seas.

[The Secretary says the convoy system was "suggested by President Wilson." He continues:]

This entire force, under command of Rear Admiral Albert Gleaves, whose ability and resource have been tested and established in this great service in cooperation with the destroyer flotilla operating abroad, has developed an antisubmarine convoy and escort system the results of which have surpassed even the most sanguine expectations.

TROOPS CARRIED OVERSEAS

American and British ships have carried over two million American troops overseas. The United States did not possess enough ships to carry over our troops as rapidly as they were ready to sail or as quickly as they were needed in France. Great Britain furnished, under contract with the War Department, many ships and safely transported many American troops, the numbers having increased greatly in the Spring and Summer. A few troops were carried over by other allied ships. The actual number transported in British ships was more than a million.

Up to Nov. 1, 1918, of the total number of United States troops in Europe, 924,578 made passage in United States naval convoys under escort of United States cruisers and destroyers. Since Nov. 1, 1917, there have been 289 sailings of naval transports from American ports. In these operations of the cruiser and transport force of the Atlantic fleet not one eastbound American transport has been torpedoed or damaged by the enemy and only three were sunk on the return voyage.

Our destroyers and patrol vessels, in addition to convoy duty, have waged an unceasing offensive warfare against the submarines. In spite of all this, our naval losses have been gratifyingly small. Only three American troopships —the Antilles, the President Lincoln, and the Covington—were sunk on the return voyage. Only three fighting

ships have been lost as a result of enemy action—the patrol ship Alcedo, a converted yacht, sunk off the coast of France Nov. 5, 1917; the torpedo boat destroyer Jacob Jones, sunk off the British coast Dec. 6, 1917, and the cruiser San Diego, sunk near Fire Island, off the New York coast, on July 19, 1918, by striking a mine supposedly set adrift by a German submarine. The transport Finland and the destroyer Cassin, which were torpedoed, reached port and were soon repaired and placed back in service. The transport Mount Vernon, struck by a torpedo on Sept. 5 last, proceeded to port under its own steam and was repaired.

The most serious loss of life due to enemy activity was the loss of the Coast Guard cutter Tampa, with all on board, in Bristol Channel, England, on the night of Sept. 26, 1918. The Tampa, which was doing escort duty, had gone ahead of the convoy. Vessels following heard an explosion, but when they reached the vicinity there were only bits of floating wreckage to show where the ship had gone down. Not one of the 111 officers and men of her crew was rescued, and, though it is believed she was sunk by a torpedo from an enemy submarine, the exact manner in which the vessel met its fate may never be known.

OTHER POINTS SUMMARIZED

Secretary Daniels records many other achievements of ships and personnel, including those of the naval overseas transportation service. Of the latter he says in substance:

In ten months the transportation service grew from 10 ships to a fleet of 321 cargo-carrying ships, aggregating a deadweight tonnage of 2,800,000, and numerically equaling the combined Cunard, Hamburg-American, and North German Lloyd lines at the outbreak of the war. Of this number 227 ships were mainly in operation.

From the Emergency Fleet Corporation the navy has taken over for operation ninety-four new vessels, aggregating 700,000 deadweight tons. On March 21, 1918, by order of the President 101 Dutch merchant vessels were taken over by the Navy Department pending their allocation to the various vital trades of this country, and twenty-six of these vessels are now a part of the naval overseas fleet. This vast fleet of cargo vessels has been officered and manned through enrollment of the seagoing personnel of the American merchant marine, officers and men of the United States Navy, and the assignment after training of graduates of technical schools and training schools, developed by the navy since the United States entered the war.

There are required for the operation of this fleet at the present time 5,000 officers and 29,000 enlisted men, and adequate arrangements for future needs of personnel have been provided. The navy has risen to the exacting demands imposed upon it by the war, and it will certainly be a source of pride to the American people to know that within ten months of the time that this new force was created, in spite of the many obstacles in the way of its accomplishment, an American naval vessel, manned by an American naval crew, left an American port on the average of every five hours, carrying subsistence and equipment so vital to the American Expeditionary Force.

One of the agencies adopted during the war for more efficient naval administration is the organization and development of naval districts.

Secretary Daniels, in other passages of the foregoing report, declares that the record made abroad by the United States Navy, in co-operation with the navies of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, is without precedent in allied warfare. He pays a high tribute to the efficiency of Admiral Sims, Commander in Chief of American naval forces in European waters; of Rear Admiral Rodman, in command of the American battleships with the British fleet; of Vice Admiral Wilson, in France; Rear Admiral Niblack, in the Mediterranean; of Rear Admiral Dunn, in the Azores; of Rear Admiral Strauss, in charge of mining operations, and other officers in charge of various special activities.

The report tells of notable achievements in ordnance, especially the work

of the 14-inch naval guns on railway mounts on the western front, which hurled shells far behind the German lines, these mounts being designed and completed in four months. The land battery of these naval guns was manned exclusively by bluejackets under command of Rear Admiral C. P. Plunkett. The work of the Bureau of Ordnance is praised, and Admiral Earle, the Chief of the bureau, is declared "one of the ablest and fittest officers."

An account is given of the mine barrage in the North Sea, one of the outstanding anti-submarine offensive projects of the year, thus closing the North Sea, and for which 100,000 mines were manufactured and 85,000 shipped abroad. A special mine loading plant, with a capacity of more than 1,000 mines a day, was established by the Navy Department.

A star shell was developed which, when fired in the vicinity of an enemy fleet, would light it up, make ships visible, and render them easy targets without disclosing the position of our own ships at night.

The Bureau of Ordnance, under the direction of Rear Admiral Earle, is stated to have met and conquered the critical shortage of high explosives, which threatened to prolong the time of preparation necessary for America to smash the German military forces; this was done by the invention of TNX, a high explosive, to take the place of TNT, the change being sufficient to increase the available supply of explosives in this country to some 30,000,000 pounds.

In the future, it is stated, American dreadnoughts and battle cruisers will be armed with 16-inch guns, making these the heaviest armed vessels in the world.

Depth charges are stated to be the most effective anti-submarine weapons. American vessels were adequately armed with this new weapon.

A new type was developed and a new gun, known as the "Y" gun, was designed and built especially for firing depth charges.

[OFFICIAL]

The Brave Deeds of the Marine Corps

By JOSEPHUS DANIELS

Secretary of the Navy

THE United States Marine Corps, the efficient fighting, building, and landing force of the navy, has won imperishable glory in the fulfillment of its latest duties upon the battlefields of France, where the marines, fighting for the time under General Pershing as a part of the victorious American Army, have written a story of valor and sacrifice that will live in the brightest annals of the war. With heroism that nothing could daunt, the Marine Corps played a vital rôle in stemming the German rush on Paris, and in later days aided in the beginning of the great offensive, the freeing of Rheims, and participated in the hard fighting in Champagne, which had as its object the throwing back of the Prussian armies in the vicinity of Cambrai and St. Quentin.

With only 8,000 men engaged in the fiercest battles, the Marine Corps casualties numbered 69 officers and 1,531 enlisted men dead and 78 officers and 2,435 enlisted men wounded seriously enough to be officially reported by cablegram, to which number should be added not a few whose wounds did not incapacitate them for further fighting. However, with a casualty list that numbers nearly half the original 8,000 men who entered battle, the official reports account for only 57 United States marines who have been captured by the enemy. This includes those who were wounded far in advance of their lines and who fell into the hands of Germans while unable to resist.

Memorial Day shall henceforth have a greater, deeper significance for Amer-

ica, for it was on that day, May 30, 1918, that our country really received its first call to battle—the battle in which American troops had the honor of stopping the German drive on Paris, throwing back the Prussian hordes in attack after attack, and beginning the retreat which lasted until imperial Germany was beaten to its knees and its emissaries appealing for an armistice under the flag of truce. And to the United States marines, fighting side by side with equally brave and equally courageous men in the American Army, to that faithful sea and land force of the navy, fell the honor of taking over the lines where the blow of the Prussian would strike the hardest, the line that was nearest Paris and where, should a breach occur, all would be lost.

The world knows today that the United States marines held that line; that they blocked the advance that was rolling on toward Paris at a rate of six or seven miles a day; that they met the attack in American fashion and with American heroism; that marines and soldiers of the American Army threw back the crack guard divisions of Germany, broke their advance, and then, attacking, drove them back in the beginning of a retreat that was not to end until the "cease firing" signal sounded for the end of the world's greatest war.

ADVANCING TO BATTLE

Having reached their destination early on the morning of June 2, they disembarked, stiff and tired after a journey of more than seventy-two miles, but as they formed their lines and marched onward in the direction of the line they were to hold they were determined and cheerful. That evening the first field message from the 4th Brigade to Major Gen. Omar Bundy, commanding the 2d Division, went forward:

> Second Battalion, 6th Marines, in line from Le Thiolet through Clarembauts Woods to Triangle to Lucy. Instructed to hold line. First Battalion, 6th Marines, going into line from Lucy through Hill 142. Third Battalion in support at La Voie du Chatel, which is also the post command of the 6th Marines. Sixth Machine Gun Battalion distributed at line.

Meanwhile the 5th Regiment was moving into line, machine guns were advancing, and the artillery taking its position. That night the men and officers of the marines slept in the open, many of them in a field that was green with unharvested wheat, awaiting the time when they should be summoned to battle. The next day at 5 o'clock, the afternoon of June 2, began the battle of Château-Thierry, with the Americans holding the line against the most vicious wedge of the German advance.

BATTLE OF CHATEAU-THIERRY

The advance of the Germans was across a wheat field, driving at Hill 165 and advancing in smooth columns. The United States marines, trained to keen observation upon the rifle range, nearly every one of them wearing a marksman's medal or, better, that of the sharpshooter or expert rifleman, did not wait for those gray-clad hordes to advance nearer.

Calmly they set their sights and aimed with the same precision that they had shown upon the rifle ranges at Paris Island, Mare Island, and Quantico. Incessantly their rifles cracked, and with their fire came the support of the artillery. The machine-gun fire, incessant also, began to make its inroads upon the advancing forces. Closer and closer the shrapnel burst to its targets. Caught in a seething wave of machine-gun fire, of scattering shrapnel, of accurate rifle fire, the Germans found themselves in a position in which further advance could only mean absolute suicide. The lines hesitated. They stopped. They broke for cover, while the marines raked the woods and ravines in which they had taken refuge with machine gun and rifle to prevent their making another attempt to advance by infiltrating through.

Above, a French airplane was checking up on the artillery fire. Surprised by the fact that men should deliberately set their sights, adjust their range, and then fire deliberately at an advancing foe, each man picking his target, instead of firing merely in the direction of the enemy, the aviator signaled below "Bravo!" In the rear that word was echoed again and again. The German drive on Paris had been stopped.

IN BELLEAU WOOD

For the next few days the fighting took on the character of pushing forth outposts and determining the strength of the enemy. Now, the fighting had changed. The Germans, mystified that they should have run against a stone wall of defense just when they believed that their advance would be easiest, had halted, amazed; then prepared to defend the positions they had won with all the stubbornness possible. In the black recesses of Belleau Wood the Germans had established nest after nest of machine guns. There in the jungle of matted underbrush, of vines, of heavy foliage, they had placed themselves in positions they believed impregnable. And this meant that unless they could be routed, unless they could be thrown back, the breaking of the attack of June 2 would mean nothing. There would come another drive and another. The battle of Château-Thierry was therefore not won and could not be won until Belleau Wood had been cleared of the enemy.

It was June 6 that the attack of the American troops began against that wood and its adjacent surroundings, with the wood itself and the towns of Torcy and Bouresches forming the objectives. At 5 o'clock the attack came, and there began the tremendous sacrifices which the Marine Corps gladly suffered that the German fighters might be thrown back.

FOUGHT IN AMERICAN FASHION

The marines fought strictly according to American methods—a rush, a halt, a rush again, in four-wave formation, the rear waves taking over the work of those who had fallen before them, passing over the bodies of their dead comrades and plunging ahead, until they, too, should be torn to bits. But behind those waves were more waves, and the attack went on.

"Men fell like flies," the expression is that of an officer writing from the field. Companies that had entered the battle 250 strong dwindled to 50 and 60, with a Sergeant in command; but the attack did not falter. At 9:45 o'clock that night Bouresches was taken by Lieutenant James F. Robertson and twenty-odd men of his platoon; these soon were joined by two reinforcing platoons. Then came the enemy counterattacks, but the marines held.

In Belleau Wood the fighting had been literally from tree to tree, stronghold to stronghold; and it was a fight which must last for weeks before its accomplishment in victory. Belleau Wood was a jungle, its every rocky formation containing a German machine-gun nest, almost impossible to reach by artillery or grenade fire. There was only one way to wipe out these nests—by the bayonet. And by this method were they wiped out, for United States marines, bare chested, shouting their battle cry of "E-e-e-e-e y-a-a-h-h-h yip!" charged straight into the murderous fire from those guns, and won!

Out of the number that charged, in more than one instance, only one would reach the stronghold. There, with his bayonet as his only weapon, he would either kill or capture the defenders of the nest, and then swinging the gun about in its position, turn it against the remaining German positions in the forest. Such was the character of the fighting in Belleau Wood; fighting which continued until July 6, when after a short relief the invincible Americans finally were taken back to the rest billet for recuperation.

HELD THE LINE FOR DAYS

In all the history of the Marine Corps there is no such battle as that one in Belleau Wood. Fighting day and night without relief, without sleep, often without water, and for days without hot rations, the marines met and defeated the best divisions that Germany could throw into the line.

The heroism and doggedness of that battle are unparalleled. Time after time officers seeing their lines cut to pieces, seeing their men so dog tired that they even fell asleep under shellfire, hearing their wounded calling for the water they were unable to supply, seeing men fight on after they had been wounded and until they dropped unconscious; time after time officers seeing these things, believing that the very limit of human endurance had been reached, would send

back messages to their post command that their men were exhausted. But in answer to this would come the word that the line must hold, and, if possible, those lines must attack. And the lines obeyed. Without water, without food, without rest, they went forward—and forward every time to victory. Companies had been so torn and lacerated by losses that they were hardly platoons, but they held their lines and advanced them. In more than one case companies lost every officer, leaving a Sergeant and sometimes a Corporal to command, and the advance continued.

After thirteen days in this inferno of fire a captured German officer told with his dying breath of a fresh division of Germans that was about to be thrown into the battle to attempt to wrest from the marines that part of the wood they had gained. The marines, who for days had been fighting only on their sheer nerve, who had been worn out from nights of sleeplessness, from lack of rations, from terrific shell and machine-gun fire, straightened their lines and prepared for the attack. It came—as the dying German officer had predicted.

At 2 o'clock on the morning of June 13 it was launched by the Germans along the whole front. Without regard for men, the enemy hurled his forces against Bouresches and the Bois de Belleau, and sought to win back what had been taken from Germany by the Americans. The orders were that these positions must be taken at all costs; that the utmost losses in men must be endured that the Bois de Belleau and Bouresches might fall again into German hands. But the depleted lines of the marines held; the men who had fought on their nerve alone for days once more showed the mettle of which they were made. With their backs to the trees and boulders of the Bois de Belleau, with their sole shelter the scattered ruins of Bouresches, the thinning lines of the marines repelled the attack and crashed back the new division which had sought to wrest the position from them.

And so it went. Day after day, night after night, while time after time messages like the following traveled to the post command:

> Losses heavy. Difficult to get runners through. Some have never returned. Morale excellent, but troops about all in. Men exhausted.

Exhausted, but holding on. And they continued to hold on in spite of every difficulty. Advancing their lines slowly day by day, the marines finally prepared their positions to such an extent that the last rush for the possession of the wood could be made. Then, on June 24, following a tremendous barrage, the struggle began.

The barrage literally tore the woods to pieces, but even its immensity could not wipe out all the nests that remained, the emplacements that were behind almost every clump of bushes, every jagged, rough group of boulders. But those that remained were wiped out by the American method of the rush and the bayonet, and in the days that followed every foot of Belleau Wood was cleared of the enemy and held by the frayed lines of the Americans.

It was, therefore, with the feeling of work well done that the depleted lines of the marines were relieved in July, that they might be filled with replacements and made ready for a grand offensive in the vicinity of Soissons, July 18. And in recognition of their sacrifice and bravery this praise was forthcoming from the French:

> Army Headquarters, June 30, 1918.
>
> In view of the brilliant conduct of the Fourth Brigade of the Second United States Division, which in a spirited fight took Bouresches and the important strong point of Bois de Belleau, stubbornly defended by a large enemy force, the General commanding the Sixth Army orders that henceforth, in all official papers, the Bois de Belleau shall be named "Bois de la Brigade de Marine."
>
> DIVISION GENERAL DEGOUTTE,
> Cammanding Sixth Army.

On July 18 the marines were again called into action in the vicinity of Soissons, near Tigny and Vierzy. In the face of a murderous fire from concentrated machine guns, which contested every foot of their advance, the United States marines moved forward until the severity of their casualties necessitated that they dig in and hold the positions they had gained. Here, again, their valor called forth official praise.

Then came the battle for the St. Mihiel salient. On the night of Sept. 11 the 2d Division took over a line running from Remenauville to Limey, and on the night of Sept. 14 and the morning of Sept. 15 attacked, with two days' objectives ahead of them. Overcoming the enemy resistance, they romped through to the Rupt de Mad, a small river, crossed it on stone bridges, occupied Thiaucourt, the first day's objective, scaled the heights just beyond it, pushed on to a line running from the Zammes-Joulney Ridges to the Binvaux Forest, and there rested, with the second day's objectives occupied by 2:50 o'clock of the first day. The casualties of the division were about 1,000, of which 134 were killed. Of these, about half were marines. The captures in which the marines participated were 80 German officers, 3,200 men, ninety-odd cannon, and vast stores.

But even further honors were to befall the fighting, landing, and building force, of which the navy is justly proud. In the early part of October it became necessary for the Allies to capture the bald, jagged ridge twenty miles due east of Rheims, known as Blanc Mont Ridge. Here the armies of Germany and the Allies had clashed more than once, and attempt after attempt had been made to wrest it from German hands. It was a keystone of the German defense, the fall of which would have a far-reaching effect upon the enemy armies. To the glory of the United States marines, let it be said that they were again a part of that splendid 2d Division which swept forward in the attack which freed Blanc Mont Ridge from German hands, pushed its way down the slopes, and occupied the level around just beyond, thus assuring a victory, the full import of which can best be judged by the order of General Lejeune, following the battle:

France, Oct. 11, 1918.

Officers and Men of the 2d Division:

It is beyond my power of expression to describe fitly my admiration for your heroism. You attacked magnificently and you seized Blanc Mont Ridge, the keystone of the arch constituting the enemy's main position. You advanced beyond the ridge, breaking the enemy's lines, and you held the ground gained with a tenacity which is unsurpassed in the annals of war.

As a direct result of your victory, the German armies east and west of Rheims are in full retreat, and by drawing on yourselves several German divisions from other parts of the front you greatly assisted the victorious advance of the allied armies between Cambrai and St. Quentin.

Your heroism and the heroism of our comrades who died on the battlefield will live in history forever, and will be emulated by the young men of our country for generations to come.

To be able to say when this war is finished, "I belonged to the 2d Division; I fought with it at the battle of Blanc Mont Ridge," will be the highest honor that can come to any man.

JOHN A. LEJEUNE,
Major General, United States Marine Corps, Commanding.

Thus it is that the United States marines have fulfilled the glorious traditions of their corps in this their latest duty as the "soldiers who go to sea." Their sharpshooting—and in one regiment 93 per cent. of the men wear the medal of a marksman, a sharpshooter, or an expert rifleman—has amazed soldiers of European armies, accustomed merely to shooting in the general direction of the enemy. Under the fiercest fire they have calmly adjusted their sights, aimed for their man, and killed him, and in bayonet attacks their advance on machine-gun nests has been irresistible.

In the official citation lists more than one American marine is credited with taking an enemy machine gun single handed, bayoneting its crew, and then turning the gun against the foe. In one battle alone, that of Belleau Wood, the citation lists bear the names of fully 500 United States marines who so distinguished themselves in battle as to call forth the official commendation of their superior officers.

More than faithful in every emergency, accepting hardships with admirable morale, proud of the honor of taking their place as shock troops for the American legions, they have fulfilled every glorious tradition of their corps, and they have given to the world a list of heroes whose names will go down to all history.

To Secretary Daniels's narrative may be added a brief account of the terms in

which the French official journal cited the 4th American Brigade under Brig. Gen. Harbord on Dec. 8.

The brigade comprised the 5th Regiment of marines, under Colonel (now Brigadier General) Wendel C. Veille; the 6th marines, under Colonel (now Brigadier General) Albertus A. Catlin, and the 6th Machine Gun Battalion, under Major Edward B. Cole. The citation says the brigade, in full battle array, was thrown on a front which the enemy was attacking violently and at once proved itself a unit of the finest quality. It crushed the enemy attack on an important point of the position, and then undertook a series of offensive operations.

"During these operations," says the citation, "thanks to the brilliant courage, vigor, dash, and tenacity of its men, who refused to be disheartened by fatigue or losses; thanks to the activity and energy of the officers, and thanks to the personal action of Brig. Gen. Harbord, the efforts of the brigade were crowned with success, realizing after twelve days of incessant struggle an important advance over the most difficult of terrain and the capture of two support points of the highest importance, Bouresches village and the fortified wood of Belleau."

The 30th Regiment, American Infantry, under Colonel E. L. Butts, is cited as showing itself "worthy its traditions on July 15 in sustaining the chief shock of the German attack." The 38th Regiment is cited for "unshakable tenacity" the same day. Other American citations include Max Staub, Hospital Section; Lewis Kenneth of the 372d Regiment, Aviator Thomas Hitchcock of New York, and Ambulance Sections 546, 525, 626, 539, and 629.

The American Lafayette Escadrille was commended for work in Flanders. Citations also were given to Battery H, 2d Battalion of the 53d Regiment of garrison artillery, under Captain Gardner; the platoon under Lieutenant John H. Shenwel, Company B, 111th Infantry, and the platoon under Lieutenant Cedric C. Benz, Company A, 111th Infantry.

Secretary Baker on the Army's Record

Abstract of War Department Report

NEWTON D. BAKER, Secretary of War, issued his annual report on Dec. 4, 1918. He selected the battle of the Meuse as "from the viewpoint of military strategy America's greatest contribution to the successful outcome of the war," since by that attack of the American armies the Sedan-Mézières railway, the main artery of the German supply system, was cut. The entire available strength of the American Army in France, twenty-eight divisions, was in line in the second week of October, he said, making yard by yard progress against desperate enemy resistance, which finally was worn out, "and on Nov. 1 the American troops broke through." The object of the drive, the strategic conception of which included the British drive at the northern end of the railway system and the French advance in the centre, was accomplished on Nov. 7, when the Americans entered the outskirts of Sedan, to be joined there the next day by the French.

In sketching the building up of the war army, Mr. Baker selects a few striking figures as illustrations of what each step meant and what has been accomplished. On the day the armistice was signed, he declares, more than 25 per cent. of the entire male population of the country between the ages of 18 and 31 was in the military service, the army having reached a total of 3,664,000 men, more than 2,000,000 of whom were in Europe, as compared with a strength of 189,674 in March, 1917, a week before war was declared.

To illustrate the speed of this expansion, the report cites the fact that the British Army in France had reached its high mark in the Summer of 1917, three years after the beginning of the war,

and that figure was "slightly more than 2,000,000 men." It took nineteen months for the United States to reach the same strength there, but Mr. Baker points out that during those years of battle British man power had been heavily called upon to replace casualties, while for many months the flow of American troops all went to augment the force being assembled.

UNEQUALED IN HISTORY

"No troop movement such as that of the last Summer had ever been contemplated," says the Secretary, "and no movement of any such number of persons by water such a distance and in such a time had ever occurred. The performance stands unique in the world's history. Furthermore, this performance wrought a decisive effect upon the world's history at one of its great critical junctures."

Recapitulating the total American Army casualties, 236,108 men, Mr. Baker said the deaths due to battle alone were 36,000, and that half of the wounded reported "probably suffered slight injury."

Under the heading of "Fighting Equipment for the Army," Mr. Baker gave a summary of what was accomplished in providing ordnance for the army. When the armistice was signed 30,881 complete units had been contracted for. On Nov. 1, 10,634 had been delivered, divided as follows: Trench, 5,000; light, (field guns,) 3,850; medium, 1,070; heavy, 695; railway, 19. The contracts were divided as follows: Trench, 11,700; light, 10,113; medium, 5,385; heavy, 3,472; railway, 211.

As to rifles, Mr. Baker showed that 2,137,025 of the modified Enfields had been accepted prior to Nov. 1. Browning machine-gun production was as follows: Light, 47,019; heavy, 39,546. The following cablegram was quoted to show the performance of the Browning guns in action:

> Experience of 79th Division in offensive operations Sept. 25 to Oct. 21, Browning machine guns. Thirteen machine-gun companies engaged, weather conditions continuous rain and mud. * * * There was not one instance where the guns failed to operate due to muddy and wet belts. * * * On the whole it may be said that the performance of the Browning machine gun and automatic rifle in active operation has been so satisfactory as to create an insistent demand for these weapons from machine-gun units and from division commanders.

AIRCRAFT PRODUCTION

Regarding aircraft production the Secretary showed that 3,180 De Haviland and 101 Handley-Page machines were produced in this country and 1,900 planes had been shipped to France before the armistice was signed. On the other side, 2,676 planes of service types had been provided for the American squadrons by the French Government. On Sept. 30 General Pershing had thirty-two air squadrons at the front, the first of them to be equipped with American planes having reached the battle areas in July.

Air service casualties, the report says, have been higher than in the artillery and infantry, and reports to Oct. 24 showed 128 battle fatalities and 224 by accident overseas. A total of 262 men had lost their lives in this service while in training in the United States.

The general health of the army was surprisingly good, the report shows, the death rate for all forces at home and abroad up to Aug. 30 having been at the rate of 5.9 per 1,000 per year, or little more than the civilian rate for men of the same age groups. It compares with a rate of 65 per 1,000 per year during the civil war and 26 during the Spanish war. Pneumonia caused 56 per cent. of the deaths.

There were 316,000 cases of influenza among the troops in the United States during the late Summer and Fall, and of the 20,500 deaths between Sept. 14 and Nov. 8 19,800 are ascribed to the epidemic.

In closing his report Mr. Baker paid a high tribute to the heroic achievements of our soldiers abroad, and also to the men who had given their services at home at great sacrifice without opportunity to participate in the great adventure.

The English King's Address of Thanks

Grateful Recognition for All Those Who Helped to Save the British Empire

[Address of King George V. Nov. 20, 1918, to Parliament, the Colonies, and Dominions]

AFTER a struggle longer and far more terrible than any one could have foretold, the soil of Britain remains inviolate. Our navy has everywhere held the seas, and wherever the enemy could be brought to battle it has renewed the glories of Drake and Nelson. The incessant work it has accomplished in overcoming the hidden menace of the enemy submarines and guarding the ships that have brought food and munitions to our shores has been less conspicuous but equally essential to success. Without that work Britain might have starved, and those valiant soldiers of America, who have so much contributed to our victory, could not have found their way hither across the foam of perilous seas.

The fleet has enabled us to win the war. In fact, without the fleet the struggle could not have been maintained, for upon the command of the sea the very existence and maintenance of our land forces have from the first depended.

That we should have to wage this war on land had scarcely entered our thoughts until the storm actually broke upon us. But Belgium and France were suddenly invaded and the nation rose to the emergency. Within a year an army more than ten times the strength of that which was ready for action in August, 1914, was raised by voluntary enlistment, largely owing to the organizing genius and personal influence of Lord Kitchener, and the number of that army was afterward far more than doubled.

These new soldiers drawn from the civil population have displayed a valor equal to that of their ancestors, who have carried the flag of Britain to victory in so many lands in bygone times. Short as was their training, they have imitated and rivaled the prowess of the small but ever-famous force which, in the early weeks of the war, from Mons to the Marne fought its magnificent retreat against vastly superior numbers. Not less prompt was the response, not less admirable the devotion to the common cause, of those splendid troops which eagerly hastened to us from the Dominions overseas, men who showed themselves more than ever to be bone of our bone, inheriting all the courage and tenacity that have made Britain great. A hundred battlefields in all parts of the world have witnessed their heroism, have been soaked with their blood, and are forever hallowed by their graves.

I shall ever remember how the Princes of India rallied to the cause, and with what ardor her soldiers sustained in many theatres of war, and under conditions the most diverse and exacting, the martial traditions of their race. Neither can I forget how the men from the crown colonies and protectorates of Great Britain, also fighting amid novel and perilous scenes, exhibited a constancy and devotion second to none.

To all these and to their commanders who, in fields so scattered and against enemies so different in Europe, Asia, and Africa, have for four years confronted the hazards, overcome the perils, and finally decided the issues of war our gratitude is most justly due. They have combined the highest military skill with unsurpassed resolution, and amid the heat of the battlefield have never been deaf to the calls of chivalry and humanity.

Particularly would I mention the names of Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, whose patient and indomitable leadership, ably seconded by his fellow-commanders, has been rewarded by the final rout of the enemy on the field of so much sacrifice and glory; of General Sir Edmund Allenby, who, in a campaign unique in military history, has won back for Christendom the soil for which centuries had fought and bled in vain; and of General Sir Stanley Maude and his successor, who gained, in a scene

of no less romance, the first resounding victory of the war for the allied cause.

While I mention those who have served their country till the end of the struggle, let us not forget the incomparable services of the leaders who, in the early days of the war, before fortune had begun to smile, upheld the best traditions of British arms by land and sea; of Field Marshal Lord French of Ypres, whose title recalls the scene of his undying renown, and of Admirals Lord Jellicoe and Sir David Beatty, who have for four years been the spirit and soul, as they were the successive commanders, of the fighting fleet of the empire.

Let us remember also those who belong to the most recent military arm, the keen-eyed and swift-winged knights of the air, who have given to the world a new type of daring and resourceful heroism.

So must we further acknowledge the dauntless spirit of the men of the Mercantile Marine and the fishermen who patrolled our coasts, braving all the dangers of mine and torpedo in the discharge of duty.

Let our thanks also be given to those who have toiled incessantly at home, women no less than men, in producing munitions of war, and to those who have rendered essential war service in many other ways. * * *

In this great struggle which we hope will determine for good the future of the world, it is a matter of ceaseless pride to us that we have been associated with allies whose spirit has been identical with our own, and who, amid sufferings that have in so many cases greatly exceeded ours, have devoted their united strength to the vindication of righteousness and freedom. France, whose final deliverance, achieved by one of the greatest of commanders, Marshal Foch, has been the reward of a sacrifice and endurance almost beyond compare; Belgium, devastated and held in bondage for nigh upon five years, but now restored to her liberty and her King; Italy, whose lofty spirit has at length found its national fulfillment; and our remaining allies, upon whose horizon, till lately so dark, the light of emancipation already dawns.

During the last one and a half years we are also proud to have been directly associated with the great sister Commonwealth across the ocean, the United States of America, whose resources and valor have exercised so powerful an influence in the attainment of those high ideals which were her single aim.

Now that the clouds of war are being swept from the sky, new tasks arise before us. We see more clearly some duties that have been neglected, some weaknesses that may retard our onward march. Liberal provision must be made for those whose exertions by land and sea have saved us. We have to create a better Britain, to bestow more care on the health and well-being of the people, and to ameliorate further the conditions of labor. * * *

In what spirit shall we approach these great problems? How shall we seek to achieve the victories of peace? Can we do better than remember the lessons which the years of war have taught and retain the spirit which they instilled? In these years Britain and her traditions have come to mean more to us than they had ever meant before. It became a privilege to serve her in whatever way we could; and we were all drawn by the sacredness of the cause into a comradeship which fired our zeal and nerved our efforts. This is the spirit we must try to preserve. It is on a sense of brotherhood and mutual good-will, on a common devotion to the common interests of the nation as a whole, that its future prosperity and strength must be built up. The sacrifices made, the sufferings endured, the memory of the heroes who have died that Britain may live, ought surely to ennoble our thoughts and attune our hearts to a higher sense of individual and national duty, and to a fuller realization of what the English-speaking race, dwelling upon the shores of all the oceans, may yet accomplish for mankind.

For centuries past Britain has led the world along the path of ordered freedom. Leadership may still be hers among the peoples who are seeking to follow that path. God grant to their efforts such wisdom and perseverance as shall ensure stability for the days to come.

May good-will and concord at home

strengthen our influence for concord abroad. May the morning star of peace which is now rising over a war-worn world be here and everywhere the herald of a better day, in which the storms of strife shall have died down, and the rays of an enduring peace be shed upon all the nations.

America's Most Terrible Weapon

The Greatest Poison Gas Plant in the World Ready for Action When the War Ended

By RICHARD BARRY

[WRITTEN IN DECEMBER, 1918, FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES AND CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

TWENTY-SIX miles from Baltimore, on the edge of the Government's vast Aberdeen ordnance proving grounds, is a 300-acre tract, fenced off even from the comparative publicity of the conventional big guns, guarded from prying eyes along every rod by soldiers with drawn bayonets. Twelve months ago it was a Maryland farm. In December, 1918, it is the largest poison gas factory on earth. It can produce, probably three or four times over, more mustard gas, phosgene, chlorine, and other noxious fumes than the intensified war output of England, France, and Germany combined. It was just completed and ready to function for the $60,000,000 invested there when the armistice was signed on Nov. 11. Now it lies silent and idle like the great cannon along the Lorraine border, but ready to operate at a moment's notice.

The Director of the United States Chemical Warfare Service is Major Gen. William L. Sibert. The commanding officer, Colonel William H. Walker, and one of his assistants, Lieut. Col. George Cahoon, took me over the plant and initiated me into its mysteries, explained the processes of production, outlined some of the little known features of gas warfare, and indicated what an essential element in the prospective allied attack next Spring this product was to be. Formerly Colonel Walker was Professor of Chemical Engineering at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

"It is not apparent that the Germans started the war with the intention of using poison gas," said Colonel Walker, "for they did not use it until April, 1915, and then, despite their boasted efficiency, they did not understand the effectiveness of the fiendish stuff they were using. Had they done so history might make different reading today. For instance, when they first used gas, (it was chlorine with which they started on April 22, 1915,) they waited twenty-four hours before following up with a bayonet attack, evidently fearful that the gas had not dissipated. As a matter of fact the gas dissipated within thirty-five or forty minutes after its release, though in that time it annihilated 80 per cent. of the Canadians, Turcos, and French opposing it. If the Germans had attacked within an hour they would have taken Calais that day. There was nothing to stop them.

"Another thing that makes me think they did not intend using poison gas when they began the war is that they had no proper meteorological charts of Northern France. If they had had these necessary charts they would not have wasted so much time and so much gas as they did waste. It is a fact that the prevailing winds in Northern France are about 75 per cent. from a southerly or southeasterly direction. This left the Germans only 25 per cent. of the time in which they could use gas as they did to begin with, relying on the wind to carry it across the line. Later they devised guns and mortars, but if they had begun with these methods and had made gas in sufficient quantity there can be no doubt that the war would have ended

in their favor very early. There is no doubt in my mind that their inability to make gas in sufficient quantity accounts for their halt in their last great drive last Summer.

ADOPTED BY ALLIES

"The French and English were reluctant to use gas, deeming it inhumanitarian. Our Government suffered from the same indecision in the early months of our part in the war. However, we came to it in time, just as did the French and English. But, although the English finally utilized every available facility they could command in the manufacture of toxic gases, their total production at its highest point never went above an average of thirty tons a day. The best the French could do was much less than this. Our American capacity for September and October was on an average of two hundred tons a day. These figures are not in pounds, as powder figures are usually given, but in tons. And a drop of gas, properly placed, kills or incapacitates."

"What was the German production?" I asked.

"We do not know," replied Colonel Walker, "but from available data and the estimates of military observers on the ground we do not think it was over thirty tons a day. It may have been fifty tons a day, but certainly no more.

"It was last October [1917] before the American Government decided to manufacture poison gas on a scale commensurate with the rest of our military preparations. It was November when ground was broken here, so that what you see is the work of less than a twelvemonth."

CREATING A GREAT FACTORY

What I saw was a city of brick kilns, high chimneys, correlated vats in innumerable series, repeated shot towers, miles of railway, miles of elevated pipe lines, machinery of the finest type, and the most perfect installation, housed in concrete and sheet iron, built apparently for permanence. It was all only a few miles from Gunpowder Creek, where were concrete piers built in the midst of the once fine duck hunting preserves. Gunpowder Creek runs into Chesapeake Bay, so that vessels loaded with the gases direct from the factory sailed to Havre without a stop. The Government's investment here is $60,000,000. Elsewhere there has been spent, at various subsidiary plants, about $12,000,000. Thus all told the United States has spent about $72,000,000 in the manufacture of toxic gases, practically none of which have any commercial value. The basic elements are salt, sulphur, and alcohol, which, broken into component parts and chemically reunited, in some cases by means of heat, in others by means of cold, again by force of gravity, are caused to form the mustard gas, the phosgene and the phosphorus, the chlorine, &c., which have been found efficacious in warfare. For the cold processes vast refrigerators were built. These cover acres. Half a mile away were enormous boilers and hot rooms for fusing. Then curious towers of spindle steel looking like miniature Eiffel Towers, scattered about the grounds, support pipes down which, in a different process, are dropped two chemical elements which thus are forced to fuse by gravity.

Chiefly impressive, once one became accustomed to the thought that all this ingenious, costly mechanism was built to generate poison for the sole purpose of horribly maiming and frightfully killing, was the orderliness, the immensity, and the stability of the plant. The Bethlehem Steel Mills or the Bridgeport Rifle Works are no better built.

"The most remarkable thing about this plant may not be apparent as you look at it," said Colonel Cahoon. "It is the fact that when the Government started to build it there were no existing models for some of the machinery needed. That is where Colonel Walker came in. He literally invented this factory while it was in process of being built. There is nothing like it anywhere else in the world, and it had to be created and operated as we went along. The French and the British both sent their best experts to assist us, but they stayed to get pointers to take back to their own Governments. Major Auld, the chief British expert on war gas, said frankly, 'I came to teach, but I stay to learn.'

SOLDIER HEROES

When the armistice was signed there were 7,000 drafted American soldiers at work at $30 a month; at one time they numbered 14,000. After examining the casualty records I went through the hospitals and saw the men who had been struck down by the fiendish gases while at work; some with arms and legs and trunks shriveled and scarred as by a horrible fire, some with the deep suppurations still oozing after weeks of careful nursing.

In one case a drop of mustard oil had fallen from a conduit pipe under which a soldier had walked, hitting his shoe. He wiped it off, thinking that made him safe. The next day his flesh began to peel. Now, five weeks later, his foot looks like a charred ember. Another had accidentally kicked over what he thought was an empty pipe. It contained phosphorus, which flew over his face and upper body. Now, weeks later, he is still a mass of horrible burns. Another case (one of the fatalities) was that of an officer who came in from the works to the office. He wore rubber gloves, as they all do when near the gases, but did not know he had been near enough to pick up the mustard oil. He picked up a chair and placed it in front of his desk, intending to seat himself. At that moment the telephone rang and he stepped to the wall to answer. A friend, another officer, entered and took the seat by the desk. Forty-eight hours later the second officer was dead. The first officer had accidentally rubbed mustard oil on the back of the chair. It went through the clothes and into the spine of the second.

WORKING AMID PERILS

When the figures are all finally published it may appear that no division in France has a higher percentage of casualty than was developed at the Edgewater arsenal in Baltimore (the official name of the poison gas plant) in August, 1918. That was the month of excessive heat when the gases were most volatile and when the weather made the soldiers somewhat relaxed in their vigilance to avoid accident.

During that month the hospitals were filled at the rate of three and a half per cent. of the entire force in the mustard gas plant per day, or one hundred per cent. casualty per month.

If that is the casualty which must be endured in making the stuff, can one imagine the casualty of the enemy who receives it? As to what the enemy had in prospect Colonel Walker said:

"We had been working for some time on a device whereby mustard could be transported in large containers by airplane and released over fortresses of the Metz type, and at last it was perfected, fully sixty days before the armistice was signed. Mustard has been found, for all-around purposes, to be the most effective gas used in warfare, because it advances comparatively easily and also because it is the most difficult to protect against. People used to think prussic acid was terrible. Well, the Germans discarded the use of prussic acid because it was too mild and used mustard gas instead.

COULD ANNIHILATE FORTRESSES

"Our idea was to have containers that would hold a ton of mustard gas carried over fortresses like Metz and Coblenz by plane, and released with a time fuse arranged for explosion several hundred feet above the forts. The mustard gas, being heavier than air, would then slowly settle while it also dispersed. A one-ton container could thus be made to account for perhaps an acre or more of territory, and not one living thing, not even a rat, would live through it. The planes were made and successfully demonstrated, the containers were made, and we were turning out the mustard gas in the requisite quantities in September.

"However, there were obstacles besides the physical to overcome. The allied Governments were not in favor of such wholesale gas attack by air. England was the first to accede to it, but France hesitated because of her fear of reprisals. Finally, the French Government consented, but only with the proviso that the attack would not be made until our line had advanced so that there was no chance of the gas being blown

back into French territory and until the allied command was in complete command of the air so as to insure safety from possible reprisals. These two conditions could not have been met before next Spring. It was then that we planned to release the one-ton containers over the German cities which were fortified and so became subject to attack under the laws of war.

"We would have had ready in France for such an attack thousands of tons of mustard gas. There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that we could have wiped out any German city we pleased to single out, and probably several of them, within a few hours of giving the release signal.

"It was not to be. They capitulated, and I am sure that a very big factor in that capitulation was the knowledge they certainly possessed of our gas preparations. What we were doing here was known to the German Government. They knew that when this plant got into full blast their last hope was gone. They knew that if they had been able to make gas in even half the quantity we could produce here they would have swept over all France long ago. If there was any final argument to help them make up their minds it was our gas production.

"We closed down the day the armistice was signed. We had more than 2,500 tons waiting on the piers ready for shipment. Somehow we had been cheated of our prey, but we were content. We felt sure the gas had done its work even though most of it still lay idle in our dooryard."

Already the Baltimore plant is being dismantled. The machinery is being carefully taken apart, oiled, and wrapped and stored away—ready for the next war, should there ever be one. The parts which have come in actual contact with the gas are taken by means of tongs to the fields and buried. The gas itself will perhaps be taken to sea some day and dropped overboard. Being heavier than water, it will settle to the bottom, and if the fishes do not like it they can move elsewhere; the sea is wide. There is nothing else to do with the gas. It has no commercial value and there is enough of it, if properly liberated, to kill every human being on the American Continent—on both of them.

[OFFICIAL]

Germany's Use of Poison Gas

A British Declaration Fixing the Responsibility for Its Introduction Into the War

The first use of poison gas in modern warfare was made by the German forces near Ypres on April 22, 1915, and they used it increasingly through the following years until the Allies began to outdo them with the same weapon, toward the end of the war. On July 17, 1918, the German Wireless Bureau issued a statement that the Allies were the first of the belligerents to employ poison gas in the war and referred to "historical facts" to prove that "the idea of using poison gas originated with the British Admiral Dundonald." The British War Office issued a reply in substance as follows:

IT may be true that Dundonald, who was born in 1775 and died in 1860, and was an expert chemist as well as a great sailor, warned the British Government in the early part of the nineteenth century that it was technically possible to produce an asphyxiating gas which could be employed in military operations. Its employment by the British Government was never seriously considered, as such a method of warfare was condemned as too inhuman. The fact that The Hague Convention of 1899, to which Germany was a party, expressly forbade the use of asphyxiating gas is sufficient evidence that the possibilities

of gas as a weapon of offense were known to all the war offices. The point is that the Allies obeyed the dictates of humanity and the rules of The Hague Convention by refraining from its use, whereas the Germans deliberately added this new horror to warfare.

The German wireless message referred to says: "It is a point of fact that poison gases were first used in the war on March 1, 1915, by the British and French, whereas the French and British Army communiqués could not announce a German attack with poison gas until April 22, 1915." The first portion of this statement is a deliberate falsehood, for which there is not the slightest vestige of justification. If it were accepted it would obviously imply that between March 1, when we are expected to believe that the mind of the German General Staff was innocent of any intention to use poison gas, and April 22, when they used it on the battlefield, the whole elaborate preparation required for the projection of gas upon a large scale was completed. The gas was invented and accumulated, the cylinders in which it was stored were manufactured and tested, the large number of men employed in projection were trained and instructed in the technicalities of the business, all within a period of eight weeks. But on April 22, at the second battle of Ypres, when the yellow-green clouds of chlorine crept slowly over from the German lines, the British and French troops were caught absolutely unprepared. They stared uncomprehendingly, and without protection, at this strange phenomenon, until they fell, choking and gasping, with blackened, agonized faces, to die without knowledge of the plague which brought them death.

In Germany, at the time, the news of this surprise, with the atrocious sufferings inflicted by it on the French and British soldiers, was greeted with delight as a new triumph for Teutonic adroitness and military science. But why, it may be asked, does the German wireless now give the specific date of March 1, 1915, as that on which the gas had already been employed by the Allies? The answer is best given in the words of Lord French. In his report of May 3, 1915, ten days after gas was first used by the Germans, he said: "A week before the Germans used this method they announced in their official communiqué that we were making use of asphyxiating gases.

"At the time there appeared to be no reason for this astounding falsehood; but now, of course, it is obvious that it was part of the scheme. It shows they recognized its illegality and were anxious to forestall neutral, and possibly domestic, criticism." In his dispatch of June 15, 1915, Lord French said: "The brain power and thought which have evidently been at work before this unworthy method of making war reached the pitch of efficiency which has been demonstrated in its practice show that the Germans must have harbored these designs for a long time."

Since those early days the Germans have learned to their sorrow that gas is a weapon which two can use. Forced to employ it in self-defense, the Allies have done so with such effect that the Germans have had reason to regret exceedingly their departure from the rules of civilized warfare. And they have discovered that this outrage against humanity was a moral and political as well as a military blunder.

Later in the Summer of 1918 the Geneva Red Cross issued an appeal for the discontinuance of the use of asphyxiating gas by all the belligerents. The German Government replied that it had not begun making gas attacks "until long after its adversaries had been using this method of warfare." The Paris correspondent of The London Telegraph on Sept. 25 commented as follows:

A well-known French chemist has an intimate Dutch friend who is a distinguished Professor at Leyden and a stanch friend of the Allies. This Dutch professor, toward the end of 1914, wrote to the French chemist stating that the Germans were making active experiments with poisonous gases in Belgium, near the Dutch frontier. The chemist at once reported the matter to the French War Office, which refused to believe him. Every one whom he saw

scouted the idea as a mere fable. The chemist, however, worked at the subject on his own in order to discover what gases the Germans might be using. While he was experimenting, and while the military authorities were so deriding his information, the Germans suddenly began the use of poisonous gases, with, as every one knows, terrible effects.

At that moment neither in France nor in England had the question of gas as a weapon even been considered. It was, indeed, months after the Germans began the use of gas that commissions were appointed in England and France to commence the study of the question, and more months again elapsed before we had prepared any gas at all. Finally, when we did start using gas, all we had were tear bombs, with which we tried to reply to much more dangerous gases sent over by the Germans.

The German reply to the Geneva Red Cross is thus the most cynical lie even the German Government has ever been guilty of. It is satisfactory, by the way, to learn from those who know that for a considerable time past the enemy is being paid back in his own coin, and that though late in this field of scientific barbarism we now have gases that are worse than any German gases.

The East African Campaign

Surrender of the German Forces on November 14, 1918, Marked the End of the Long Campaign

The German forces under General von Lettow-Vorbeck, operating in German East Africa, surrendered on the Chambezi River, South of Kasama, Northern Rhodesia, Nov. 14, 1918, thus ending the last phase of German control in Africa. The London Times of Nov. 21 thus reviewed the record of the four years' struggle:

THE most notable incidents in the earlier phases of the war had been an unsuccessful attempt, in November, 1914, by an Anglo-Indian force to seize Tanga from the sea, and the occupation by the Germans of a considerable area of British territory in the Kilimanjaro region. For the defense of German East Africa, a territory about twice the size of Germany, von Lettow-Vorbeck had fully 25,000 native troops and 4,000 whites.

The local forces in British East Africa —the King's African Rifles (native troops)—had been strengthened by British and Indian regiments from India and by volunteers. General Michael Tighe was in command. After the conquest of Southwest Africa by General Botha, the Union, Rhodesia co-operating, raised a force which ultimately reached 20,000 for service in East Africa, and thus eighteen months after the war began it was at last possible to undertake a British offensive. General Smuts, who on the failure of Sir H. Smith-Dorrien's health had consented to take command of the Expeditionary Force, reached Mombasa on Feb. 19, 1916.

General Smuts adopted with little alteration the plans of General Tighe for the conquest of Kilimanjaro; their chief feature was wide turning movements, one from the north, the other from the south. The main movement began on March 7. Taveta was occupied by the southern column on March 9, and on March 11 the enemy was encountered in force in the densely forested mountain district of Latema Nek. The fight was stubborn, and lasted all through the night, but in the end the enemy was forced to retreat. In the Kahe hills, which defend the northern approach to Usambara, the enemy, on March 21, again offered determined opposition. The assailants failed to carry the position, but in the night the Germans retired. The conquest of Kilimanjaro was thus completed.

After their defeat at Kahe the main enemy force retired to Usambara, "leaving open and undefended" the road to the interior. Instead of attacking the

GERMAN EAST AFRICA, LAST OF THE GERMAN COLONIES TO SURRENDER

enemy on his own chosen ground, "which nature and art had prepared admirably for defensive purposes," General Smuts decided to strike inland toward the Central Railway, the line which runs from Dar-es-Salaam to Lake Tanganyika. General Smuts sent the Second Division, under Major General Van Deventer, southwest to cut communications between the German main force and the enemy troops in the lake region. Van Deventer reached Kondoa-Irangi, forty miles north of the railway, on April 19. Here he was held up for nearly two months, his division at one time, owing to the incessant rains, being almost entirely isolated. This delay enabled von Lettow-Vorbeck to withdraw most of his troops from Usambara and concentrate 4,000 men against Van Deventer, whom he unsuccessfully attacked in May. On June 24 Van Deventer, having been reinforced, and the rains having abated, resumed his advance, and, having defeated the enemy, seized the middle section of the Central Railway.

While these operations were in progress Usambara was gradually occupied. Wilhelmstal, the capital of Usambara, was entered on June 13 and Tanga

was seized on July 7. Without waiting for the complete clearing of Usambara, General Smuts directed his main force southward on a line east of and parallel to General Van Deventer's route, his endeavor being to surround General von Lettow-Vorbeck and force a decision. In this endeavor he was unsuccessful, notwithstanding repeated efforts and a good deal of fighting. Von Lettow retreated first to Mrogoro, on the Central Railway, and then by a road the existence of which was unknown to the British, into the Uluguru Hills.

Mrogoro was occupied by General Smuts on Aug. 26. Meanwhile, General Van Deventer had turned eastward, pursuing the enemy along the railway line, eventually joining hands with Smuts. Dar-es-Salaam, the capital and chief port of the protectorate, surrendered to a naval force on Sept. 4. Its occupation enabled General Smuts by the end of October to shorten his lines of communication by over 1,000 miles. But General Smuts's troops were exhausted by six months of continuous marching and fighting, and were suffering from the ravage of dysentery, so that a pause in the operations was essential. General Smuts reconstituted his force. By the beginning of 1917 over 12,000 white troops had been sent back, their place being taken by newly raised battalions of King's African Rifles and by the Nigerian Brigade under General Cunliffe. Meantime much had been accomplished in other regions of German East Africa.

In April, 1916, Belgian columns under General Tombeur invaded the northwest portion of the German protectorate, and by the end of June Usumburu, at the north end of Tanganyika, and the whole district between that lake and Victoria Nyanza had been conquered, chiefly by the Northern Brigade, under Colonel Molitor. Tabora, the chief town in the western section of the Central Railway, was captured by the Belgians on Sept. 19. The fall of Tabora was preceded by heavy fighting, which lasted for ten days.

From the southwest German East Africa was invaded on May 25, 1916, by a force under Brig. Gen. Northey, composed of Union troops, Rhodesians, and King's African Rifles. A Rhodesian column seized Bismarckburg, on Lake Tanganyika, and worked north till it joined hands with the Belgian right. General Northey's main force struck northeast along the road leading from Lake Nyasa to Iringa, a town 270 miles southeast of Tabora. General Northey defeated the chief force opposed to him on July 24 and occupied Iringa on Aug. 29. Thus, with the occupation of the southern ports of the protectorate, over two-thirds of German East Africa had been conquered by the combined operations of Generals Smuts and Northey, and the Belgians, after a most strenuous seven months' campaign.

The great distances to be covered by comparatively small bodies of troops and the enormous difficulties of supply and transport in roadless and mountainous regions, mostly covered with dense bush and traversed by many large rivers, were the chief causes of the repeated failures to corner the enemy, and of the prolongation of the campaign through 1917 and 1918. General Smuts in January, 1917, had begun a new campaign when he was called to London to attend the War Cabinet. General Hoskins then held command until May, when he was succeeded by General Van Deventer. By this time the enemy had been confined to the southeast part of the protectorate and the south central plateau of Mahenge.

A new offensive was begun in June, 1917, and was carried on relentlessly. The enemy fought desperately, and the casualties on both sides were severe. In the west General Northey's columns were aided by the Belgians, who captured Mahenge in October. On Nov. 27 one of the two enemy forces remaining in the field was caught near the Portuguese frontier and compelled to surrender, but von Lettow himself and his party succeeded (Nov. 30) in getting away into Portuguese East Africa. Here, during this year, incessantly chased, he made his way south nearly as far as the Zambezi; then, retracing his steps, he came again in September into the German protectorate, whence he made his way into Northern Rhodesia, where he surrendered.

Total Damage Caused by U-Boats

Fifteen Million Gross Tons of Shipping, With Cargoes, on the Debit Side of the Account

THE depredations of the German submarines came definitely to an end with the signing of the armistice on Nov. 11, 1918. Attacks on merchant ships had been suspended on Oct. 20, the date on which the German Government informed Spain that orders had been issued recalling all U-boats to their bases. The last sinkings of merchant craft were those of the American steamship Lucia and the Irish steamship Dundalk, both torpedoed on Oct. 19. The British battleship Britannia, torpedoed near Gibraltar on Nov. 9, was the last ship sunk by a submarine.

At the time of the recall of the U-boats the British Admiralty published this summary of the colossal account that Germany must settle for merchant ships destroyed:

BRITISH, ALLIED, AND NEUTRAL SHIPS LOST

1914.	British.	Allied & Neutral.	Gross tons.
Aug. & Sept...	314,000	85,947	399,947
4th quarter....	154,728	126,688	281,416
1915.			
1st quarter....	215,905	104,542	320,447
2d quarter....	223,676	156,743	380,419
3d quarter.....	356,659	172,822	529,418
4th quarter....	307,139	187,234	494,373
1916.			
1st quarter....	325,237	198,958	524,195
2d quarter....	270,690	251,599	522,289
3d quarter....	284,358	307,681	592,039
4th quarter....	617,563	541,780	1,159,343
1917.			
1st quarter....	911,840	707,533	1,619,373
2d quarter....1,361,870		875,064	2,236,934
3d quarter....	952,938	541,535	1,494,473
4th quarter....	782,889	489,954	1,272,843
1918.			
1st quarter....	697,590	449,330	1,146,920
2d quarter....	630,506	332,864	963,370
3d quarter....	510,551	381,995	892,546
	8,918,139	5,912,269	14,820,408

These figures brought the account only to the end of September. Later the British Admiralty announced the October sinkings of allied and neutral ships as totaling 177,534 tons, of which 83,952 were British. The same authorities stated on Dec. 5 that the total losses of the world's merchant tonnage from the beginning of the war to the end of October, 1918, through belligerent action and marine risk, was 15,053,786 gross tons, of which 9,031,828 were British. On the same day Sir Eric Geddes, First Lord of the British Admiralty, stated that 5,622 British merchant ships had been sunk during the war, of which 2,475 had been sunk with their crews still on board and 3,147 had been sunk and their crews set adrift. Fishing vessels to the number of 670 had been destroyed, and more than 15,000 men in the British merchant marine had lost their lives through enemy action.

The United States bore its share of the losses. According to official figures announced by the Bureau of Navigation of the Department of Commerce, a total of 145 American passenger and merchant vessels, of 354,449 gross tons, was lost through enemy acts from the beginning of the war to the cessation of hostilities on Nov. 11. This does not include several vessels whose loss had not been established as due to acts of the enemy. In all 775 lives were lost in the destruction of the ships mentioned above. Nineteen of the 145 vessels and 67 of the 775 lives were lost through German torpedoes, mines, and gunfire prior to the entrance of the United States into the war. On Dec. 2 Secretary Lansing issued a formal statement advising American citizens to file at the State Department within thirty days from Dec. 1 information concerning losses sustained through German submarine warfare either before or after the United States entered the war.

SHIP CONSTRUCTION

According to the British Admiralty statement of Dec. 5, which placed the total of the world's shipping losses at 15,053,786 gross tons, the world's ship construction during the same period was 10,849,527 gross tons, while enemy tonnage totaling 2,392,675 was captured, so

that the net loss of allied and neutral tonnage during the war was 1,811,584.

According to a British official report the output of merchant tonnage in the United Kingdom and allied and neutral countries during the years 1915, 1916, 1917, and the quarters ended March 31, June 30, and Sept. 30, 1918, was as follows:

Period.	United Kingdom. Gross Tons.	Allied and Neutral. Gross Tons.	World. Gross Tons.
1915	650,919	551,081	1,202,000
1916	541,552	1,146,448	1,688,000
1917	1,163,474	1,774,312	2,937,786
1918.			
1st quarter..	320,280	550,037	870,317
2d quarter..	442,966	800,308	1,243,274
3d quarter..	411,395	*972,735	1,384,130

*Provisional figures.

The output for the world during the last quarter exceeded the losses from all causes by nearly half a million gross tons.

The tonnage of merchant vessels completed in United Kingdom yards and entered for service during October, 1918, compared with preceding periods, was as under:

1917.	Gross Tons.	1918.	Gross Tons.
January	48,089	January	58,568
February ...	79,451	February ...	100,038
March	118,699	March	161,674
April	69,711	April	111,533
May	69,773	May	197,274
June	109,847	June	134,159
July	83,073	July	141,948
August	102,060	August	124,675
September ..	63,150	September ..	144,772
October	148,309	October	136,100

Total 10 months to Oct. 31, 1917, 892,162.
Total 10 months to Oct. 31, 1918, 1,310,711.
Total 12 months to Oct. 31, 1917, 1,045,036.
Total 12 months to Oct. 31, 1918, 1,582,053.

In a speech at Atlantic City, Dec. 4, 1918, Charles M. Schwab, Director General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, stated that American ship construction in November, 1918, was about 500,000 deadweight tons, and that the total for the year 1918 would be between 3,500,000 and 4,000,000 tons. Before the war the American record for one year was 400,000 deadweight tons.

The British Admiralty said on Nov. 29 that a total of about 360 U-boats had been built by Germany, and that approximately 200 of these had been destroyed in the course of the war. The terms of the armistice originally called for the surrender of 160 German submarines, but this clause in its final form called for all such craft. The total finally surrendered proved to be only 122. On Nov. 29 the last of the U-boat fleet at Heligoland had been given up at Harwich and interned, and the crews had been put on transports and returned to Germany. Counting five submarines interned in Norwegian ports and one or more in Spain and elsewhere, the total surviving U-boat fleet at the end of the war apparently numbered less than 130.

ANTI-SUBMARINE METHODS

The accuracy of the allied methods of gaining information about the movements of enemy submarines was one of the surprising features of the war. Very few U-boats left their bases without the knowledge of the British and American naval commanders. The numbers of the vessels, the duration of their cruises, and the localities in which they were ordered to operate were known in nearly all cases. This information was transmitted daily by wireless to every ship of the Atlantic patrol fleet and to all convoys and merchant vessels.

Wireless operators at sea and ashore heard the submarines reporting in code to Germany every night, and their positions were learned by a system of reckoning the wave length. This was done so accurately that the submarine could be definitely located as closely as a mile. This assisted the allied anti-submarine patrols. They could keep the Germans on the move by remaining in waters in which they knew the U-boats were ordered to operate, and did not waste time hunting where it was unlikely that their prey was working.

HOW THE CONVOY WORKED

Details of convoy management and the proper camouflaging of grouped ships to make their destruction by undersea craft difficult were revealed at the close of hostilities by an American naval officer, who thus described the voyage of a fleet of American troopships under convoy:

"Guarded above by dirigibles, hydroplanes and anchored balloons, and on the surface by a fleet of patrol boats as well

as our ocean escort, we proceeded, and America soon dropped below the western horizon. At sunset we were well out to sea.

"It is not hard to see why the convoy system was effective. Take the case of a convoy of twenty-five ships, (seventy-two is the largest number I've heard of in one convoy; our mate told me of being caught in a seventy-two-ship convoy in a sailing ship in the Bay of Biscay.) When these ships went in convoy, instead of there being twenty-five different units, scattered all over the 'zone' for the U-boats to find, there was only one. That is, the enemy had only one chance of meeting a ship where he had twenty-five before. And if he did meet the convoy he found it usually with a naval escort, whose sole business was sinking submarines. He found, too, twenty-five lookouts on watch for him, twenty-five sets of guns ready for him, where there were but one each before. If the enemy showed himself to a convoy and its escort, the odds were that he was due for a quick trip to the bottom.

"The usual convoy formation was in columns in a rough square. This was the most compact, and the inside ships were practically immune from attack. The escorts circled the convoy, if necessary, and the outside ships concentrated their fire on any submarine that appeared. Convoys were made up at different speeds, and even the rustiest old tramps were provided for in a six-knot class.

"It was remarkable what a snappy escort commander could do with his charges. After a day or two together he had them manoeuvring in position like a second grand fleet; zigzagging 'dark' through a black night, not a ray of light showing anywhere if they were in the danger zone or a tin fish was reported near.

STRANGE CAMOUFLAGE PATTERNS

"The war brought no stranger spectacle than that of a convoy of steamships plowing along through the middle of the ocean streaked and bespotted indiscriminately with every color of the rainbow in a way more bizarre than the wildest dreams of a sailor's first night ashore.

"The effect of good camouflage was remarkable. I have often looked at a fellow-ship in the convoy on our quarter on exactly the same courses we were, but on account of her camouflage she appeared to be making right for us on a course at least forty-five degrees different from the one she was actually steering.

"The deception was remarkable even under such conditions as these, and of course a U-boat, with its hasty limited observation, was much more likely to be fooled.

"Each nation seemed to have a characteristic type of camouflage, and after a little practice you could usually spot a ship's nationality by her style of camouflage long before you could make out her ensign."

U-BOAT BRUTALITY

Lieutenant Fulcher, one of two American officers captured by the Deutschland when it sunk the American cargo ship Ticonderoga in mid-Atlantic, Sept. 30, 1918, thus described his experiences:

"The first few shots from the U-boat badly wounded the Captain of the Ticonderoga, killed the gun crew, and set the ship afire. The decks were quickly littered with dead. A British cruiser opened fire, whereupon the U-boat submerged. We managed to get the fire extinguished and to lower the boats, but in the excitement and confusion most of the poor fellows aboard were drowned. The U-boat again attacked us, and we kept up fire until we realized that the ship was sinking and it was useless to continue. We then decided to surrender."

Although Lieutenant Fulcher was wounded and his thigh bone was exposed, he took a pillowslip and waved it in place of a white flag. The U-boat came alongside and he was taken aboard with another officer. The commander of the submarine, holding a revolver in his hand, asked the Lieutenant where his chief gunner was.

"I told him all the gunners were killed," added Lieutenant Fulcher. "A member of the crew who knew German was on a raft at the time, but the com-

mander ignored his plea for help. 'God will save him,' was all he said, and then left him to his fate.

"A doctor removed my blood-stained clothing, and a drink of brandy was given to me. After I recovered a little I was closely interrogated. They asked questions about our convoy and about the Americans generally. I was specially asked why we in the United States call the Germans Huns.

"On the twelfth day after the sinking of the Ticonderoga we met a Norwegian ship bound from New York for Australia. The Germans captured her and transferred all her provisions to the U-boat. At 10 o'clock the next morning the ship was sunk. The Germans left the crew to their fate 1,000 miles from land.

"Two days afterward we sighted an English sailing ship. English cruisers came up, however, and we submerged. Shells from the English ships came so near us that we could feel the submarine tremble. Two days passed and an English ship was again encountered. This time one torpedo and eighty-three shots were fired at her, but she was not caught.

"On Oct. 25 all the U-boats were called back, and in twenty-five days we were at Kiel. I was there put aboard the Prince Henry, and was told a little later that if I liked I could have passage to England on the U-boat which captured me. We went to Heligoland to make up the flotilla and I arrived at Harwich today, (Nov. 25.) I am very glad to have come through so many adventures safely."

NO MORE WOODEN SHIPS

From a letter written by Charles A. Piez and made public on Nov. 29, it developed that the Shipping Board wished either to sell 150 wooden ships abroad or cancel the contracts for them. Mr. Piez wrote in part:

> The limitations which the Board of Trustees has imposed on the construction of additional wooden vessels have grown, first, out of the fact that we have not received authorization for further expenditures from Congress, and, second, out of the fact that all the wooden vessels and all the steel vessels contracted for on the Great Lakes are below 4,000 deadweight tons in capacity and that we will have, upon the completion of our wooden ship and Great Lakes program, over 1,100 small vessels—altogether too many to serve the very limited needs which we have for this class of vessels in normal times. The operating division of the Emergency Fleet Corporation has pronounced the wooden steamers as good emergency vessels, but as rather unprofitable investments under competitive conditions. We are at present engaged in an endeavor to dispose of a part of our present program to foreign buyers.

GOVERNMENT SHIP PURCHASE

Government ownership of greatly increased ocean transport facilities was foreshadowed in a statement by the United States Shipping Board Nov. 26. The official announcement was as follows:

> Announcement was made at the Shipping Board that the International Mercantile Marine Corporation had today been advised of the Government's disinclination to give its approval to the proposed transfer to a British syndicate of the American ownership which has for years been vested in the International Mercantile Marine Corporation of the latter's vessels now under British registry.
>
> Bainbridge Colby of the Shipping Board stated that an offer by a British syndicate to acquire from the International Mercantile Marine Corporation the tonnage in question had been under consideration for some time. The offer was expressly conditioned upon its approval by both the United States and British Governments.
>
> The vessels immediately concerned in the syndicate's offer are approximately eighty-five in number, and aggregate 730,000 gross tons, or, in their deadweight equivalent, about 1,000,000 tons. They include some of the most important vessels now engaged in transatlantic service, such as the Olympic, and many other vessels of large type and familiar names.
>
> The Government has announced its willingness to take over the ownership of these vessels upon the terms of the British offer, which is considered a fair price for tonnage of this exceptional character. Notification has been sent to the International Mercantile Marine Corporation of the Government's decision.

The negotiations for the sale by the International Mercantile Marine of its British assets had been abruptly halted Nov. 19 at the request of the United States Government, which did not care

to have the control of this fleet of vessels pass into British hands under existing conditions. While no statement was made as to the figure at which the Government had decided to take over the vessels, the unofficial understanding was that they had been offered to the British syndicate for about $90,000,000.

Diary of the Chief Events of the War

Birdseye View of the Great Conflict

[*A detailed chronology of the war, month by month, giving dates of minor as well as major events, has appeared in these pages in the successive monthly periods.*]

1914

June 28—Francis Ferdinand shot at Serajevo.
July 5—Kaiser's War Council at Potsdam.
July 23—Austro-Hungarian note to Serbia.
July 28—Austria declared war on Serbia.
July 31—State of war in Germany.
Aug. 1—Germany declared war on Russia.
Aug. 2—German ultimatum to Belgium.
Aug. 3—Germany declared war on France.
Aug. 4—Great Britain declared war on Germany.
Aug. 10—France declared war on Austria.
Aug. 12—Great Britain declared war on Austria.
Aug. 15—Fall of Liége.
Aug. 16—British Army landed in France; Russian advance into East Prussia.
Aug. 20—Germans occupied Brussels.
Aug. 23—Japan declared war on Germany.
Aug. 24—Fall of Namur.
Aug. 25—Sack of Louvain.
Aug. 27—German victory of Tannenberg.
Aug. 28—British victory in the Bight.
Aug. 29—New Zealanders in Samoa.
Sept. 2—Russians took Lemberg.
Sept. 3—Paris Government at Bordeaux.
Sept. 4—Pact of London signed.
Sept. 5—End of retreat from Mons.
Sept. 6—First Marne battle begun.
Sept. 15—First Aisne battle begun.
Sept. 16—Russians evacuated East Prussia.
Sept. 23—First British air raid in Germany.
Oct. 9—Fall of Antwerp.
Oct. 13—Belgian Government at Havre.
Oct. 20—First battle of Ypres begun.
Nov. 1—Naval action off Coronel.
Nov. 5—Great Britain declared war on Turkey.
Nov. 7—Fall of Tsing-tao.
Nov. 10—Emden sunk.
Nov. 21—British occupied Basra.
Dec. 2—Austrians in Belgrade.
Dec. 8—Naval battle off the Falklands.
Dec. 14—Serbians retook Belgrade.
Dec. 16—Germans bombarded W. Hartelpool.
Dec. 18—Hussein Kamel, Sultan of Egypt.
Dec. 24—First air raid on England.

1915

Jan. 24—Naval battle off Dogger Bank.
Feb. 2—Turks defeated on Suez Canal.
Feb. 18—U-boat "blockade" of England.
Feb. 25—Allied fleet attacked Dardanelles.
March 10—British captured Neuve Chapelle.
March 22—Russians took Przemysl.
April 22—Second battle of Ypres begun. First gas attack by Germans.
April 25—Allied landing in Gallipoli.
May 3—Battle of the Dunajec.
May 6—Battle at Krithia, Gallipoli.
May 7—Lusitania torpedoed.
May 8—Germans occupied Libau.
May 11—German repulse at Ypres.
May 12—General Botha occupied Windhuk, (Africa.)
May 16—Russian retreat to the San.
May 23—Italy declared war on Austria.
May 25—British Coalition Cabinet formed.
June 2—Italians crossed Isonzo.
June 3—Russians evacuated Przemysl.
June 22—Austro-Germans recaptured Lemberg.
July 2—Pommern sunk in Baltic.
July 9—German Southwest Africa conquered.
July 24—Nasiriyeh, on Euphrates, taken.
Aug. 4—Fall of Warsaw.
Aug. 5—Fall of Ivangorod.
Aug. 6—New landing at Suvla Bay. Germans took Warsaw.
Aug. 8—General Birdwood's advance at Anzac.
Aug. 17—Fall of Kovno.
Aug. 18—Russian victory in Riga Gulf.
Aug. 19—Fall of Novo-Georgievsk.
Aug. 21—Cotton declared contraband.
Aug. 25—Fall of Brest-Litovsk.
Sept. 1—General Alexeieff as Chief of Staff.
Sept. 2—Fall of Grodno.
Sept. 5—Czar as Generalissimo.
Sept. 7—Russian victory near Tarnopol.
Sept. 18—Fall of Vilna.
Sept. 21—Russian retreat ended.
Sept. 25—Battle of Loos and Champagne.
Sept. 28—Victory at Kut-el-Amara.
Oct. 4—Russian ultimatum to Bulgaria.
Oct. 5—Allied landing at Saloniki.
Oct. 6—Austro-German invasion of Serbia.
Oct. 9—Belgrade occupied.
Oct. 14—Bulgaria at war with Serbia.
Oct. 17—Allied note to Greece.
Oct. 22—Bulgarians occupy Uskub.
Oct. 28—M. Briand French Premier.
Nov. 5—Fall of Nish.
Nov. 22—Battle of Ctesiphon.
Nov. 29—British withdrew from Ctesiphon.
Dec. 2—Fall of Monastir.

Dec. 3—General Townshend at Kut.
Dec. 9—Allied retreat in Macedonia.
Dec. 13—Saloniki lines fortified.
Dec. 15—Haig British Commander in Chief.
Dec. 19—Withdrawal from Gallipoli.
Dec. 25—Turkish defeat at Kut.

1916

Jan. 8—Gallipoli evacuation complete.
Jan. 13—Fall of Cettigne.
Feb. 9—General Smuts appointed to East Africa.
Feb. 16—Russians entered Erzerum.
Feb. 18—German Kamerun conquered.
Feb. 21—Battle of Verdun begun.
Feb. 24—Germans took Fort Douaumont.
March 16—Admiral von Tirpitz dismissed.
April 9—German assault at Verdun.
April 17—Russians entered Trebizond.
April 24—Rebellion in Ireland.
April 29—Fall of Kut-el-Amara.
May 24—British Conscription bill passed.
May 31—Battle of Jutland.
June 4—General Brusiloff's offensive.
June 5—Lord Kitchener lost at sea.
June 14—Allied Economic Conference in Paris.
June 21—Mecca taken by Grand Sherif.
July 1—Somme battle begun.
July 25—Russians occupied Erzinjan.
Aug. 6—Italian offensive on Isonzo.
Aug. 9—Gorizia taken by Italians.
Aug. 10—Russians at Stanislau.
Aug. 27—Rumania entered the war.
Aug. 29—Hindenburg Chief of Staff.
Sept. 15—First use of "tanks" by British in battle of the Somme.
Sept. 26—British took Thiepval and Combles.
Oct. 10—Allied ultimatum to Greece.
Nov. 1—Italian advance on Carso.
Nov. 13—British victory on the Ancre.
Nov. 18—Serbians and French took Monastir.
Nov. 21—Charles I. succeeds Francis Joseph.
Nov. 29—Grand Fleet under Sir D. Beatty.
Dec. 1—Anti-allied riot in Athens.
Dec. 5—Resignation of Mr. Asquith.
Dec. 6—Germans entered Bucharest.
Dec. 7—Mr. Lloyd George Prime Minister.
Dec. 12—German "peace proposals."
Dec. 15—French victory at Verdun.
Dec. 20—President Wilson's peace note.

1917

Jan. 1—Turkey denounced Berlin Treaty.
Feb. 1—"Unrestricted" U-boat war begun.
Feb. 3—America broke with Germany.
Feb. 24—British recaptured Kut-el-Amara.
March 11—British entered Bagdad.
March 12—Revolution in Russia.
March 15—Abdication of the Czar.
March 18—British entered Péronne.
March 21—First British Imperial War Cabinet.
April 6—America declared war on Germany.
April 9—Battle of Vimy Ridge begun.
May 4—French took Craonne.
May 14—New Italian offensive.
May 15—General Pétain French Commander in Chief.
May 18—Selective draft law passed in United States.
June 7—British victory at Messines Ridge.
June 12—Abdication of King Constantine.
June 26—First American troops in France.
June 29—General Allenby commander in Egypt.
July 1—Last Russian offensive begun.
July 14—Bethmann Hollweg dismissed.
July 17—British Royal House styled "Windsor."
July 19—Reichstag "peace" resolution.
July 21—Kerensky in power at Petrograd.
July 24—Russian defeat in Galicia.
July 31—Great allied attack around Ypres.
Aug. 29—President Wilson's note to the Pope.
Sept. 4—Germans occupied Riga.
Sept. 15—Russian Republic proclaimed.
Sept. 28—British victory at Ramadieh.
Oct. 9—Allied attack in Flanders.
Oct. 24—Italian defeat at Caporetto.
Oct. 29—Fall of Udine.
Oct. 30—Chancellor Michaelis dismissed.
Oct. 31—British captured Beersheba.
Nov. 1—German retreat on Chemin des Dames. Hertling German Chancellor.
Nov. 4—British troops in Italy.
Nov. 6—British stormed Passchendaele Ridge.
Nov. 7—Lenine and Trotzky in power; Bolshevist coup d'état in Russia.
Nov. 9—Italian stand on the Piave.
Nov. 16—Clemenceau Ministry.
Nov. 17—British in Jaffa.
Nov. 18—General Maude's death in Mesopotamia.
Nov. 20—British victory at Cambrai.
Nov. 29—First plenary session of Interallied War Council.
Nov. 30—German success at Cambrai.
Dec. 6—Armistice on Russian front.
Dec. 10—British enter Jerusalem.
Dec. 22—Brest-Litovsk Conference opened.
Dec. 26—Sir R. Wemyss First Sea Lord.

1918

Jan. 8—President Wilson's fourteen points.
Jan. 20—Breslau sunk; Goeben damaged.
Feb. 1—Germany recognized Ukraine.
Feb. 9—Ukraine peace of Brest-Litovsk.
Feb. 18—German invasion of Russia.
Feb. 21—British capture Jericho.
Feb. 24—Turks recover Trebizond.
Feb. 25—Germans at Reval.
March 3—Russian peace of Brest-Litovsk.
March 7—German peace with Finland.
March 11—Turks recover Erzerum.
March 13—Germans at Odessa.
March 14—Brest-Litovsk Treaty ratified at Moscow.
March 21—German offensive in France.
March 28—First long-distance bombardment of Paris.
March 24—Bapaume and Péronne lost.
March 28—General Foch made allied Generalissimo.
April 5—Allied landing at Vladivostok.
April 11—Armentières lost.

April 13—Turks occupied Batum.
April 22—Naval raid on Zeebrugge and Ostend.
April 24—Battle for Amiens.
April 26—Kemmel Hill lost.
April 27—Turks occupied Kars.
April 30—Germans at Viborg.
May 1—Germans at Sebastopol.
May 7—Rumanian peace of Bucharest.
May 9—Second raid on Ostend.
May 27—Second German offensive.
May 29—Soissons lost; Rheims held.
May 31—Germans reached Marne.
June 1—Attacks toward Paris held.
June 9—New German assault.
June 15—Austrian offensive in Italy.
June 23—Great Austrian defeat.
July 2—One million Americans are in France.
July 15—Last German offensive. Second Marne battle begun.
July 16—Ex-Czar shot at Ekaterinburg.
July 18—General Foch's counterattack. Victorious Franco-American offensive on the Marne and Aisne.
July 20—Germans recrossed the Marne.
Aug. 2—Soissons recovered.
Aug. 8—British attack at Amiens.
Aug. 29—Bapaume and Noyon regained.
Sept. 1—Péronne recovered.
Sept. 2—Drocourt-Quéant line breached.
Sept. 12—American attack at St. Mihiel.
Sept. 15—Austrian peace note.
Sept. 17—New Macedonian offensive.
Sept. 25—Bulgaria proposed armistice.
Sept. 27—Hindenburg line broken.
Sept. 29—Bulgaria surrendered.
Sept. 30—Fall of Damascus. Chancellor Hertling resigns.
Oct. 1—St. Quentin regained.
Oct. 4—Abdication of King Ferdinand.
Oct. 9—Cambrai regained.
Oct. 13—French recovered Laon.
Oct. 14—British troops at Irkutsk.
Oct. 15—British in Homs.
Oct. 17—Ostend, Lille, Douai regained.
Oct. 19—Bruges reoccupied.
Oct. 20—Belgian coast clear.
Oct. 25—Ludendorff resigned.
Oct. 26—Aleppo fell to the Allies.
Oct. 27—Austria sued for peace.
Oct. 28—Italians crossed Piave.
Oct. 29—Serbians reached the Danube.
Oct. 30—Turkey granted armistice.
Nov. 1—Versailles Conference opened.
Nov. 2—British at Valenciennes.
Nov. 3—Austria surrenders. Kiel mutiny.
Nov. 4—Versailles armistice agreement.
Nov 5—Armistice powers for Marshal Foch. Mr. Wilson's last note to Germany.
Nov. 6—Americans reached Sedan.
Nov. 7—Bavarian Republic proclaimed.
Nov. 9—Foch received German envoys. Abdication of the Kaiser. Chancellor Prince Max resigned. Berlin revolution.
Nov. 10—Kaiser's flight to Holland. British at Mons.
Nov. 11—Armistice terms accepted by Germany.

Chronology of American Operations

General March's Official Record

GENERAL MARCH, American Chief of Staff, appended the following chronology to his annual report to Secretary Baker, made public Dec. 5, 1918. It is a complete official summary of the chief operations of the United States Army in France:

1918.

April 28-29—A sector in the vicinity of Breteuil, northwest of Montdidier, was occupied by the First Division.

May 28—Cantigny was captured by the First Division. A detachment of our troops, reinforced by French artillery, successfully attacked the enemy on a front of about 2,200 yards. We occupied Cantigny, captured some 200 prisoners, and inflicted severe losses on the enemy.

June 10—The Second Division attacked in Bois de Belleau, advancing the line 900 yards on a front of 1½ miles, capturing 300 prisoners, 30 machine guns, 4 trench mortars, and stores of small arms, ammunition, and equipment. Held all of Hill 204 down to the village on the northeast slope, thus preventing the enemy from concentrating his forces in the northern part of Château-Thierry.

June 11—The Second Division continued its advance in the Bois de Belleau, capturing more prisoners and machine guns and two 77 mm. fieldpieces.

Our aviators executed their first bombing raid, dropping numerous bombs on the railway station at Dommary-Baroncourt, northwest of Metz. All of our planes returned in safety.

The artillery of the Second Division shelled the enemy in their areas, preventing concentration near Torcy, Monthiérs, Hill 128, and La Gonetrie farm. It discovered and dispersed a group of 210 machine guns in the wood south of Etrepilly. The Second Division captured the last of the German positions in the Bois de Belleau, taking 50 prisoners, machine guns, and trench mortars.

July 18—French and American troops advanced under the cover of a heavy storm on the front between Soissons and

Château-Thierry. The greatest advance was in the northern part of the sector, where a depth of 5 miles was attained, and we reached the heights southwest of Soissons, dominating the railroad and highways.

July 24—The advance of the Franco-American forces continued, and in the evening the line ran east of Buzancy to Tigny, to Hartennes, Grand Rozoy, Ouichy-le-Château, Armentières, Coincy, Courpoil, and then joined the old line at Jaulgonne. West of Rheims Marfaux was retaken, and the line ran from Aubilly, through Mézy, and joined the old line at Coulommes.

July 25—The line ran from the Ourcq to the Marne, where the allied troops advanced 6 kilometers in the centre and 3 to 4 kilometers on the flanks. The line in the evening ran from Armentières to Bruyères, the eastern edge of the Bois de la Tournelle, the eastern edge of Beuvardes, the eastern edge of Le Charnel, the crossroads at Gros Chêne, la Boulangère, the northern edge of Treloup, Chassins.

July 26—The line ran: Nanteuil, Notre Dames, Hill 123, Hill 118, la Misère, Hill 100, southwestern part of Bois de la Tournelle, Hill 111, Le Charnel. Hard fighting continued all day and the French and Americans steadily advanced on Fère.

July 27—The Forty-second Division tried to cross the Ourcq, but was driven back by heavy artillery fire.

July 28—The Forty-second Division renewed the assault, crossed the river, and after vigorous fighting took Seringes-et-Nesles, Nesles, and Sergy.

The Twenty-eighth Division held the line about 1 kilometer north of the Ourcq. During the day slow progress was made, the enemy slowly falling back after bitter rearguard action.

July 29—Franco-American troops advanced 3 kilometers from Oulchy to Villers Agron, and Bougneux, Saponay, Seringes, Nesles, and Cierges were included within our lines.

July 30—Our pressure continued on the right bank of the Ourcq. The railroad station at Fère and Cayenne Farm remained in our possession. We lost Seringes-et-Nesles, but reoccupied Sergy, Hill 312, and the woods 8 kilometers north of Ronchères.

July 31—The Twenty-eighth Division retook Seringes-et-Nesles. The Thirty-second Division attacked in Crimpettes Woods with success; the woods were taken, and troops advanced to Cierges. German counterattacks were brilliantly repulsed with the bayonet, and an immense amount of material and equipment was taken from the enemy.

Aug. 3—After continuous fighting late in the evening Soissons was taken, and a line extending along the Vesle to between Braisne and Bazoches was being consolidated. South of the Aisne our troops drove back the enemy rear guard. Acting with the Fourth Division, the Thirty-second Division reached a line from Ville Savoye to a point just north of St. Gilles.

Aug. 4—A large enemy patrol attacked in the vicinity of Coulées, but was driven off by a combat group of the Fifth Division, which had been reinforced. Our troops were very active in patrolling, having sent out over seven reconnoissance, combat, and ambush patrols.

The Thirty-second Division took Fismes. In an eight-day battle this division forced the passage of the Ourcq, took prisoners from six enemy divisions, met, routed, and decimated a crack division of the Prussian Guards, a Bavarian division, and one other enemy division, and drove the enemy line back for 16 kilometers.

Aug. 6—The Twenty-eighth Division launched an attack the objective of which was the north bank of the Vesle. The attack was met by exceedingly heavy machine-gun and artillery fire. On the right our troops succeeded in crossing the river and advancing to the highway which runs from Rheims to Soissons. On the left the advance was held up by the enemy's fire.

Aug. 7—The units on the left advanced across the river and occupied the railroad lines on the north bank. The casualties resulting from this operation were considerable. A violent enemy counterattack was completely repulsed, and a number of prisoners and machine guns were left in our hands.

Aug. 8—As a result of successful operations on the evening of Aug. 8, 11 companies of infantry and some machine-gun detachments of the Twenty-eighth Division reached the north bank of the Vesle.

Aug. 10 — The Twenty-eighth Division launched an attack in Fismette. A creeping barrage moved ahead of them. They made some progress, but were soon exposed to flanking fire from both the east and the west and were forced to fall back into Fismette. The position here was very difficult. Flanking machine-gun fire came from both sides and heavy casualties were reported. A box barrage was placed around the town and ammunition was sent up. The town was held by one battalion, with one machine-gun platoon, which received orders to hold the position at all cost.

Aug. 17—After strong artillery preparation the infantry of the Fifth Division captured the village of Frapelle and consolidated the lines north of the road running into the town from the southeast.

Aug. 19—The enemy continued shelling Frapelle positions and the artillery of the Fifth Division replied actively.

Aug. 21—The Fifth Division repulsed hostile

attack with heavy loss to the enemy and with no casualties to ourselves.

The Thirty-second Division, acting with the Tenth French Army, advanced to and held Juvigny.

The Seventy-seventh Division cleared the small wood between the Vesle and the railroad west of Château du Diable.

Sept. 3—During the five days prior to Sept. 3 the Thirty-second Division made daily advances against the enemy, gaining 6 kilometers through very difficult terrain and against violent opposition. It captured 11 officers and 920 enlisted men. A large amount of guns and munitions was captured. A patrol of the Seventy-seventh Division penetrated to Bazoches.

Sept. 5—French and American units advanced in the Oise-Rheims area as far as Condê. Strong patrols of the Seventy-seventh Division were pushed forward north of the Vesle and were encountered by machine-gun resistance. Other casualties were slight.

The Twenty-eighth Division crossed the Vesle in force and pursued the enemy to the north.

Sept. 6—The artillery of the Twenty-eighth Division directed harassing and destructive fire on the Aisne bridges, while the enemy harassed the villages in our rear areas, using a great number of gas shells.

Sept. 7—The Twenty-eighth Division repulsed two enemy counterattacks. The Seventy-seventh Division drove the enemy out of La Cendière Farm and passed the Aisne Canal.

Sept. 12—After four hours' bombardment our troops advanced on the south and west flanks of the St. Mihiel salient at 5 A. M. By 7:30 A. M. the forces operating on the south had reached the southern edge of the Bois Juli, the Quart de Réserve, and the northern edge of the Bois de Mort Mare. By noon they had reached Essey and Vieville and the army operating in the difficult ground in the west had captured Les Eparges. At 6 P. M. the troops had reached a point one kilometer east of Senzey and had taken St. Remy and Combres. During the night the troops on the western flank of the salient advanced 5 miles in five hours, reaching Vigneulles by 3 A. M.

Sept. 14—There was a general advance along the entire line, and the American Army established itself on the following front: Manheulles, Fresnes, Pintheville, St. Hilaire, Doncourt, northeast of Woel, south end of the Etang de Lachaussée, Vandières, and across the Moselle at Champey.

Sept. 17—American troops advanced along the Moselle within 300 yards of Paguy.

Sept. 18—The Twenty-sixth Division made two raids during the night. One against St. Hilaire was without result, as the enemy had retired; the other against the Bois de Warville resulted in the capture of 15 prisoners.

Sept. 19—The Ninety-second Division repulsed an attempted enemy raid in the St. Die sector.

Sept. 20—The Ninety-second Division repulsed two enemy raids in the region of Lesseux.

Sept. 26—The First Army attacked northwest of Verdun on a front of 20 miles and penetrated to an average depth of 7 miles.

Sept. 27—The One Hundred and Seventh Regiment of the Twenty-seventh Division attacked east of Bellicourt and attained its objectives.

Sept. 29—In the Argonne the Americans met with furious resistance. Their losses were heavy, and they were unable to do more than hold their own.

Sept. 30—The Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth Divisions took prisoners north of St. Quentin totaling 210 officers and more than 1,200 men.

Oct. 1—The Twenty-eighth Division repulsed a hostile counterattack on the entire divisional front in the Aire Valley, with very heavy losses to the enemy.

Oct. 3—The Second Division, operating with the Fourth French Army, made an advance of 2 kilometers, reaching Medéah Farm in the afternoon. In the evening the Second Division advanced about 5 kilometers, and their line ran from Medéah Farm southwest along the road to Blanc Mont. They captured 1,000 prisoners, and casualties were estimated at 500.

Oct. 4—The First Division attacked on both sides of Exermont, and made progress in spite of strong opposition from the enemy, who resisted with machine guns in organized opposition. Approximately 300 prisoners were taken, and our casualties were 1,500.

Oct. 5—The First Division captured Ariétal Farm, and the line was advanced 400 yards beyond. The Sixth Division repulsed a large enemy raid on Sondernach.

Oct. 7—A brigade of the Eighty-second Division advanced 7 kilometers, occupying Hill 223, north of Chatel Chéhéry; 46 prisoners were captured, including 1 officer. Our casualties were light. Later the enemy counterattacked and occupied Hill 223, north of Chatel Chéhéry.

Oct. 8—The Sixty-ninth Brigade of the Thirtieth Division attacked at 5 A. M. over a front of 5,000 yards, gained all first objectives by 9 A. M., and second objectives by noon. Fifty officers, 1,500 men, and four 101-millimeter guns were taken.

Oct. 8-9—The Second Corps advanced about 7 miles on a front of 4,000 yards and captured about 2,000 prisoners and 30 guns.

Oct. 9—In spite of strong resistance the First Division advanced in the sector east of Fléville and captured 230 prisoners.

The Thirty-third Division, operating with the Seventeenth French Army Corps, attacked early in the morning north of

Consenoye and reached its final objective about 9 A. M. About 650 prisoners were taken.

Oct. 10—The First Corps reached Cornay-La Besogne Ridge and passed Malassise Farm, east of Grand Ham. The Sixtieth Brigade of the Thirtieth Division advanced 6 kilometers, reaching the Selle River, and held the St. Benin-St. Souplet-La Haie-Menneresse line. Up to the evening of the 9th, 50 officers, 1,800 men, and 32 guns were captured.

Oct. 12—The Fourth Division repulsed two counterattacks by machine-gun fire, with severe loss to the enemy.

Oct. 13—An attack on Grandpré this morning met very heavy machine-gun fire, and troops of the Second Corps were finally forced to retire south of the Aire. A hostile counterattack at 8 P. M. south of Landres-et-St. Georges was repulsed.

The Eighty-first Division repulsed an enemy raid in St. Die sector.

The Seventy-seventh Division took Grandpré.

Oct. 17—The Twenty-ninth Division advanced to the summit of Bois de la Grand Montagne, east of the Meuse.

The Forty-second Division took Côte de Châtillon.

The Second Battalion of the Seventy-sixth Division reached the northern edge of Bois des Loges, west of Champigneulle.

In an attack on a 4,000-yard front from St. Souplet to Molain our troops advanced 3,000 yards against very stiff resistance. All counterattacks repulsed. Prisoners taken were estimated at 2,500.

Oct. 19—The Thirtieth Division attacked with the British at dawn and advanced 2,000 yards. Prisoners captured since the morning of the 17th totaled 44 officers and over 1,500 men.

The Seventy-eighth Division pushed its lines forward to Bellejoyeuse Farm and began to mop up the Bois des Loges.

Oct. 21—In attacks on the Bois des Rappes the Fifth Division met with stubborn resistance by machine guns, supported by artillery and infantry fire. It captured the entire position, with 170 prisoners, including 5 officers. An enemy counterattack, supported by heavy artillery fire, was repulsed with heavy losses.

The Fifth and Third Divisions took Hill 297 and Bois des Rappes.

Attacking in the evening, the Eighty-ninth Division occupied the northern and eastern edge of the Bois de Banthéville.

Oct. 23—Troops of the Third Corps reached the north ridge of the village of Banthéville, taking 171 prisoners.

The Twenty-ninth Division captured the ridge of the Bois d'Etrayes and Hill 361.

Oct. 27—The Seventy-eighth Division entered Bellejoyeuse Farm, northeast of Grandpré, and found it unoccupied. The occupation of the right of way north and northwest of Grandpré was completed.

Oct. 30—Patrols were active along the entire front of the Twenty-eighth Division. The Thirty-third Division, in the face of heavy artillery and machine-gun fire, north of Grandpré advanced its lines and occupied the Bellejoyeuse Farm. On Oct. 30 2,000 high explosive and gun shells fell in the vicinity of Fresnes. One of the divisional patrols captured five prisoners.

Nov. 1—The troops of the First Army captured Clery-le-Grand. North of Ancreville they took 53 additional prisoners and continued their advance into the Bois de Banthéville. During the night of Nov. 1-2 the troops of the Thirty-seventh Division consolidated their positions and effected a crossing of the River Scheldt, confronted by enemy machine-gun and rifle fire. The Ninety-first Division, supported by artillery and machine-gun fire, rapidly advanced over 6 kilometers in spite of enemy artillery and machine-gun fire. The enemy was driven from the west bank of the Scheldt and at noon the heights northwest of Audenarde were taken.

Nov. 2—In the evening the troops of the Seventy-eighth Division drove the enemy from the Bois des Loges and closely followed his retreat. The Ninety-second Division, in spite of machine-gun resistance, pushed forward and advanced the line 3 kilometers.

Nov. 3—The Ninety-first Division, in spite of active machine-gun resistance, forced its way toward the bank of the Scheldt in the vicinity of Eyne.

Nov. 4—A brigade of the Seventy-ninth Division attacked an enemy sector, taking 81 prisoners and 8 machine guns, encountering strong resistance and repulsing several counterattacks.

Nov. 5—The troops of the Seventy-seventh Division engaged in severe fighting, and overcame strong enemy resistance along the entire line. The artillery was active, firing on the enemy's retreating columns. Harassing artillery fire was returned by the enemy. Aviation was active on both sides. The enemy flew over our front lines and delivered machine-gun fire on our advancing troops. Two enemy planes were brought down.

Nov. 6—Our troops of the First Corps continued their successful advance, forcing the enemy to retire. The towns of Flabas, Raucourt, Haraucourt, and Autrecourt were taken, and patrols pushed on as far as the Meuse. Large quantities of matériel were captured during the advance.

Following heavy bombardment on the enemy's divisions the troops of the Fifth Division attacked, rapidly overcoming the enemy's resistance, capturing Liondevant-Dun, Murvaux, Fontaine, and

Vilosnes-sur-Meuse, taking more than 250 prisoners.

Nov. 7—The troops of the Second Division cleared the west bank of the Meuse of the remaining machine guns and snipers in the vicinity of Mouzon. The Fifth Division, supported by artillery fire, continued its advance despite the enemy's continued resistance, principally with machine guns. Most of the artillery crossed to the east bank of the Meuse, following in support of the infantry. Additional prisoners were taken, including 2 officers and 132 men.

Nov. 8—The patrols of the Second Division crossed the Meuse south of Mouzon. The troops of the Thirty-third Division, aided by barrage fire, carried out a successful raid on Château Aulnois, capturing 1 officer and 22 men. Strong combat patrols were sent out from the lines of the Ninety-second Division (colored.) Prisoners were captured and casualties inflicted on the enemy.

Nov. 9—During midnight the patrols of the Fifth Division drove back the enemy, inflicting many casualties and capturing 6 prisoners. The troops consolidated, and, despite stubborn resistance, principally from machine guns, drove the enemy from Bois du Canol and La Sentinelle and captured Brandeville. In these operations 47 prisoners, 125 machine guns, and other matériel were captured. A strong combat patrol was active along the entire front of the Thirty-third Division, meeting with heavy machine-gun resistance from the enemy, and a patrol of one company captured 8 prisoners in the Bois de Warville. The troops of the Seventy-ninth Division advanced in a generally northeasterly direction, with the right flank in Bois de Damvillers. The Forty-second and units of the First seized the heights south of Sedan.

Nov. 10—The Thirty-third Division carried out a successful raid on Marcheville, occupying the town and taking 80 prisoners, including 3 officers. Strong patrols from the line engaged in sharp fighting. The Thirty-seventh Division, operating with the Thirty-fourth French Army Corps, attacked in order to force a crossing of the Scheldt. Violent enfilading machine-gun fire, heavy artillery, and the flooded condition of the terrain delayed the construction of bridges and crossings. In the face of continuous heavy artillery fire, supported by machine guns, the troops advanced about 2 kilometers. The Ninetieth Division advanced toward Sudlon, encountering no resistance. The Ninety-second Division reached Bois Trehaut and captured 710 prisoners.

Nov. 11—The Third Division advanced 3 kilometers east of Bréhéville. Despite increased resistance by machine-gun and artillery fire, the Fifth Division continued to advance, capturing 18 prisoners, 3 large-calibre guns, 6 minenwerfers, and considerable matériel. In accordance with the terms of the armistice, hostilities on the front of the American armies ceased at 11 A. M.

General Wood to His Men at Camp Funston

Major Gen. Leonard Wood, whose lot it was to train young soldiers in a cantonment at home instead of winning glory in France, gave this memorable message to each man mustered out at Camp Funston, Kansas:

In the performance of military duty to one's country in time of war it is not for the citizen called to the colors to select the kind of service to be done by him. One who has willingly and loyally responded to the call to arms, and who has put his best efforts, mental and physical, into the training, and performed all military duties required of him to the best of his ability, standing ready always to make the supreme sacrifice of life itself, if need be, has done all that a good citizen and soldier could do to insure the successful prosecution of the war.

Although I appreciate how keenly you feel the disappointment of your failure to secure duty overseas in the actual battle area, I know you rejoice together with all Americans in the prospect of a righteous and just peace imposed upon the enemy and the termination of the terrible conflict which has involved the whole civilized world. You have done your best. You have cheerfully and loyally discharged the clear duty of every citizen in time of war and your work has been a part of the great national effort which has aided in securing a victorious peace.

You are discharged from the army because your services are no longer required in the present emergency. You will return to your place in civil life all the better for the training you have had, and I feel sure you will take with you a better and higher appreciation of the obligations of citizenship, including the obligation of every man to be trained, prepared, and ready to render service to the nation in war as well as in peace.

General Pershing's Official Story

Battles Fought by American Armies in France From Their Organization to the Fall of Sedan

[Cabled by General Pershing to Mr. Baker, Secretary of War, and Made Public With His Annual Report, Dec. 5, 1918]

November 20, 1918.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: In response to your request, I have the honor to submit this brief summary of the organization and operation of the American Expeditionary Force from May 26, 1917, until the signing of the armistice Nov. 11, 1918. Pursuant to your instructions, immediately upon receiving my orders I selected a small staff and proceeded to Europe in order to become familiar with conditions at the earliest possible moment.

The warmth of our reception in England and France was only equaled by the readiness of the Commanders in Chief of the veteran armies of the Allies, and their staffs, to place their experience at our disposal. In consultation with them the most effective means of co-operation of effort was considered. With the French and British Armies at their maximum strength, and when all efforts to dispossess the enemy from his firmly intrenched positions in Belgium and France had failed, it was necessary to plan for an American force adequate to turn the scale in favor of the Allies. Taking account of the strength of the Central Powers at that time, the immensity of the problem which confronted us could hardly be overestimated. The first requisite being an organization that could give intelligent direction to effort, the formation of a General Staff occupied my early attention.

A well-organized General Staff, through which the Commander exercises his functions, is essential to a successful modern army. However capable our division, our battalion, and our companies as such, success would be impossible without thoroughly co-ordinated endeavor. A General Staff broadly organized and trained for war had not hitherto existed in our army. Under the Commander in Chief, this staff must carry out the policy and direct the details of administration, supply, preparation, and operations of the army as a whole, with all special branches and bureaus subject to its control. As models to aid us we had the veteran French General Staff and the experience of the British, who had similarly formed an organization to meet the demands of a great army. By selecting from each the features best adapted to our basic organization, and fortified by our own early experience in the war, the development of our great General Staff system was completed.

The General Staff is naturally divided into five groups, each with its chief, who is an assistant to the Chief of the General Staff. G. 1 is in charge of organization and equipment of troops, replacements, tonnage, priority of overseas shipment, the auxiliary welfare association, and cognate subjects; G. 2 has censorsnip, enemy intelligence, gathering and disseminating information, preparation of maps, and all similar subjects; G. 3 is charged with all strategic studies and plans, movement of troops, and the supervision of combat operations; G. 4 co-ordinates important questions of supply, construction, transport arrangements for combat, and of the operations of the service of supply, and of hospitalization and the evacuation of the sick and wounded; G. 5 supervises the various schools and has general direction and coordination of education and training.

The first Chief of Staff was Colonel (now Major Gen.) James G. Harbord, who was succeeded in March, 1918, by Major Gen. James W. McAndrew. To these officers, to the Deputy Chief of Staff, and to the Assistant Chiefs of Staff, who, as heads of sections, aided them, great credit is due for the results obtained, not only in perfecting the General Staff organization, but in applying correct principles to the multiplicity of problems that have arisen.

ORGANIZATION AND TRAINING

After a thorough consideration of allied organizations, it was decided that our combat division should consist of four regiments of infantry of 3,000 men, with three battalions to a regiment and four companies of 250 men each to a battalion, and of an artillery brigade of three regiments, a machine-gun bat-

talion, an engineer regiment, a trench-mortar battery, a signal battalion, wagon trains, and the headquarters staffs and military police. These, with medical and other units, made a total of over 28,000 men, or practically double the size of a French or German division. Each corps would normally consist of six divisions—four combat and one depot and one replacement division—and also two regiments of cavalry, and each army of from three to five corps. With four divisions fully trained, a corps could take over an American sector with two divisions in line and two in reserve, with the depot and replacement divisions prepared to fill the gaps in the ranks.

Our purpose was to prepare an integral American force which should be able to take the offensive in every respect. Accordingly, the development of a self-reliant infantry by thorough drill in the use of the rifle and in the tactics of open warfare was always uppermost. The plan of training after arrival in France allowed a division one month for acclimatization and instruction in small units from battalions down, a second month in quiet trench sectors by battalion, and a third month after it came out of the trenches when it should be trained as a complete division in war of movement.

Very early a system of schools was outlined and started which should have the advantage of instruction by officers direct from the front. At the great school centre at Langres, one of the first to be organized, was the staff school, where the principles of general staff work, as laid down in our own organization, were taught to carefully selected officers. Men in the ranks who had shown qualities of leadership were sent to the school of candidates for commissions. A school of the line taught younger officers the principles of leadership, tactics, and the use of the different weapons. In the artillery school, at Saumur, young officers were taught the fundamental principles of modern artillery; while at Issoudun an immense plant was built for training cadets in aviation. These and other schools, with their well-considered curriculums for training in every branch of our organization, were co-ordinated in a manner best to develop an efficient army out of willing and industrious young men, many of whom had not before known even the rudiments of military technique. Both Marshal Haig and General Pétain placed officers and men at our disposal for instructional purposes, and we are deeply indebted for the opportunities given to profit by their veteran experience.

AMERICAN ZONE

The eventual place the American Army should take on the western front was to a large extent influenced by the vital questions of communication and supply. The northern ports of France were crowded by the British Armies' shipping and supplies, while the southern ports, though otherwise at our service, had not adequate port facilities for our purposes, and these we should have to build. The already overtaxed railway system behind the active front in Northern France would not be available for us as lines of supply, and those leading from the southern ports of Northeastern France would be unequal to our needs without much new construction. Practically all warehouses, supply depots and regulating stations must be provided by fresh constructions. While France offered us such material as she had to spare after a drain of three years, enormous quantities of material had to be brought across the Atlantic.

With such a problem any temporization or lack of definiteness in making plans might cause failure even with victory within our grasp. Moreover, broad plans commensurate with our national purpose and resources would bring conviction of our power to every soldier in the front line, to the nations associated with us in the war, and to the enemy. The tonnage for material for necessary construction for the supply of an army of three and perhaps four million men would require a mammoth program of shipbuilding at home, and miles of dock construction in France, with a corresponding large project for additional railways and for storage depots.

All these considerations led to the inevitable conclusion that if we were to handle and supply the great forces deemed essential to win the war we must utilize the southern ports of France—Bordeaux, La Pallice, St. Nazaire, and Brest—and the comparatively unused railway systems leading therefrom to the northeast. Generally speaking, then, this would contemplate the use of our forces against the enemy somewhere in that direction, but the great depots of supply must be centrally located, preferably in the area included by Tours, Bourges, and Châteauroux, so that our armies could be supplied with equal facility wherever they might be serving on the western front.

GROWTH OF SUPPLY SERVICE

To build up such a system there were talented men in the Regular Army, but more experts were necessary than the army could furnish. Thanks to the patriotic spirit of our people at home, there came from civil life men trained for every sort of work involved in building and managing the organization necessary to handle and transport such an army and keep it supplied. With such assistance the construction and general development of our plans have kept pace with the growth of the forces, and the Service of Supply is now able to discharge from ships and move 45,000 tons daily, besides transporting troops and material in the conduct of active operations.

As to organization, all the administrative and supply services, except the Adjutant General's, Inspector General's, and Judge Advocate General's Departments, which remain at general headquarters, have been

transferred to the headquarters of the services of supplies at Tours under a commanding General responsible to the Commander in Chief for supply of the armies. The Chief Quartermaster, Chief Surgeon, Chief Signal Officer, Chief of Ordnance, Chief of Air Service, Chief of Chemical Warfare, the general purchasing agent in all that pertains to questions of procurement and supply, the Provost Marshal General in the maintenance of order in general, the Director General of Transportation in all that affects such matters, and the Chief Engineer in all matters of administration and supply, are subordinate to the Commanding General of the Service of Supply, who, assisted by a staff especially organized for the purpose, is charged with the administrative co-ordination of all these services.

The transportation department under the Service of Supply directs the operation, maintenance, and construction of railways, the operation of terminals, the unloading of ships, and transportation of material to warehouses or to the front. Its functions make necessary the most intimate relationship between our organization and that of the French, with the practical result that our transportation department has been able to improve materially the operations of railways generally. Constantly laboring under a shortage of rolling stock, the transportation department has nevertheless been able by efficient management to meet every emergency.

The Engineer Corps is charged with all construction, including light railways and roads. It has planned and constructed the many projects required, the most important of which are the new wharves at Bordeaux and Nantes, and the immense storage depots at La Pallice, Mointoir, and Glèvres, besides innumerable hospitals and barracks in various ports of France. These projects have all been carried on by phases keeping pace with our needs. The Forestry Service under the Engineer Corps has cut the greater part of the timber and railway ties required.

To meet the shortage of supplies from America, due to lack of shipping, the representatives of the different supply departments were constantly in search of available material and supplies in Europe. In order to co-ordinate these purchases and to prevent competition between our departments, a general purchasing agency was created early in our experience to co-ordinate our purchases and, if possible, induce our allies to apply the principle among the allied armies. While there was no authority for the general use of appropriations, this was met by grouping the purchasing representatives of the different departments under one control, charged with the duty of consolidating requisitions and purchases. Our efforts to extend the principle have been signally successful, and all purchases for the allied armies are now on an equitable and co-operative basis. Indeed, it may be said that the work of this bureau has been thoroughly efficient and businesslike.

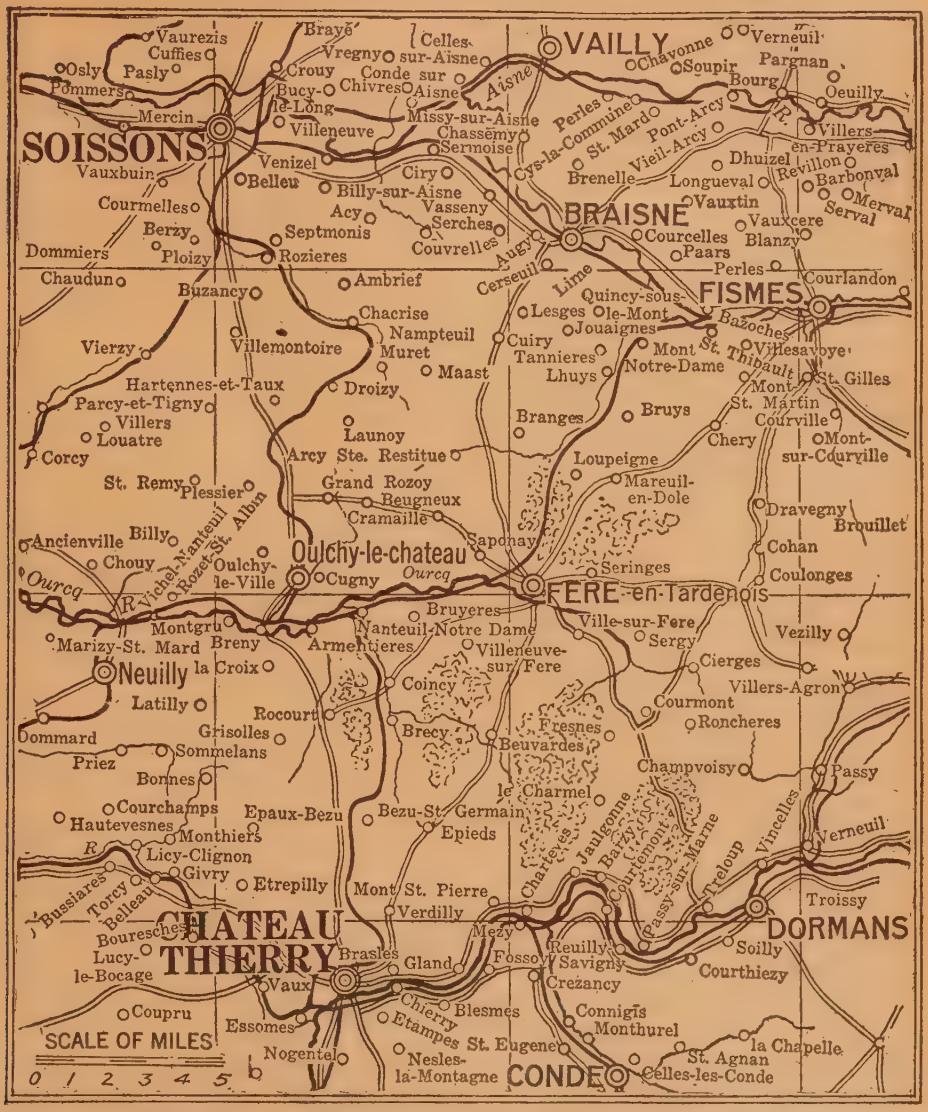
ARTILLERY, AIRPLANES, TANKS

Our entry into the war found us with few of the auxiliaries necessary for its conduct in the modern sense. Among our most important deficiencies in material were artillery, aviation, and tanks. In order to meet our requirements as rapidly as possible, we accepted the offer of the French Government to provide us with the necessary artillery equipment of seventy-fives, one fifty-five millimeter howitzers, and one fifty-five G. P. F. guns from their own factories for thirty divisions. The wisdom of this course is fully demonstrated by the fact that, although we soon began the manufacture of these classes of guns at home, there were no guns of the calibres mentioned manufactured in America on our front at the date the armistice was signed. The only guns of these types produced at home thus far received in France are 109 seventy-five millimeter guns.

In aviation we were in the same situation, and here again the French Government came to our aid until our own aviation program should be under way. We obtained from the French the necessary planes for training our personnel, and they have provided us with a total of 2,676 pursuit, observation, and bombing planes. The first airplanes received from home arrived in May, and altogether we have received 1,379. The first American squadron completely equipped by American production, including airplanes, crossed the German lines on Aug. 7, 1918. As to tanks, we were also compelled to rely upon the French. Here, however, we were less fortunate, for the reason that the French production could barely meet the requirements of their own armies.

It should be fully realized that the French Government has always taken a most liberal attitude, and has been most anxious to give us every possible assistance in meeting our deficiencies in these as well as in other respects. Our dependence upon France for artillery, aviation, and tanks was, of course, due to the fact that our industries had not been exclusively devoted to military production. All credit is due our own manufacturers for their efforts to meet our requirements, as at the time the armistice was signed we were able to look forward to the early supply of practically all our necessities from our own factories.

The welfare of the troops touches my responsibility as Commander in Chief to the mothers and fathers and kindred of the men who came to France in the impressionable period of youth. They could not have the privilege accorded European soldiers during their periods of leave of visiting their families and renewing their home ties. Fully realizing that the standard of conduct that should be established for them must have a permanent influence in their lives and on the character of their future citizenship, the Red



SCENE OF FIRST HEAVY FIGHTING BY GENERAL PERSHING'S FORCES, BEGINNING WITH THE RETAKING OF CHATEAU-THIERRY AND THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE MARINES IN BELLEAU WOOD

Cross, the Young Men's Christian Association, Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army, and the Jewish Welfare Board, as auxiliaries in this work, were encouraged in every possible way. The fact that our soldiers, in a land of different customs and language, have borne themselves in a manner in keeping with the cause for which they fought, is due not only to the efforts in their behalf, but much more to their high ideals, their discipline, and their innate sense of self-respect. It should be recorded, however, that the members of these welfare societies have been untiring in their desire to be of real service to our officers and men. The patriotic devotion of these representative men and women has given a new significance to the Golden Rule, and we owe to them a debt of gratitude that can never be repaid.

COMBAT OPERATIONS

During our period of training in the trenches some of our divisions had engaged the enemy in local combats, the most important of which was Seicheprey by the 26th on April 20, in the Toul sector, but none had participated in action as a unit. The 1st Division, which had passed through the preliminary stages of training, had gone to the trenches for its first period of instruction

at the end of October, and by March 21, when the German offensive in Picardy began, we had four divisions with experience in the trenches, all of which were equal to any demands of battle action. The crisis which this offensive developed was such that our occupation of an American sector must be postponed.

On March 28 I placed at the disposal of Marshal Foch, who had been agreed upon as Commander in Chief of the Allied Armies, all of our forces, to be used as he might decide. At his request the 1st Division was transferred from the Toul sector to a position in reserve at Chaumont en Vexin. As German superiority in numbers required prompt action, an agreement was reached at the Abbeville conference of the allied Premiers and commanders and myself on May 2 by which British shipping was to transport ten American divisions to the British Army area, where they were to be trained and equipped, and additional British shipping was to be provided for as many divisions as possible for use elsewhere.

On April 26 the 1st Division had gone into the line in the Montdidier salient on the Picardy battlefront. Tactics had been suddenly revolutionized to those of open warfare, and our men, confident of the results of their training, were eager for the test. On the morning of May 28 this division attacked the commanding German position in its front, taking with splendid dash the town of Cantigny and all other objectives, which were organized and held steadfastly against vicious counterattacks and galling artillery fire. Although local, this brilliant action had an electrical effect, as it demonstrated our fighting qualities under extreme battle conditions, and also that the enemy's troops were not altogether invincible.

HOLDING THE MARNE

The Germans' Aisne offensive, which began on May 27, had advanced rapidly toward the River Marne and Paris, and the Allies faced a crisis equally as grave as that of the Picardy offensive in March. Again every available man was placed at Marshal Foch's disposal, and the 3d Division, which had just come from its preliminary training in the trenches, was hurried to the Marne. Its motorized machine-gun battalion preceded the other units and successfully held the bridgehead at the Marne, opposite Château-Thierry. The 2d Division, in reserve near Montdidier, was sent by motor trucks and other available transport to check the progress of the enemy toward Paris. The division attacked and retook the town and railroad station at Bouresches and sturdily held its ground against the enemy's best guard divisions. In the battle of Belleau Wood, which followed, our men proved their superiority and gained a strong tactical position, with far greater loss to the enemy than to ourselves. On July 1, before the 2d was relieved, it captured the village of Vaux with most splendid precision.

Meanwhile our 2d Corps, under Major Gen. George W. Read, had been organized for the command of our divisions with the British, which were held back in training areas or assigned to second-line defenses. Five of the ten divisions were withdrawn from the British area in June, three to relieve divisions in Lorraine and in the Vosges and two to the Paris area to join the group of American divisions which stood between the city and any further advance of the enemy in that direction.

The great June-July troop movement from the States was well under way, and, although these troops were to be given some preliminary training before being put into action, their very presence warranted the use of all the older divisions in the confidence that we did not lack reserves. Elements of the 42d Division were in the line east of Rheims against the German offensive of July 15, and held their ground unflinchingly. On the right flank of this offensive four companies of the 28th Division were in position in face of the advancing waves of the German infantry. The 3d Division was holding the bank of the Marne from the bend east of the mouth of the Surmelin to the west of Mézy, opposite Château-Thierry, where a large force of German infantry sought to force a passage under support of powerful artillery concentrations and under cover of smoke screens. A single regiment of the 3d wrote one of the most brilliant pages in our military annals on this occasion. It prevented the crossing at certain points on its front while, on either flank, the Germans, who had gained a footing, pressed forward. Our men, firing in three directions, met the German attacks with counterattacks at critical points and succeeded in throwing two German divisions into complete confusion, capturing 600 prisoners.

OFFENSIVE OF JULY 18

The great force of the German Château-Thierry offensive established the deep Marne salient, but the enemy was taking chances, and the vulnerability of this pocket to attack might be turned to his disadvantage. Seizing this opportunity to support my conviction, every division with any sort of training was made available for use in a counteroffensive. The place of honor in the thrust toward Soissons on July 18 was given to our 1st and 2d Divisions in company with chosen French divisions. Without the usual brief warning of a preliminary bombardment, the massed French and American artillery, firing by the map, laid down its rolling barrage at dawn while the infantry began its charge. The tactical handling of our troops under these trying conditions was excellent throughout the action. The enemy brought up large numbers of reserves and made a stubborn defense both with machine guns and artillery, but through five days' fighting

the 1st Division continued to advance until it had gained the heights above Soissons and captured the village of Berzy-le-Sec. The 2d Division took Beau Repaire Farm and Vierzy in a very rapid advance and reached a position in front of Tigny at the end of its second day. These two divisions captured 7,000 prisoners and over 100 pieces of artillery.

The 26th Division, which, with a French division, was under command of our 1st Corps, acted as a pivot of the movement toward Soissons. On the 18th it took the village of Torcy, while the 3d Division was crossing the Marne in pursuit of the retiring enemy. The 26th attacked again on the 21st, and the enemy withdrew past the Château-Thierry-Soissons road. The 3d Division, continuing its progress, took the heights of Mont St. Père and the villages of Chartèves and Jaulgonne in the face of both machine-gun and artillery fire.

On the 24th, after the Germans had fallen back from Trugny and Epieds, our 42d Division, which had been brought over from the Champagne, relieved the 26th, and, fighting its way through the Forêt de Fère, overwhelmed the nest of machine guns in its path. By the 27th it had reached the Ourcq, whence the 3d and 4th Divisions were already advancing, while the French divisions with which we were co-operating were moving forward at other points.

The 3d Division had made its advance into Ronchères Wood on the 29th and was relieved for rest by a brigade of the 32d. The 42d and 32d undertook the task of conquering the heights beyond Cierges, the 42d capturing Sergy and the 32d capturing Hill 230, both American divisions joining in the pursuit of the enemy to the Vesle, and thus the operation of reducing the salient was finished. Meanwhile the 42d was relieved by the 4th at Chéry-Chartreuve, and the 32d by the 28th, while the 77th Division took up a position on the Vesle. The operations of these divisions on the Vesle were under the 3d Corps, Major Gen. Robert L. Bullard commanding.

BATTLE OF ST. MIHIEL

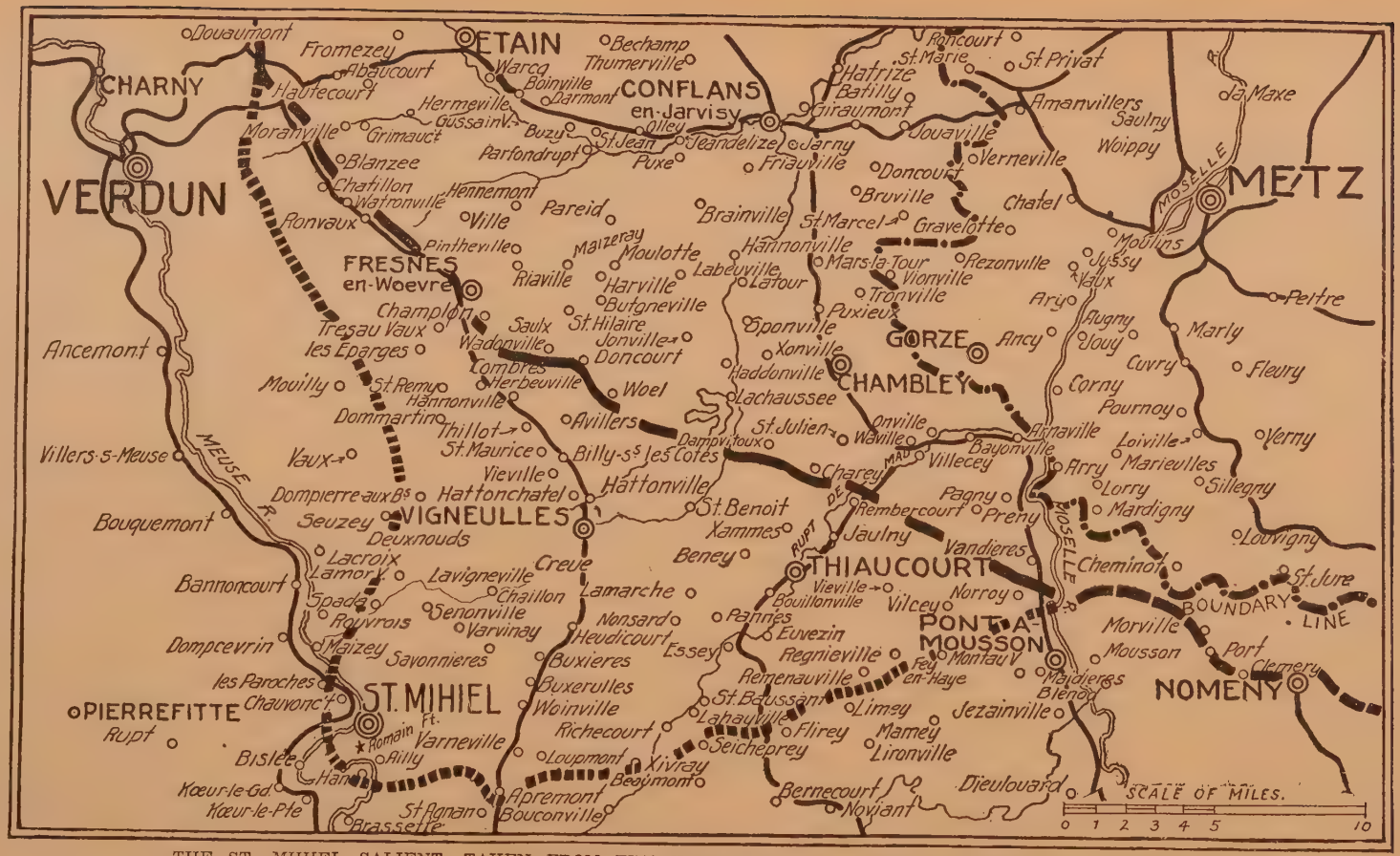
With the reduction of the Marne salient, we could look forward to the concentration of our divisions in our own zone. In view of the forthcoming operation against the St. Mihiel salient, which had long been planned as our first offensive action on a large scale, the First Army was organized on Aug. 10 under my personal command. While American units had held different divisional and corps sectors along the western front, there had not been up to this time, for obvious reasons, a distinct American sector; but, in view of the important parts the American forces were now to play, it was necessary to take over a permanent portion of the line. Accordingly, on Aug. 30, the line beginning at Port sur Seille, east of the Moselle and extending to the west through St. Mihiel, thence north to a point opposite Verdun, was placed under my command. The American sector was afterward extended across the Meuse to the western edge of the Argonne Forest, and included the 2d Colonial French, which held the point of the salient, and the 17th French Corps, which occupied the heights above Verdun.

The preparation for a complicated operation against the formidable defenses in front of us included the assembling of divisions and of corps and army artillery, transport, aircraft, tanks, ambulances, the location of hospitals, and the molding together of all the elements of a great modern army with its own railheads, supplied directly by our own Service of Supply. The concentration for this operation, which was to be a surprise, involved the movement, mostly at night, of approximately 600,000 troops, and required for its success the most careful attention to every detail.

The French were generous in giving us assistance in corps and army artillery, with its personnel, and we were confident from the start of our superiority over the enemy in guns of all calibres. Our heavy guns were able to reach Metz and to interfere seriously with German rail movements. The French Independent Air Force was placed under my command, which, together with the British bombing squadrons and our air forces, gave us the largest assembly of aviators that had ever been engaged in one operation on the western front.

From Les Eparges around the nose of the salient at St. Mihiel to the Moselle River the line was, roughly, forty miles long and situated on commanding ground greatly strengthened by artificial defenses. Our 1st Corps, (82d, 90th, 5th, and 2d Divisions,) under command of Major Gen. Hunter Liggett, resting its right on Pont-à-Mousson, with its left joining our 3d Corps, (the 89th, 42d, and 1st Divisions,) under Major Gen. Joseph T. Dickman, in line to Xivray, was to swing toward Vigneulles on the pivot of the Moselle River for the initial assault. From Xivray to Mouilly the 2d Colonial French Corps was in line in the centre, and our 5th Corps, under command of Major Gen. George H. Cameron, with our 26th Division and a French division at the western base of the salient, was to attack three difficult hills—Les Eparges, Combres, and Amaranthe. Our 1st Corps had in reserve the 78th Division, our 4th Corps the 3d Division, and our First Army the 35th and 91st Divisions, with the 80th and 33d available. It should be understood that our corps organizations are very elastic, and that we have at no time had permanent assignments of divisions to corps.

After four hours' artillery preparation, the seven American divisions in the front line advanced at 5 A. M. on Sept. 12, assisted by a limited number of tanks, manned partly by Americans and partly by French. These divisions, accompanied by groups of wire cutters and others armed with bangalore torpedoes, went through the successive bands



THE ST. MIHIEL SALIENT, TAKEN FROM THE ENEMY BY THE AMERICAN FIRST ARMY, SEPT. 12, 1918

of barbed wire that protected the enemy's front-line and support trenches in irresistible waves on schedule time, breaking down all defense of an enemy demoralized by the great volume of our artillery fire and our sudden approach out of the fog.

Our 1st Corps advanced to Thiaucourt, while our 4th Corps curved back to the southwest through Nonsard. The 2d Colonial French Corps made the slight advance required of it on very difficult ground, and the 5th Corps took its three ridges and repulsed a counterattack. A rapid march brought reserve regiments of a division of the 5th Corps into Vigneulles and beyond Fresnes-en-Woevre. At the cost of only 7,000 casualties, mostly light, we had taken 16,000 prisoners and 443 guns, a great quantity of material, released the inhabitants of many villages from enemy domination, and established our lines in a position to threaten Metz. This signal success of the American First Army in its first offensive was of prime importance. The Allies found they had a formidable army to aid them, and the enemy learned finally that he had one to reckon with.

MEUSE-ARGONNE OFFENSIVE, FIRST PHASE.

On the day after we had taken the St. Mihiel salient much of our corps and army artillery which had operated at St. Mihiel, and our divisions in reserve at other points, were already on the move toward the area back of the line between the Meuse River and the western edge of the Forest of Argonne. With the exception of St. Mihiel, the old German front line from Switzerland to the east of Rheims was still intact. In the general attack all along the line the operation assigned the American Army as the hinge of this allied offensive were directed toward the important railroad communications of the German armies through Mézières and Sedan. The enemy must hold fast to this part of his lines, or the withdrawal of his forces, with four years' accumulation of plants and material, would be dangerously imperiled.

The German Army had as yet shown no demoralization, and, while the mass of its troops had suffered in morale, its first-class divisions, and notably its machine-gun defense, were exhibiting remarkable tactical efficiency as well as courage. The German General Staff was fully aware of the consequences of a success on the Meuse-Argonne line. Certain that he would do everything in his power to oppose us, the action was planned with as much secrecy as possible and was undertaken with the determination to use all our divisions in forcing decision. We expected to draw the best German divisions to our front and to consume them while the enemy was held under grave apprehension lest our attack should break his line, which it was our firm purpose to do.

Our right flank was protected by the Meuse, while our left embraced the Argonne Forest, whose ravines, hills, and elaborate defense, screened by dense thickets, had been generally considered impregnable. Our order of battle from right to left was the 3d Corps from the Meuse to Malancourt, with the 33d, 80th, and 4th Divisions in line and the 3d Division as corps reserve; the 5th Corps from Malancourt to Vauquois, with the 79th, 87th, and 91st Divisions in line and the 32d in corps reserve, and the 1st Corps from Vauquois to Vienne le Château, with the 35th, 28th, and 77th Divisions in line and the 92d in corps reserve. The army reserve consisted of the 1st, 29th, and 82d Divisions.

On the night of Sept. 25 our troops quietly took the place of the French, who thinly held the line in this sector, which had long been inactive. In the attack which began on the 26th we drove through the barbed-wire entanglements and the sea of shell craters across No Man's Land, mastering all the first-line defenses. Continuing on the 27th and 28th, against machine guns and artillery of an increasing number of enemy reserve divisions, we penetrated to a depth of from three to seven miles and took the village of Montfaucon and its commanding hill and Exermont, Gercourt, Cuisy, Septsarges, Malancourt, Ivoiry, Epinonville, Charpentry, Very, and other villages. East of the Meuse one of our divisions, which was with the 2d Colonial French Corps, captured Marcheville and Rieville, giving further protection to the flank of our main body. We had taken 10,000 prisoners, we had gained our point of forcing the battle into the open, and were prepared for the enemy's reaction, which was bound to come, as he had good roads and ample railroad facilities for bringing up his artillery and reserves.

In the chill rain of dark nights our engineers had to build new roads across spongy, shell-torn areas, repair broken roads beyond No Man's Land, and build bridges. Our gunners, with no thought of sleep, put their shoulders to wheels and drag ropes to bring their guns through the mire in support of the infantry, now under the increasing fire of the enemy's artillery. Our attack had taken the enemy by surprise, but, quickly recovering himself, he began to fire counter-attacks in strong force, supported by heavy bombardments, with large quantities of gas. From Sept. 28 until Oct. 4 we maintained the offensive against patches of woods defended by snipers and continuous lines of machine guns, and pushed forward our guns and transport, seizing strategical points in preparation for further attacks.

OTHER UNITS WITH ALLIES

Other divisions attached to the allied armies were doing their part. It was the fortune of our 2d Corps, composed of the 27th and 30th Divisions, which had remained with the British, to have a place of honer in co-operation with the Australian Corps on Sept. 29 and Oct. 1 in the assault on the

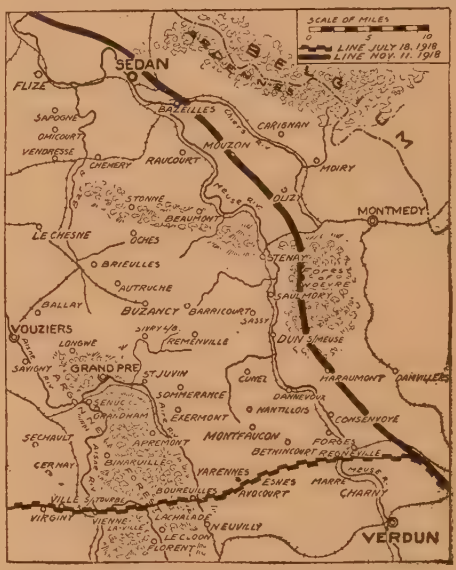
Hindenburg line where the St. Quentin Canal passes through a tunnel under a ridge. The 30th Division speedily broke through the main line of defense for all its objectives, while the 27th pushed on impetuously through the main line until some of its elements reached Gouy. In the midst of the maze of trenches and shell craters and under crossfire from machine guns the other elements fought desperately against odds. In this and in later actions, from Oct. 6 to Oct. 19, our 2d Corps captured over 6,000 prisoners and advanced over thirteen miles. The spirit and aggressiveness of these divisions have been highly praised by the British Army commander under whom they served.

On Oct. 2-9 our 2d and 36th Divisions were sent to assist the French in an important attack against the old German positions before Rheims. The 2d conquered the complicated defense works on their front against a persistent defense worthy of the grimmest period of trench warfare and attacked the strongly held wooded hill of Blanc Mont, which they captured in a second assault, sweeping over it with consummate dash and skill. This division then repulsed strong counterattacks before the village and cemetery of Ste. Etienne and took the town, forcing the Germans to fall back from before Rheims and yield positions they had held since September, 1914. On Oct. 9 the 36th Division relieved the 2d, and in its first experience under fire withstood very severe artillery bombardment and rapidly took up the pursuit of the enemy, now retiring behind the Aisne.

MEUSE-ARGONNE OFFENSIVE, SECOND PHASE

The allied progress elsewhere cheered the efforts of our men in this crucial contest, as the German command threw in more and more first-class troops to stop our advance. We made steady headway in the almost impenetrable and strongly held Argonne Forest, for, despite this reinforcement, it was our army that was doing the driving. Our aircraft was increasing in skill and numbers and forcing the issue, and our infantry and artillery were improving rapidly with each new experience. The replacements fresh from home were put into exhausted divisions with little time for training, but they had the advantage of serving beside men who knew their business and who had almost become veterans overnight. The enemy had taken every advantage of the terrain, which especially favored the defense, by a prodigal use of machine guns manned by highly trained veterans and by using his artillery at short ranges. In the face of such strong frontal positions we should have been unable to accomplish any progress according to previously accepted standards, but I had every confidence in our aggressive tactics and the courage of our troops.

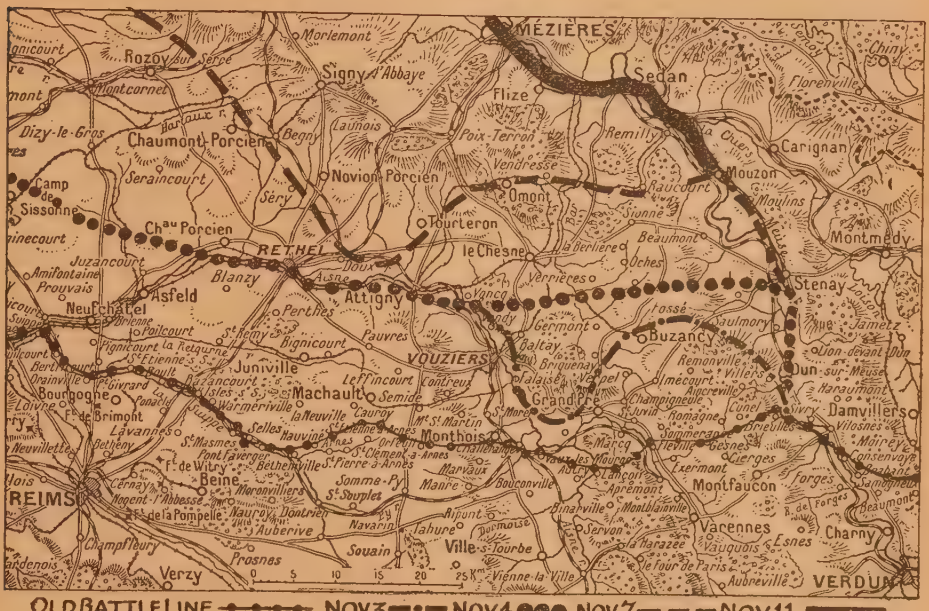
On Oct. 4 the attack was renewed all along our front. The 3d Corps, tilting to the left, followed the Brieulles-Cunel road; our 5th Corps took Gesnes, while the 1st Corps advanced for over two miles along the irregular valley of the Aire River and in the wooded hills of the Argonne that bordered the river, used by the enemy with all his art and weapons of defense. This sort of fighting continued against an enemy striving to hold every foot of ground and whose very strong counterattacks challenged us at every



SCENES OF BITTEREST FIGHTING IN ARGONNE FOREST REGION

point. On the 7th the 1st Corps captured Chatal-Chênéry and continued along the river to Cornay. On the east of Meuse sector one of the two divisions, co-operating with the French, captured Consenvoye and the Haumont Woods. On the 9th the 5th Corps, in its progress up the Aire, took Flêville, and the 3d Corps, which had continuous fighting against odds, was working its way through Brieulles and Cunel. On the 10th we had cleared the Argonne Forest of the enemy.

It was now necessary to constitute a second army, and on Oct. 9 the immediate command of the First Army was turned over to Lieut. Gen. Hunter Liggett. The command of the Second Army, whose divisions occupied a sector in the Woevre, was given to Lieut. Gen. Robert L. Bullard, who had been commander of the 1st Division and then of the 3d Corps. Major Gen. Dickman was transferred to the command of the 1st Corps, while the 5th Corps was placed under Major Gen. Charles P. Summerall, who had recently commanded the 1st Division. Major Gen. John L. Hines, who had gone rapidly up from regimental to division commander, was assigned to the 3d Corps. These four officers had been in France from the early



SCENE OF FINAL BATTLES OF AMERICAN FORCES FROM THE ARGONNE REGION TO THE MEUSE RIVER AND UP TO SEDAN

days of the expedition and had learned their lessons in the school of practical warfare.

Our constant pressure against the enemy brought day by day more prisoners, mostly survivors from machine-gun nests captured in fighting at close quarters. On Oct. 18 there was very fierce fighting in the Caures Woods east of the Meuse and in the Ormont Woods. On the 14th the 1st Corps took St. Juvin, and the 5th Corps, in hand-to-hand encounters, entered the formidable Kriemhilde line, where the enemy had hoped to check us indefinitely. Later the 5th Corps penetrated further the Kriemhilde line, and the 1st Corps took Champigneulles and the important town of Grandpré. Our dogged offensive was wearing down the enemy, who continued desperately to throw his best troops against us, thus weakening his line in front of our allies and making their advance less difficult.

DIVISIONS IN BELGIUM

Meanwhile we were not only able to continue the battle, but our 37th and 91st Divisions were hastily withdrawn from our front and dispatched to help the French Army in Belgium. Detraining in the neighborhood of Ypres, these divisions advanced by rapid stages to the fighting line and were assigned to adjacent French corps. On Oct. 31, in continuation of the Flanders offensive, they attacked and methodically broke down all enemy resistance. On Nov. 3 the 37th had completed its mission in dividing the enemy across the Escaut River and firmly established itself along the east bank included in the division zone of action. By a clever flanking movement troops of the 91st Division captured Spitaals Bosschen, a difficult wood extending across the central part of the division sector, reached the Escaut, and penetrated into the town of Audenardé. These divisions received high commendation from their corps commanders for their dash and energy.

MEUSE-ARGONNE—LAST PHASE

On the 23d the 3d and 5th Corps pushed northward to the level of Banthéville. While we continued to press forward and throw back the enemy's violent counterattacks with great loss to him, a regrouping of our forces was under way for the final assault. Evidences of loss of morale by the enemy gave our men more confidence in attack and more fortitude in enduring the fatigue of incessant effort and the hardships of very inclement weather.

With comparatively well-rested divisions, the final advance in the Meuse-Argonne front was begun on Nov. 1. Our increased artillery force acquitted itself magnificently in support of the advance, and the enemy broke before the determined infantry, which, by its persistent fighting of the past weeks and the dash of this attack; had overcome his will to resist. The 3d Corps took Ancreville, Doulcon, and Andevanne, and the 5th Corps took Landres et St. Georges and pressed through successive lines of resistance to Bayonville

and Chennery. On the 2d the 1st Corps joined in the movement, which now became an impetuous onslaught that could not be stayed.

On the 3d advance troops surged forward in pursuit, some by motor trucks, while the artillery pressed along the country roads close behind. The 1st Corps reached Authe and Châtillon-sur-Bar, the 5th Corps, Fosse and Nouart, and the 3d Corps, Halles, penetrating the enemy's line to a depth of twelve miles. Our large-calibre guns had advanced and were skillfully brought into position to fire upon the important lines at Montmedy, Longuyon, and Conflans. Our 3d Corps crossed the Meuse on the 5th, and the other corps, in the full confidence that the day was theirs, eagerly cleared the way of machine guns as they swept northward, maintaining complete co-ordination throughout. On the 6th a division of the 1st Corps reached a point on the Meuse opposite Sedan, twenty-five miles from our line of departure. The strategical goal which was our highest hope was gained. We had cut the enemy's main line of communications, and nothing but surrender or an armistice could save his army from complete disaster.

In all forty enemy divisions had been used against us in the Meuse-Argonne battle. Between Sept. 26 and Nov. 6 we took 26,059 prisoners and 468 guns on this front. Our divisions engaged were the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 26th, 28th, 29th, 32d, 33d, 35th, 37th, 42d, 77th, 78th, 79th, 80th, 82d, 89th, 90th, and 91st. Many of our divisions remained in line for a length of time that required nerves of steel, while others were sent in again after only a few days of rest. The 1st, 5th, 26th, 42d, 77th, 80th, 89th, and 90th were in the line twice. Although some of the divisions were fighting their first battle, they soon became equal to the best.

EAST OF THE MEUSE

On the three days preceding Nov. 10, the 3d, the 2d Colonial, and the 17th French Corps fought a difficult struggle through the Meuse hills south of Stenay and forced the enemy into the plain. Meanwhile, my plans for further use of the American forces contemplated an advance between the Meuse and the Moselle in the direction of Longwy by the First Army, while, at the same time, the Second Army should assure the offensive toward the rich coal fields of Briey. These operations were to be followed by an offensive toward Château-Salins east of the Moselle, thus isolating Metz. Accordingly, attacks on the American front had been ordered, and that of the Second Army was in progress on the morning of Nov. 11 when instructions were received that hostilities should cease at 11 o'clock A. M.

At this moment the line of the American sector, from right to left, began at Port-sur-Seille, thence across the Moselle to Vandières and through the Woevre to Bezonvaux, in the foothills of the Meuse, thence along to the foothills and through the northern edge of the Woevre forests to the Meuse at Mouzay, thence along the Meuse connecting with the French under Sedan.

RELATIONS WITH THE ALLIES

Co-operation among the Allies has at all times been most cordial. A far greater effort has been put forth by the allied armies and staffs to assist us than could have been expected. The French Government and Army have always stood ready to furnish us with supplies, equipment, and transportation, and to aid us in every way. In the towns and hamlets wherever our troops have been stationed or billeted the French people have everywhere received them more as relatives and intimate friends than as soldiers of a foreign army. For these things words are quite inadequate to express our gratitude. There can be no doubt that the relations growing out of our associations here assure a permanent friendship between the two peoples. Although we have not been so intimately associated with the people of Great Britain, yet their troops and ours when thrown together have always warmly fraternized. The reception of those of our forces who have passed through England and of those who have been stationed there has always been enthusiastic. Altogether it has been deeply impressed upon us that the ties of language and blood bring the British and ourselves together completely and inseparably.

STRENGTH

There are in Europe altogether, including a regiment and some sanitary units with the Italian Army and the organizations at Murmansk, also including those en route from the States, approximately 2,053,347 men, less our losses. Of this total there are in France 1,338,169 combatant troops. Forty divisions have arrived, of which the infantry personnel of ten have been used as replacements, leaving thirty divisions now in France organized into three armies of three corps each.

The losses of the Americans up to Nov. 18 are: Killed and wounded, 36,145; died of disease, 14,811; deaths unclassified, 2,204; wounded, 179,625; prisoners, 2,163; missing, 1,160. We have captured about 44,000 prisoners and 1,400 guns, howitzers, and trench mortars.

COMMENDATION

The duties of the General Staff, as well as those of the army and corps staffs, have been very ably performed. Especially is this true when we consider the new and difficult problems with which they have been confronted. This body of officers, both as individuals and as an organization, has, I believe, no superiors in professional ability, in efficiency, or in loyalty.

Nothing that we have in France better reflects the efficiency and devotion to duty of Americans in general than the Service of

Supply, whose personnel is thoroughly imbued with a patriotic desire to do its full duty. They have at all times fully appreciated their responsibility to the rest of the army, and the results produced have been most gratifying.

Our Medical Corps is especially entitled to praise for the general effectiveness of its work, both in hospital and at the front. Embracing men of high professional attainments, and splendid women devoted to their calling and untiring in their efforts, this department has made a new record for medical and sanitary proficiency.

The Quartermaster Department has had difficult and various tasks, but it has more than met all demands that have been made upon it. Its management and its personnel have been exceptionally efficient and deserve every possible commendation.

As to the more technical services, the able personnel of the Ordnance Department in France has splendidly fulfilled its functions, both in procurement and in forwarding the immense quantities of ordnance required. The officers and men and the young women of the Signal Corps have performed their duties with a large conception of the problem, and with a devoted and patriotic spirit to which the perfection of our communications daily testifies. While the Engineer Corps has been referred to in another part of this report, it should be further stated that the work has required large vision and high professional skill, and great credit is due their personnel for the high proficiency that they have constantly maintained.

Our aviators have no equals in daring or in fighting ability, and have left a record of courageous deeds that will ever remain a brilliant page in the annals of our army. While the Tank Corps has had limited opportunities, its personnel has responded gallantly on every possible occasion, and has shown courage of the highest order.

The Adjutant General's Department has been directed with a systematic thoroughness and excellence that surpassed any previous work of its kind. The Inspector General's Department has risen to the highest standards, and throughout has ably assisted commanders in the enforcement of discipline. The able personnel of the Judge Advocate General's Department has solved with judgment and wisdom the multitude of difficult legal problems, many of them involving questions of great international importance.

It would be impossible in this brief preliminary report to do justice to the personnel of all the different branches of this organization, which I shall cover in detail in a later report.

The navy in European waters has at all times most cordially aided the army, and it is most gratifying to report that there has never before been such perfect co-operation between these two branches of the service.

As to the Americans in Europe not in the military service, it is the greatest pleasure to say that, both in official and in private life, they are intensely patriotic and loyal, and have been invariably sympathetic and helpful to the army.

Finally, I pay the supreme tribute to our officers and soldiers of the line. When I think of their heroism, their patience under hardships, their unflinching spirit of offensive action, I am filled with emotion which I am unable to express. Their deeds are immortal, and they have earned the eternal gratitude of our country.

I am, Mr. Secretary, very respectfully,

JOHN J. PERSHING,
General, Commander in Chief, American Expeditionary Forces.

To the Secretary of War.

Quentin Roosevelt

By LEON HUHNER

As falls the fragment of a mighty star
Into the night, where all was dark before;
A brilliant flash attracting men afar,
Seen but a moment, to be seen no more;
So, in the sky, this youthful warrior bold,
Outlined a brilliant course before he fell,
Turning a silver star to one of gold,
A star to be remembered long and well.
What matters that the fitful course was brief
And vanished swiftly in eternal night?
In such a fall there is no cause for grief,
For souls like these leave trails of golden light.
He spread the glory of his country's fame,
And added lustre to a noble name.

[OFFICIAL]

The British Retreat in 1918

Sir Douglas Haig's Report of Battles in France and Flanders During Germany's Great Offensive

THE British War Office, on Oct. 21, 1918, issued an official dispatch from Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig describing the operations of the forces under his command during the period following the actions in the vicinity of Cambrai in the first week of December, 1917, down to April 30, 1918. This period included the great German thrust that almost reached Amiens. The dispatch was dated "General Headquarters, July 20, 1918," and its most important passages are as follows:

The broad facts of the change which took place in the general war situation at the close of 1917, and the causes which led to it, have long been well known and need be referred to but shortly.

The disappearance of Russia as a belligerent country on the side of the Entente Powers had set free the great bulk of the German and Austrian divisions on the eastern front. Already at the beginning of November, 1917, the transfer of German divisions from the Russian to the western front had begun. It became certain that the movement would be continued steadily until numerical superiority lay with the enemy.

It was to be expected, moreover, that large numbers of guns and munitions formerly in the possession of the Russian armies would fall into the hands of our enemies, and at some future date would be turned against the Allies.

Although the growing army of the United States of America might be expected eventually to restore the balance in our favor, a considerable period of time would be required to enable that army to develop its full strength. While it would be possible for Germany to complete her new dispositions early in the new year, the forces which America could send to France before the season would permit active operations to be recommenced would not be large.

In view of the situation described above, it became necessary to change the policy governing the conduct of the operations of the British armies in France. Orders accordingly were issued early in December having for their object immediate preparation to meet a strong and sustained hostile offensive. In other words, a defensive policy was adopted, and all necessary arrangements consequent thereon were put in hand with the least possible delay. * * *

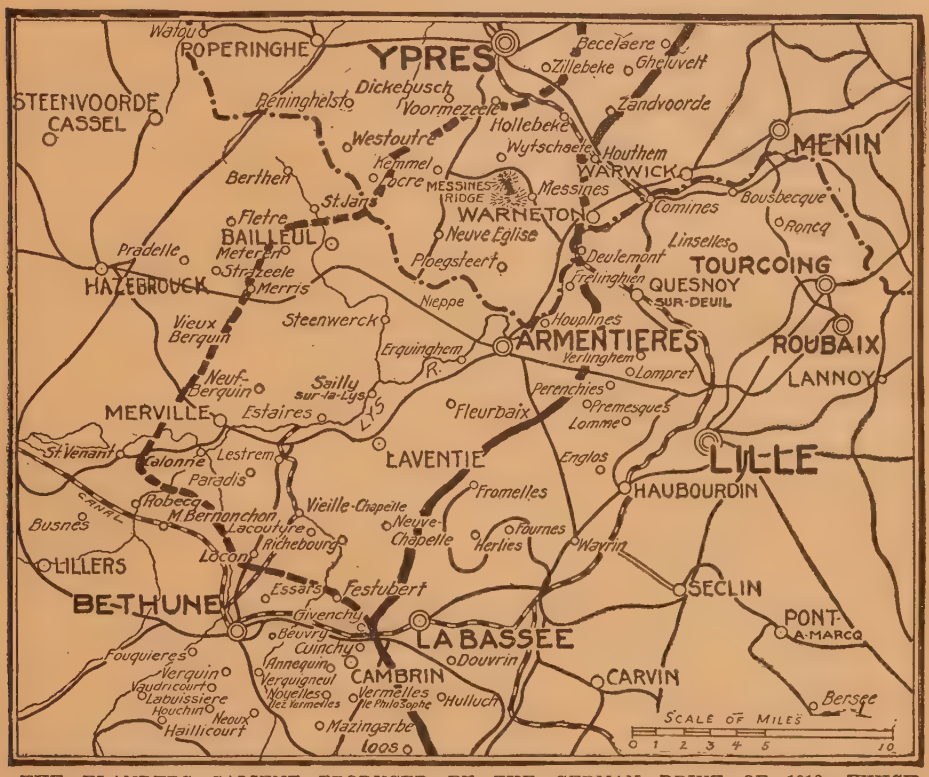
PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENSE

Orders issued early in December, as stated above, had defined the defensive policy to be adopted and the methods of defense. A vast amount of work was required to be done in the construction of defenses, old systems had to be remodeled and new systems created. The construction of new communications and the extension of old, more especially in the area southeast of Arras, which the enemy had devastated in his retirement last year, involved the building of a number of additional roads and the laying out of railways, both narrow and normal gauge. Work of this nature was particularly necessary on the Somme battlefield and in the area recently taken over from the French.

All available men of the fighting units, with the exception of a very small proportion undergoing training, and all labor units were employed on these tasks. Though the time and labor available were in no way adequate if, as was suspected, the enemy intended to commence his offensive operations in the early Spring, a large portion of the work was in fact completed before the enemy launched his great attack. That so much was accomplished is due to the untiring energy of all ranks of the fighting units, the Transportation Service, and the Labor Corps.

The first of the enemy's minor attacks took place on Dec. 12 in the neighborhood of Bullecourt, and after sharp fighting led to the loss of a point of the salient held by us east of that village, with a consequent shortening of our line. Other local attacks on Dec. 14 and 22 at Polderhoek Château and astride the Ypres-Staden railway also resulted in small and unimportant withdrawals of portions of our outpost line in these localities.

On Dec. 30 a somewhat more serious attempt was made by the enemy against our positions on Welsh Ridge, on the Cambrai front. The attack, made in the early morning on a front of over two miles from La Vacquerie northward toward Marcoing, was delivered in considerable strength, and elaborate precautions were taken by the enemy to effect surprise. South of Marcoing, the enemy gained possession of a somewhat isolated trench sited on the nortnern slops of Welsh Ridge, compelling our troops to fall back to a sunken road lying across the base



THE FLANDERS SALIENT PRODUCED BY THE GERMAN DRIVE OF 1918, WHICH PUSHED THE BRITISH BACK FROM THE BLACK LINE TO THE DOTTED LINE

of the salient, where they organized a successful resistance.

THE ENEMY'S PREPARATIONS

Toward the middle of February, 1918, it became evident that the enemy was preparing for a big offensive on the western front. It was known from various sources that he had been steadily increasing his forces in the western theatre since the beginning of November, 1917. In three and a half months twenty-eight infantry divisions had been transferred from the eastern theatre and six infantry divisions from the Italian theatre. There were reports that further reinforcements were on their way to the west, and it was also known that the enemy had greatly increased his heavy artillery in the western theatre during the same period. These reinforcements were more than were necessary for defense, an as they were moved at a time when the distribution of food and fuel to the civil population in Germany was rendered extremely difficult through lack of rolling stock, I concluded that the enemy intended to attack at an early date.

Constant air reconnoissances over the enemy's lines showed that rail and road communications were being improved and ammunition and supply dumps increased along the whole front from Flanders to the Oise. By the end of February, 1918, these preparations had become very marked opposite the front held by the Third and Fifth British Armies, and I considered it probable that the enemy would make his initial effort from the Sensée River southward. As March 21 approached it became certain that an attack on this sector was imminent, and counter-preparation was carrried out nightly by our artillery on the threatened front. By March 21 the number of German infantry divisions in the western theatre had risen to 192, an increase of forty-six since Nov. 1, 1917.

ON THE EVE OF ATTACK

On March 19 my Intelligence Department reported that the final stages of the enemy's preparations on the Arras-St. Quentin front were approaching completion, and that from information obtained it was probable that the actual attack would be launched on March 20 or 21. On our side our dispositions to meet the expected offensive were as complete as the time and troops available could make them.

The general principle of our defensive arrangements on the fronts of these armies was the distribution of our troops in depth. With this object three defensive belts, sited at considerable distances from each other, had been constructed or were approaching

completion in the forward area, the most advanced of which was in the nature of a lightly held outpost screen covering our main positions. On the morning of the attack the troops detailed to man these various defenses were all in position.

Behind the forward defenses of the Fifth Army, and in view of the smaller resources which could be placed at the disposal of that army, arrangements had been made for the construction of a strong and carefully sited bridgehead position covering Péronne and the crossings of the River Somme south of that town. Considerable progress had been made in the laying out of this position, though at the outbreak of the enemy's offensive its defenses were incomplete.

From the information at my disposal, it was expected that the enemy's heaviest attack would fall between the Sensée River and the neighborhood of the Bapaume-Cambrai road, and on this front of some 16,000 yards eighteen German divisions are known to have been employed in line and in immediate reserve on March 21. It was correctly anticipated that the Flesquières salient itself would not be directly attacked in strength, but that the attack would be continued in great force from the southern flank of the salient to St. Quentin. On this front of some 48,000 yards, from Gouzeaucourt to the Oise River at Moy, forty German divisions were set in motion on the first day.

An event which, having regard to the nature of the ground, was not considered probable, was that the enemy would be able to extend the flank of his attack in any considerable strength beyond Moy. The rapid drying of the marshes, due to an exceptionally dry Spring, in fact enabled the enemy to attack this lightly held front with three fresh divisions, in addition to the three divisions already in line.

COMPARISON OF FORCES

In all at least sixty-four German divisions took part in the operations of the first day of the battle, a number considerably exceeding the total forces composing the entire British Army in France. The majority of these divisions had spent many weeks and even months in concentrated training for offensive operations, and had reached a high pitch of technical excellence in the attack.

To meet this assault the Third Army disposed of eight divisions in line on the front of the enemy's initial attack, with seven divisions available in reserve. The Fifth Army disposed of fourteen divisions and three cavalry divisions, of which three infantry divisions and three cavalry divisions were in reserve. The total British force on the original battlefront, therefore, on the morning of March 21 was twenty-nine infantry divisions and three cavalry divisions, of which nineteen infantry divisions were in line.

Launched on a front of about fifty-four miles on March 21, the area of the German offensive spread northward on March 28, until from La Fère to beyond Gavrelle some sixty-three miles of our former line were involved. On this front a total of seventy-three German divisions were engaged during March against the Third and Fifth Armies and the right of the First Army, and were opposed in the first place by twenty-two British infantry divisions in line, with twelve infantry divisions and three cavalry divisions in close reserve.

As soon as it became evident that the enemy had thrown practically the whole of his striking force against this one battle-front, it became both possible and necessary to collect additional reserves from the remainder of my front and hurry them to the battlefield. Plans previously drawn up to meet such an eventuality were put into execution at once, and before the end of March, by which date the principal German effort had been broken, a further force of eight British divisions was brought south and sent into the fight. Prior to April 9 four other British divisions were engaged, making a total of forty-six British infantry divisions and three cavalry divisions employed on the Somme battlefront.

THE ATTACK OPENED

Shortly before 5 A. M. on March 21 a bombardment of great intensity, with gas and high explosive shell from all natures of artillery and trench mortars, was opened against practically the whole fronts of the Fifth and Third Armies from the Oise to the Scarpe River, while road centres and railways as far back as St. Pol were engaged by high velocity guns. Violent bombardments were opened also on the French front in wide sectors east and northeast of Rheims and on portions of the British front between the Scarpe River and Lens. Our positions from south of La Bassée Canal to the River Lys were heavily shelled with gas, and battery areas between Messines and the Ypres-Comines Canal were actively engaged. Dunkirk was bombarded from the sea.

The hour of the enemy's assault varied in different sectors, but by about 9:45 A. M. a general attack had been launched on a battlefront of fifty-four miles between the Oise and Sensée Rivers. Later in the day, as visibility improved, large numbers of low-flying airplanes attacked our troops and batteries.

Favored by a thick white fog, which hid from our artillery and machine gunners the S O S signals sent up by our outpost line, and in numbers which made loss of direction impossible, the attacking German infantry forced their way into our foremost defensive zone. Until 1 P. M. the fog made it impossible to see more than fifty yards in any direction, and the machine guns and forward field guns which had been disposed so as to cover this zone with their fire were robbed almost entirely of their effect. The detachments holding the outpost positions

were consequently overwhelmed or surrounded, in many cases before they were able to pass back information concerning the enemy's attack.

The attack being expected, reserves had been brought forward and battle stations manned. On all parts of the battlefront garrisons of redoubts and strong points in the forward zone held out with the utmost gallantry for many hours. From some of them wireless messages were received up to a late hour in the day, giving information of much value. The losses which they were able to inflict upon the enemy were undoubtedly very great and materially delayed his advance. The prolonged defense of these different localities, under conditions which left little hope of any relief, deserves to rank among the most heroic actions in the history of the British Army.

So intense was the enemy's bombardment that at an early hour our communications were severed, and so swift was his advance under the covering blanket of the mist that certain of our more advanced batteries found the German infantry close upon them before they had received warning from their own infantry that the expected attack had been launched. Many gallant deeds were performed by the personnel of such batteries, and on numerous occasions heavy losses were inflicted on bodies of hostile troops by guns firing over open sights at point-blank range.

SITUATION AT MIDDAY

At midday the enemy's infantry had reached the first line of our battle positions in strength on practically the whole front of his attack, except at the Flesquières salient, where his assaults were not pressed with the same weight as elsewhere. Save in the neighborhood of Ronssoy, however, and at certain other points in a less serious degree, our battle positions themselves had not been entered, while at numerous localities in front of them fierce fighting was taking place around strong points still occupied by our troops.

Assisted by the long spell of dry weather, hostile infantry had crossed the river and canal north of La Fère, and south of St. Quentin had penetrated into the battle zone between Essigny and Benay. At Maissemy also our battle positions were entered at about noon, but the vigorous resistance of the 61st and 24th Divisions, assisted by troops of the 1st Cavalary Division, prevented the enemy from developing his success.

On the Third Army front also the attack had succeeded by midday in breaking into the battle zone at certain points, and heavy fighting was taking place all along the line from the Canal du Nord northwestward to the Sensée River. Astride the canal the enemy was held up by the 17th Division, under command of Major Gen. P. R. Robertson, C. B., C. M. G., and made no progress. Further west he had entered Doignies and had taken Louveral. In Lagnicourt and to the south of it the 6th Division, under command of Major Gen. T. O. Marden, C. M. G., were still maintaining a gallant fight for the possession of the first line of their battle positions; but beyond that village the battle zone had been entered at Noreuil, Longatte, and Ecoust St. Mein, all of which places had fallen into the enemy's hands.

At the end of the first day the enemy had made very considerable progress, but he was still firmly held in the battle zone in which it had been anticipated that the real struggle would take place. Nowhere had he effected that immediate break-through for which his troops had been training for many weeks, and such progress as he had made had been bought at a cost which had already greatly reduced his chances of carrying out his ultimate purpose.

THE FIRST WITHDRAWALS

In view of the progress made by the enemy south of St. Quentin, the thinness of our line on that front, and the lack of reserves with which to restore the situation in our battle positions, the Fifth Army commander decided on the evening of March 21, after consultation with the G. O. C., 3d Corps, to withdraw the divisions of that corps behind the Crozat Canal. The movement involved the withdrawal of the 36th Division, on the right of the 18th Corps, to the line of the Somme Canal.

The enemy's advance south and north of the Flesquières salient rendered a withdrawal by the 5th Corps and by the 9th Division on its right necessary also. Orders were accordingly issued to the divisions concerned for a line to be taken up, as a first stage, along the high ground known as Highland Ridge, and thence westward along the Hindenburg line to Havrincourt and Hermies.

These different withdrawals were carried out successfully during the night. The bridges across the Crozat and Somme Canals were destroyed, though in some cases not with entire success, it being probable that certain of them were still practicable for infantry. Instances of great bravery occurred in the destruction of these bridges. In one case, when the electrical connection for firing the demolition charge had failed, the officer responsible for the destruction of the bridge personally lit the instantaneous fuse and blew up the bridge. Many of the bridges were destroyed in the close presence of the enemy.

As by this time it had become clear that practically the whole of the enemy's striking force had been committed to this one battle, my plans, already referred to, for collecting reserves from other parts of the British front were put into immediate execution. By drawing away local reserves and thinning out the front not attacked, it was

possible, as pointed out above, to reinforce the battle by eight divisions before the end of the month. Steps were taken also to set in operation at once the schemes previously agreed upon with the French for taking over a portion of the battlefront.

On the morning of March 22 the ground was again enveloped in thick mist, under cover of which the enemy renewed his attacks in great strength all along the line. Fighting was again very heavy, and short-range fire from guns, rifles, and machine guns caused enormous losses to the enemy's troops. The weight of this attack, however, combined with the impossibility of observing beforehand and engaging with artillery the massing of his troops, enabled him to press forward.

In the south the enemy advanced during the morning as far as the line of the canal at Jussy, and a fierce struggle commenced for the passage of the canal, his troops bringing up trench mortars and machine guns, and endeavoring to cross on rafts under cover of their fire. At 1 P. M. he succeeded in effecting a crossing at Quessy, and made progress during the afternoon in the direction of Vouel. His further advance in this sector, however, was delayed by the gallant resistance of troops of the 58th Division, under command of Major Gen. A. B. E. Cator, D. S. O., at Tergnier, and it was not until evening, after many costly attempts and much sanguinary fighting, that the enemy gained possession of this village. * * *

FIFTH ARMY RETREATS

With Maissemy already in the enemy's hands, the fall of Le Verguier greatly weakened the defense of the centre of the Fifth Army. The rear line of our battle positions was held during the morning, [March 22,] in spite of unceasing pressure from large hostile forces, but as the day wore on the great concentration of German divisions attacking west of St. Quentin had its effect. During the early afternoon our troops east of Holnon Wood were forced to withdraw from their battle zone trenches; while after repulsing heavy attacks throughout the morning, the 50th Division was again attacked during the afternoon and evening and compelled to give ground. Our troops, fighting fiercely and continuously, were gradually forced out of the battle zone on the whole of this front, and fell back through the 20th Division, under command of Major Gen. W. D. Smith, C. B., and the 50th Division holding the third defensive zone between Happencourt, Villeveque, and Boucly, in the hope of reorganizing behind them.

In this fighting the action of the 1st Battalion Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, 36th Division, deserves special mention. This battalion held a redoubt in the forward zone near Fontaine-les-Clercs throughout the whole of the first day of the battle, and on the following day, after the troops on their right had withdrawn in accordance with orders, still maintained their position, although surrounded by the enemy. After a magnificent fight, in which all the enemy's attacks were repulsed with great loss, at 3 P. M. the officer commanding the battalion sent back a small party of troops, who succeeded in getting through to our lines. The remainder of the battalion continued the fight to the end.

By 5:30 P. M. the enemy had reached the third zone at different points, and was attacking the 50th Division heavily between Villeveque and Boucly. Though holding an extended front of some 10,500 yards, the division succeeded in checking the enemy's advance, and by a successful counterattack drove him temporarily from the village of Coulaincourt. At the close of the engagement, however, the troops of the 50th Division about Poeuilly had been forced back, and by continued pressure along the south bank of the Omignon River the enemy had opened a gap between their right flank and the troops of the 61st Division, under command of Major Gen. C. J. Mackenzie, C. B., and of the 20th Division further south. At this gap, during the late afternoon and evening, strong bodies of German troops broke through the third defensive zone about Vaux and Beauvois.

All available reserves at the disposal of the Fifth Army had already been thrown into the fight, and except for one French division and some French cavalry in the 3d Corps area no further support was within reach of the fighting line. There remained, therefore, no course open but to fall back on the bridgehead positions east of the Somme.

On the Third Army front, also, certain necessary readjustments of our line were carried out during the night. On the right, the evacuation of the Flesquières salient was continued, our troops withdrawing to a line covering Equancourt and Metz-en-Couture in touch with the Fifth Army about Equancourt. In the centre, the troops still in advance of the third defensive zone were brought back to that system. On the left, our troops withdrew from the remainder of their forward positions south of the Scarpe, taking up the rear line of their battle positions between Henin-sur-Cojeul and Fampoux.

As on the southern portion of the battlefront, the enemy followed up our troops closely, except on the left, where for a time he was unaware of what we had done. Elsewhere, more or less continuous fighting took place throughout the night, and in the early morning parties of the enemy succeeded in finding a gap in our new line about Mory.

FRENCH FRONT EXTENDED

[After recording his decision to abandon the Péronne bridgehead and describing the enemy's crossing of the Crozat Canal and the Somme River at Ham, Sir Douglas briefly tells of the retreat to the Tortille, and continues:]

From the time when the indications of an offensive on my front first became definite I had been in close touch with the Commander in Chief of the French Armies. On different occasions, as the battle developed, I discussed with him the situation and the policy to be followed by the allied armies. As the result of a meeting held in the afternoon of March 23, arrangements were made for the French to take over as rapidly as possible the front held by the Fifth Army south of Péronne, and for the concentration of a strong force of French divisions on the southern portion of the battlefront.

For my own part, after consultation with the First and Second Army commanders, General Sir H. S. Horne, K. C. B., K. C. M. G., and General Sir H. C. O. Plumer, G. C. B., G. C. M. G., G. C. V. O., concerning the situation on the fronts of their armies and the possibilities of attacks developing there also, I arranged for the formation from the troops under their command of a special force of reserve divisions for action as occasion might demand. Measures were also taken to permit of the employment of the Canadian corps for counterattack, in the event of the enemy's succeeding in piercing my front.

In this connection I desire to express my deep appreciation of the complete unselfishness with which the needs of their own fronts were at all times subordinated by the army commanders to the more pressing demands of the battle. A variety of considerations made it necessary for me at this date to draw particularly heavily upon the resources of the Second Army. All my demands were met by the Second Army commander in the most helpful and disinterested spirit.

The enemy's advance at the junction of the Third and Fifth Armies was not made without heavy sacrifice. In the retirement of our troops there was no panic of any sort. Units retreated stubbornly from one position to another as they found them turned and threatened with isolation; but at many points fierce engagements were fought, and wherever the enemy attempted a frontal attack he was beaten off with loss.

During the early part of the morning troops of the 17th Division drove off four attacks east of Barastre, and the 47th Division held the village of Rocquigny from sunrise until well into the afternoon, beating off all attacks with rifle and machine-gun fire, until the enemy worked round their flank between Rocquigny and Le Transloy and forced them to withdraw.

South of this point, however, the enemy pressed forward rapidly through the gap which he had made, and succeeded in isolating a part of the South African Brigade, 9th Division, near Marrières Wood, north of Cléry. These troops maintained a most gallant resistance until 4:30 P. M., when they had fired off all their ammunition, and only about 100 men remained unwounded. Early in the afternoon German infantry entered Combles, and, having gained the high ground at Morval, were advancing toward Les Boeufs. Their continued progress threatened to sever the connection bewteen the Fifth and Third Armies, and the situation was serious.

FIGHT FOR SOMME CROSSINGS

South of Péronne the night of March 23-24 passed comparatively quietly, but with the dawn powerful attempts were made by the enemy to force the crossings of the Somme. At Pargny the enemy succeeded in maintaining himself on the west bank of the river, and the flanks of the 8th and 20th Divisions were no longer in touch. During the remainder of the day the enemy repeated his attacks at these and other points, and also exercised strong pressure in a westerly and southwesterly direction from Ham. Our troops offered vigorous resistance, and opposite Ham a successful counterattack by the 15th (Pioneer) Battalion, Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry, 61st Division, materially delayed his advance. At nightfall the line of the river north of Epenancourt was still held by us, but the gap opposite Pargny had been enlarged, and the enemy had reached Morchain. South of that point the 20th Division, with its left flank in the air, and having exhausted all reserves in a series of gallant and successful counterattacks, fell back during the afternoon to the line of the Libermont Canal, to which position the great weight of the enemy's attacks from Ham had already pressed back the troops on its right.

South of the Somme the situation was less satisfactory. The greater portion of the defensive line along the river and canal had been lost, and that which was still held by us was endangered by the progress made by the enemy north of the Somme. All local reserves had already been put into the fight, and there was no immediate possibility of sending further British troops to the assistance of the divisions in line. On the other hand, the French forces engaged were increasing steadily, and on this day our allies assumed responsibility for the battlefront south of the Somme, with general control of the British troops operating in that sector. The situation still remained critical, however, for every mile of the German advance added to the length of front to be held, and, while the exhaustion of my divisions was hourly growing more acute, some days had yet to pass before the French could bring up troops in sufficient strength to arrest the enemy's progress.

TROOPS EXHAUSTED

On the Fifth Army front, also, fighting had recommenced at an early hour. Hostile attacks at Licourt and to the south of it widened the gap between the 18th and 19th Corps, and the enemy entered Nesle, forcing the French and British troops back to the high ground on the south bank of the Ingon River, southwest of the town. To the south

of this point his troops crossed the Libermont Canal, while to the north the right of the 19th Corps was slowly pushed back in the direction of Chaulnes. Our troops were withdrawn during the evening to the general line Hattencourt-Estées-Frise, the 30th Division delivering a counterattack south of Biaches to cover the withdrawal in that area.

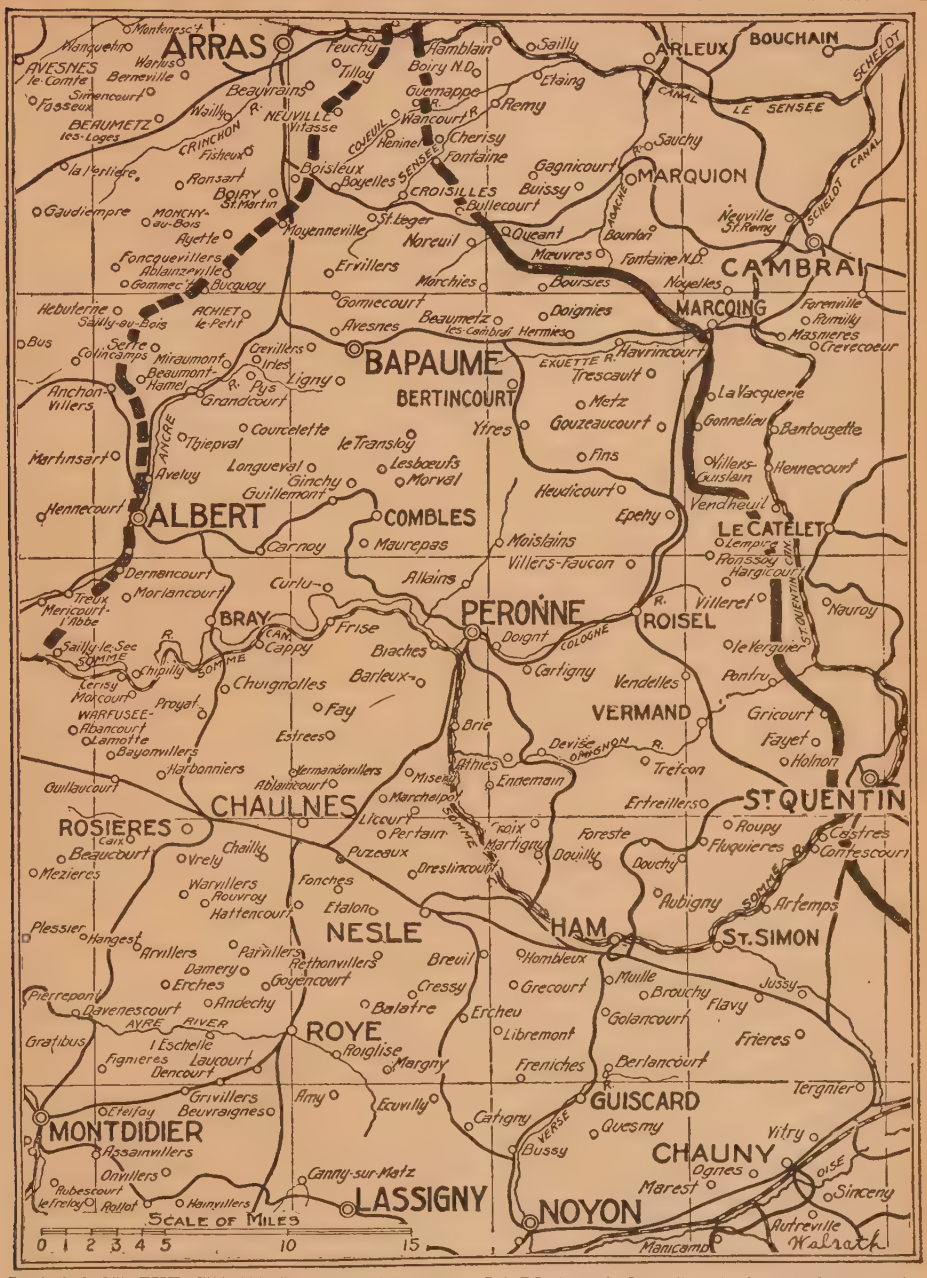
The whole of the troops holding the British line south of the Somme were now greatly exhausted, and the absence of reserves behind them gave ground for considerable anxiety. As the result of a conference held by the Fifth Army commander on March 25, a mixed force, including details, stragglers, schools personnel, tunneling companies, army troops companies, field survey companies, and Canadian and American engineers, had been got together and organized by General Grant, the Chief Engineer of the Fifth Army. On March 26 these were posted by General Grant, in accordance with orders given by the Fifth Army commander, on the line of the old Amiens defenses between Mézières, Marcelcave, and Hamel. Subsequently, as General Grant could ill be spared from his proper duties, he was directed to hand over command of his force to General Carey. Except for General Carey's force there were no reinforcements of any kind behind the divisions which had been fighting for the most part continuously since the opening of the battle. A very gallant feat of arms was performed on this day by a detachment of about 100 officers and men of the 61st Brigade, 20th Division, at Le Quesney. The detachment was detailed to cover the withdrawal of their division, and under the command of their Brigade Major, Captain E. P. Combe, M. C., successfully held the enemy at bay from early morning until 6 o'clock at night, when the eleven survivors withdrew.

NORTHERN ADVANCE STOPPED

Meanwhile, north of the Somme the battle was entering upon its final stages though the enemy's effort was not yet fully spent and his troops were still capable of powerful attacks. During the morning of March 26 our troops continued the taking up of the Ancre line without much interference from the enemy, but between Hamel and Puisieux the situation was not yet clear. A gap still existed in this area between the 5th and 4th Corps, through which bodies of German infantry worked their way forward and occupied Colincamps with machine guns. These machine guns were silenced by a section of field artillery of the 2d Division, which gallantly galloped into action and engaged them over open sights. Early in the afternoon troops of the New Zealand Division, under command of Major Gen. Sir A. H. Russell, K. C. B., K. C. M. G., retook Colincamps, while a brigade of the 4th Australian Division, Major Gen. E. G. Sinclair-Maclagan, C. B., D. S. O., commanding the division, filled the gap between Hébuterne and Bucquoy. In the fighting in this area our light tanks came into action for the first time and did valuable service. With the arrival of fresh troops our line on this part of the front became stable, and all attempts made by the enemy during the day to drive in our positions about Bucquoy and to the north were repulsed.

South of the Somme, meanwhile, the enemy had recommended his attacks at about 8:30 A. M., on the greater part of the Fifth Army front and against the French. The line occupied by our troops at this time, had it been maintained, would have preserved Amiens from serious bombardment, and orders were issued that every effort was to be made to hold our positions. In the fighting which followed, troops of all divisions, despite the weakness of their numbers and the trenmendous strain through which they had already gone, displayed a courage and determination in their defense for which no praise can be too high. At 10 A. M. the 8th Division at Rosières had already repulsed a heavy attack, and the enemy was pressing hard against our positions in the neighborhood of Proyart. The results of the unfortunate withdrawal from Bray now became apparent. The enemy was not slow to take advantage of the position held by him along the north bank of the Somme, in the rear of our troops, and, in spite of our efforts to destroy or hold the river crossings, began to pass strong parties of infantry to the south bank at Cerisy. Being heavily attacked in front, and with bodies of the enemy established south of the river in their immediate rear, our troops at Proyart and to the north were compelled to fall back. The enemy gained Framerville, Proyart, and Morcourt, and endeavored to advance southward behind our line.

In view of the absence of reserves behind this front other than the composite force already referred to, the situation was serious. Troops of the 1st Cavalry Division were hurled across the river and occupied Bouzencourt, in which neighborhood they had sharp fighting. A very gallant and successful counterattack carried out with great dash by the 2d Battalion Devon Regiment and the 22d (Pioneer) Battalion Durham Light Infantry, both of the 8th Division, (which was itself heavily engaged at the time at Rosières,) supported by troops of the 50th Division, at this date under command of Major Gen. H. C. Jackson, D. S. O., held up the enemy a short distance southwest of Proyart. A counterattack by the 66th Division restored the situation about Framerville, and at nightfall our troops were still east and north of Harbonnières, whence our line ran northwestward to Bouzencourt. South of Harbonnières, the 8th Division held the village of Rosières against all attacks, and killed great numbers of the enemy. South of this point, as far as Arvillers, troops of the 24th, 30th, and 20th Divisions maintained their positions substantially unchanged throughout the day, though beyond



REGION OF THE GREAT GERMAN ADVANCE IN PICARDY, MARCH, 1918. THE HEAVY BLACK LINE SHOWS THE BEGINNING, AND THE BROKEN LINE THE END OF THE ADVANCE, WHICH REACHED A FEW MILES WEST OF MONTDIDIER, NEAR AMIENS

their right flank the enemy passed Davenscourt and captured Montdidier.

Meanwhile, between 7 and 8 A. M. on the morning of March 28, fighting of the utmost intensity had broken out north of the Somme from Puisieux to northeast of Arras. Finding himself checked on the northern flank of his attack, the enemy on this day made a determined effort to obtain greater freedom for the development of his offensive, and struck in great force along the valley of the Scarpe at Arras. This development of the battle, which had been foreseen as early as March 23, involved the right of the 13th Corps, under command of Lieut. Gen. Sir H. de B. de Lisle, K. C. B., D. S. O., on the

right of the First Army, and represented a considerable extension of the original front of attack. A German success in this sector might well have had far-reaching effects. There is little doubt that the enemy hoped to achieve great results by this new stroke and that its failure was a serious setback to his plans. According to captured documents, the enemy's immediate object was to gain the general line Vimy-Bailleul-St. Laurent-Blangy, when three special assault divisions were to carry the Vimy Ridge on the following day. Immediately south of the Scarpe four German divisions were engaged, to two of which were assigned the tasks of capturing Arras and the heights overlooking the town. This assault, the weight of which fell on the 3d and 15th British Divisions, Major Gen. H. L. Reed, V. C., C. B., C. M. G., commanding the latter division, was supported by powerful attacks, in which eleven hostile divisions were engaged, along our whole front southward to beyond Bucquoy.

The weight and momentum of his assault and the courage of his infantry, who sought to cut their way through our wire by hand under the fire of our machine guns, sufficed to carry the enemy through the gaps which his bombardment had made in our outpost line. Thereafter, raked by the fire of our outposts, whose garrisons turned their machine guns and shot at the enemy's advancing lines from flank and rear, and met by an accurate and intense fire from all arms, his troops were everywhere stopped and thrown back with the heaviest loss before our battle positions. A second attack, launched late in the afternoon north of the Scarpe, after a further period of bombardment, was also repulsed at all points. At the end of the day our battle positions astride the Scarpe were intact on the whole front of the attack, and in the evening successful counterattacks enabled us to push out a new outpost line in front of them.

With this day's battle, which ended in the complete defeat of the enemy on the whole front of his attack, the first stage of the enemy's offensive weakened, and eventually closed on April 5.

HOW HAZEBROUCK WAS SAVED

[Dealing with the Lys battle and the enemy's thrust toward Hazebrouck, the dispatch describes in glowing terms the stand of the British divisions north of Merville on April 11.]

Meanwhile, a situation which threatened to become serious had arisen north of Merville. At about 8 A. M. the enemy attacked in great strength on a front extending from south of the Estaires-Vieux Berquin road to the neighborhood of Steenwerck. After very heavy fighting, in the course of which the 1st Battalion Royal Guernsey Light Infantry, 29th Division, Major Gen. D. E. Cayley, C. M. G., commanding the division, did gallant service, he succeeded in the afternoon in overcoming the resistance of our troops about Doulieu and La Becque, forcing them back in a northwesterly direction. As the result of this movement, a gap was formed in our line southwest of Bailleul, and bodies of the enemy who had forced their way through seized Outtersteene and Merris.

In the evening a brigade of the 33d Division, Major Gen. R. J. Pinney, C. B., commanding the division, with a body of cyclists, a pioneer battalion, and every available man from schools and reinforcement camps, came into action in this sector. On their left, troops of the 25th, 34th, and 39th Divisions, Major Gen. N. J. G. Cameron, C. B., C. M. G., commanding the last mentioned division, though heavily attacked, maintained their positions to the south and southeast of Bailleul, and before midnight our line had been reformed.

Next day the enemy followed up his attacks with great vigor, and the troops of the 29th and 31st Divisions, now greatly reduced in strength by the severe fighting already experienced and strung out over a front of nearly 10,000 yards east of the Forêt de Nieppe, were once more tried to the utmost. Behind them the 1st Australian Division, under command of Major Gen. Sir H. B. Walker, K. C. B., D. S. O., was in process of detraining, and the troops were told that the line was to be held at all costs until the detrainment could be completed.

During the morning, which was very foggy, several determined attacks, in which a German armored car came into action against the 4th Guards Brigade on the southern portion of our line, were repulsed with great loss to the enemy. After the failure of these assaults he brought up field guns to point-blank range, and in the northern sector with their aid gained Vieux Berquin. Everywhere except at Vieux Berquin the enemy's advance was held up all day by desperate fighting, in which our advanced posts displayed the greatest gallantry, maintaining their ground when entirely surrounded, men standing back to back in the trenches and shooting to front and rear.

In the afternoon the enemy made a further determined effort, and by sheer weight of numbers forced his way through the gaps in our depleted line, the surviving garrisons of our posts fighting where they stood to the last with bullet and bayonet. The heroic resistance of these troops, however, had given the leading brigades of the 1st Australian Division time to reach and organize their appointed line east of the Forêt de Nieppe. These now took up the fight, and the way to Hazebrouck was definitely closed.

The performance of all the troops engaged in this most gallant stand, and especially that of the 4th Guards Brigade, on whose front of some 4,000 yards the heaviest attacks fell, is worthy of the highest praise. No more brilliant exploit has taken place since the opening of the enemy's offensive, though gallant actions have been without number.

The action of these troops, and indeed of all

the divisions engaged in the fighting in the Lys Valley, is the more noteworthy because, as already pointed out, practically the whole of them had been brought straight out of the Somme battlefield, where they had suffered severely and had been subjected to a great strain. All these divisions, without adequate rest and filled with young reinforcements which they had had no time to assimilate, were again hurriedly thrown into the fight, and, in spite of the great disadvantages under which they labored, succeeded in holding up the advance of greatly superior forces of fresh troops. Such an accomplishment reflects the greatest credit on the youth of Great Britain, as well as upon those responsible for the training of the young soldiers sent out from home at this time.

TASK OF BRITISH ARMIES

It has been seen that in the Somme battle, by the end of March, in addition to some ten German divisions engaged against the French, a total of seventy-three German divisions were engaged and fought to a standstill by forty-two British infantry divisions and three cavalry divisions. In order to complete the comparison between the forces engaged, and to enable the nature of the task accomplished by our troops to be realized, it will be of value to give similar figures for the battle of the Lys.

In the Lys battle, prior to April 30 the enemy engaged against the British forces a total of forty-two divisions, of which thirty-three were fresh and nine had fought previously on the Somme. Against these forty-two German divisions twenty-five British divisions were employed, of which eight were fresh and seventeen had taken a prominent part in the Somme battle.

In the six weeks of almost constant fighting, from March 21 to April 30, a total of fifty-five British infantry divisions and three cavalry divisions was employed on the battlefronts against a force of 109 different German divisions. During this period a total of 141 different German divisions were engaged against the combined British and French forces.

The splendid qualities displayed by all ranks and services throughout the Somme and Lys battles make it possible to view with confidence whatever further tests the future may bring.

On March 21 the troops of the Fifth and Third Armies had the glory of sustaining the first and heaviest blow of the German offensive. Though assailed by a concentration of hostile forces which the enemy might well have considered overwhelming, they held up the German attack at all points for the greater part of two days, thereby rendering a service to their country and to the allied cause the value of which cannot be overestimated. Thereafter, through many days of heavy and continuous rearguard fighting, they succeeded in presenting a barrier to the enemy's advance until such time as the arrival of British and French reinforcements enabled his progress to be checked.

In the battle of the Lys, as has been pointed out above, many of the same divisions which had just passed through the furnace of the Somme found themselves exposed to the full fury of a second great offensive by fresh German forces. Despite this disadvantage they gave evidence in many days of close and obstinate fighting that their spirit was as high as ever and their courage and determination unabated. Both by them and by the divisions freshly engaged every yard of ground was fiercely disputed, until troops were overwhelmed or ordered to withdraw. Such withdrawals as were deemed necessary in the course of the battle were carried out successfully and in good order.

At no time, either on the Somme or on the Lys, was there anything approaching a breakdown of command or a failure of morale.

TRIBUTE TO AMERICANS

[The dispatch pays high tributes to all arms and services, to the work of the artillery, the Royal Air Force, the tanks, the Machine Gun Corps, the engineers, signalers, Royal Army Medical Corps, and the staff, and concludes with this reference to Britain's allies and to America's first fighting units:]

I cannot close this report without paying my personal tribute to the ready and effective assistance given me by the French and Belgian higher command in the course of the Somme and Lys battles. Reference has already been made to the schemes for mutual co-operation and assistance between the French and British Armies which formed so important a part of the allied plan for the year's campaign. These schemes have been carried out with absolute loyalty. The support rendered by French troops south of the Somme and north of the Lys, and by Belgian troops in taking over the responsibility for the greater part of the line previously held by British troops north of Ypres, has been of incalculable value.

I desire also to express my appreciation of the services rendered by the Portuguese troops who had held a sector of my front contiuously throughout the Winter months, and on April 9 were called upon to withstand the assault of greatly superior forces.

Finally, I am glad to acknowledge the ready manner in which American engineer units have been placed at my disposal from time to time, and the great value of the assistance they have rendered. In the battles referred to in this dispatch American and British troops have fought shoulder to shoulder in the same trenches, and have shared together in the satisfaction of beating off German attacks. All ranks of the British Army look forward to the day when the rapidly growing strength of the American Army will allow American and British soldiers to co-operate in offensive action.

Italy's Efforts in the World War

Nearly 5,500,000 Men Under Arms

[By Authority of the Italian War Bureau]

SINCE the beginning of the war Italy has called to the colors little less than 5,500,000 men and has suffered a loss of almost 1,500,000 of them. Of that loss nearly 350,000 died in battle and 100,000 from disease. Over 550,000 are totally incapacitated, either by blindness, loss of limb, or tuberculosis. At the end of the war the strength of the Italian Army was 4,025,000, including the class of men born in 1900, who had been called to the colors recently. It may be said, then, that the nation's man power has suffered a permanent loss of nearly a million.

But serious as is this loss, Italy has inflicted an even greater punishment upon the foe. In Austrian prisoners alone she has taken approximately a million. The Austrian loss in killed and wounded is, of course, still unknown, but even the most conservative estimates make it far greater than ours. In the June offensive on the Piave alone over 200,000 Austrian dead were left on the field.

Aside from their achievements in other theatres of the war, Italy's soldiers fought through fifteen furious offensives on the Isonzo and the Piave, inflicting terrible losses on the foe in each. These campaigns were carried on in mountainous regions and under rigorous weather conditions that taxed to the utmost the genius of the military engineers and the endurance of the troops. The foe, when hostilities opened, were intrenched in carefully prepared and seemingly impregnable positions, backed by a network of military roads and railroads. On the Italian side were deep gorges, unscalable cliffs, almost impassable glaciers, passes filled with snow and commanded by Austrian guns. There were no suitable roads or bridges. The surmounting of these difficulties has challenged the admiration of the engineering world.

Over 2,500 miles of roads have been constructed on the mountains of Italy and of Albania, and 1,000 miles of aerial cable railroads (Teleferiche) have been built to carry food, ammunition, and guns over deep ravines.

The magnitude of this military effort can be fully appreciated only when one takes into consideration the economic structure of the nation and the nature and number of its population. One must remember that out of 36,000,000 inhabitants in Italy at the beginning of the war only 17,000,000 were male. This seeming disproportion is caused by emigration, which was largely composed of male adults. Out of those 17,000,000 only 9,000,000 were adults economically productive. Consequently the subtraction of the mobilized forces has had an acute reaction on the economic life of the nation. It is estimated that on an average only 100 adults remained in each town or village to provide in each case for some 320 children below the age of 15.

Furthermore, the traditions of Italian family life render the work of their women an economic factor of less importance than in some other countries, though it has been utilized to the utmost and became more available as old traditions gave way to war's necessity.

Italy got no help from colonial contingents. On the contrary, the scarcity of native troops in Italy's colonies compelled the Government to reinforce them with troops from the mother country. Nor has help come to Italy through the co-operation of workmen of neutral or allied countries. Italy, on the other hand, sent a large contingent of skilled workmen to France, thus allowing the latter to release valued elements for war. Furthermore, nearly 500,000 of our male adults residing in America gave to that great nation direct contribution of their economic and military efforts.

To meet their military obligations, therefore, the Italian people have been compelled to cut into the most urgent

needs of agriculture and industry. The continuous lack of labor has made the task of feeding the army and providing it with munitions a most difficult one.

And yet Italy, lacking labor and industrial development, lacking almost entirely coal and raw materials, was by a miracle of energy able to create almost from nothing a powerful organization of war industries.

The very act of entering the war cut off Italy from one of the sources of supply of manufactured products. It is not necessary here to enlarge upon the well-known fact that Italian markets were largely under the domination of Germany and Austria. That is a situation that is as well known to Americans as it is and was distasteful to Italians. And it might be said in passing that it is a situation that must be guarded against by allied co-operation and sympathetic economic relationship when peace is signed.

Financially Italy also has responded to the demands of war with an openhandedness that has surprised even herself. From the 1st of August, 1914, to the end of 1917 the total expenditures of the State were $8,895,600,000. Calculating on the basis of a monthly average expenditure for the war of $240,000,000, the total cost of the war to Italy would be more than $12,000,000,000.

A further proof of the financial effort Italy made for the war, notwithstanding her small means, is found in her five loans. The first one yielded about $200,000,000, and it seemed a great struggle, yet still others were launched, all giving greater returns, and the last one, after the disaster of October, 1917, yielded about $1,300,000,000.

It must be remembered, too, that labor shortage has meant a food shortage. It has established a vicious circle. Italy's fighters and industrial workers have accomplished their work while forced to endure a régime of restricted diet that has meant real and continuous suffering such as probably is not to be found anywhere among the other belligerent peoples.

The Campaign in Palestine

General Allenby's Official Report of the Fighting North of Jerusalem Up to September 18, 1818

THE operations of the British Expeditionary Force in Palestine between the capture of Jerusalem and the beginning of the drive toward Damascus are recorded by General Sir Edmund Allenby in a dispatch made public in London on Nov. 6, 1918. The report covers the period from Dec. 9, 1917, when the British entered Jerusalem, to Sept. 18, 1918, when General Allenby started his new campaign, which resulted in the capture of Damascus and Aleppo. It reveals the fact that at the time of the last German sweep toward the Marne a considerable portion of the Palestine expedition had to be withdrawn to fight in France.

General Allenby begins with the operations making Jaffa and Jerusalem safe against Turkish counterattacks, a task performed chiefly by the 21st Corps, (52d and 54th Divisions,) whose efforts "increased the distance between the enemy and Jaffa from three to eight miles." He continues:

> The chief obstacle lay in the crossing of the Nahn el Auja. This river is only fordable in places, and all approaches to it are overlooked from Sheikh Muannis and Khurbet Hadrah. At these places two spurs running from north to south terminate abruptly in steep slopes some 500 yards from the river.
>
> Before the 21st Corps could reach its final objectives, it was necessary that the guns should move forward with the infantry. Consequently, Sheikh Muannis, Khurbet Hadrah, and the high ground overlooking the river had to be captured as a preliminary to the general advance in order that bridges might be built.
>
> The chief difficulty lay in concealing the collection and preparation of rafts and

bridging material. All preparations were completed, however, without attracting the enemy's attention, and on the night of Dec. 20-21 the 52d Division crossed the river in three columns. The enemy was taken completely by surprise. The left column, fording the river near its mouth, at this point four feet deep, captured Tel er Rekkeit, 4,000 yards north of the river's mouth; the centre and right columns, crossing on rafts, rushed Sheikh Muannis and Khurbet Hadrah at the point of the bayonet. By dawn a line from Khurbet Hadrah to Tel er Rekkeit had been consolidated and the enemy deprived of all observation from the north over the valley of the Nahr el Auja.

PROTECTING JERUSALEM

The 20th Corps had been ordered to take up the Beitin-Nalin line—that is, an advance on a twelve-mile front to a depth of six miles immediately north of Jerusalem. As it was, the enemy both to the north and the east were only four miles away from the city. When the preparations of the corps were nearing completion, the enemy attacked in force astride the Jerusalem-Nablus (Shechem) road. The attack was launched at 11:30 P. M. on Dec. 26, (1917,) and by 1:30 A. M. on the 27th the 60th (London) Division—holding the northern front—was engaged on its whole front, the heaviest fighting being east of the Shechem road. General Allenby continues:

> Repeated attacks were made against Tel el Ful, a conspicuous hill from which Jerusalem and the intervening ground can be overlooked. The attacks were made by picked bodies of troops, and were pressed with great determination. At only one point did the enemy succeed in reaching the main line of defense. He was driven out at once by the local reserves. In all these attacks he lost heavily.
>
> In the meantime the enemy had delivered attacks against various points held by the 53d Division east of Jerusalem. On the extreme right at Kh. Deir Ibn Obeid a company of Middlesex troops was surrounded by 700 Turks, supported by mountain artillery. Although without artillery support, it offered a most gallant resistance, holding out till relief came on the morning of the 28th. None of the other attacks on this division's front were any more successful.
>
> On the 60th Division front north of Jerusalem a lull in the fighting occurred after 8 A. M. This lasted till 12:55 P. M., when the enemy launched an attack of unexpected strength against the whole front. In places this attack reached our main line of defense, but these small successes were short-lived, for in each case local counterattacks, carried out immediately, were successful in restoring the line. This proved to be the final effort.

A counterattack by the 74th and 10th Divisions had been launched at 6:30 A. M., and now, by noon, made itself felt, the divisions making a fine advance over broken and boulder-strewn hills. By attacking the enemy's reserves they had deprived him of the initiative. Seeing that the Turkish attack was spent, General Allenby ordered a general advance northward on Dec. 28. But the Turks were still full of fight at most points, and the battle was of a very obstinate character, and lasted into the evening of the 29th, by which time the Turkish defeat was complete. Great difficulty had been found in locating the enemy's machine guns, and at one point, Shab Salah, the British came under heavy rifle and machine-gun fire from a precipitous hill overlooking the high road. The hill was, however, stormed by the 60th Division. The Royal Air Force rendered great services during the battle. The report adds:

> The Turk's attempt to recapture Jerusalem had thus ended in crushing defeat. He had employed fresh troops who had not participated in the recent retreat of his army from Beersheba and Gaza and had escaped its demoralizing effects. The determination and gallantry with which his attack was carried out only served to increase his losses. * * * Seven hundred and fifty prisoners, twenty-four machine guns, and three automatic rifles were captured during these operations, and over 1,000 Turkish dead were buried by us. Our own casualties were considerably less than this number.

JERICHO CAPTURED

To secure his right flank, General Allenby decided to undertake an advance to Jericho and the Jordan. The troops engaged were the 60th and 53d Divisions, plus the Australian and New Zealand Mounted Division (less one brigade) and the Divisional Artillery. The descent to the Jordan Valley is very steep, the banks of the wadis often precipitous, and the chief obstacle to the advance was the difficulty of the ground. Nevertheless, both the infantry and the mounted troops encountered considerable opposi-

tion. The advance began on Feb. 19, and by the evening of the 20th the 60th Division had reached a line four miles west of the cliffs overlooking Jericho. In the meantime the mounted troops were working on the right (south) of the infantry toward Neby Musa—not far from the northwest corner of the Dead Sea—whence they were to strike north into the Jordan Valley.

Two miles south of Neby Musa the enemy held the high ground at Jebel el Kalimum and Tubk el Kaneiterah. Compelled to move 'n single file over tracks which were exposed to machine-gun fire from the enemy's position, and which had been registered accurately by the enemy's guns at Neby Musa, the progress of the mounted troops was necessarily slow. By 2 P. M., however, the enemy was driven from his position at Jebel el Kalimum and Tubk el Kaneiterah. The further advance of the New Zealand Brigade on Neby Musa was hampered by the ground, and was finally checked at the Wadi Mukelik, the only possible crossing over, which was subjected to a heavy fire from Neby Musa. On the right of the New Zealanders an Australian mounted brigade discovered a crossing over the Wadi Kumran, and, entering the Jordan plain, reached the Wadi Jufet Zeben by dusk. The chief feature of the enemy's resistance was the volume of machine-gun fire.

The Australian Mounted Brigade, advancing along the plain, entered Jericho at 8:20 A. M., the enemy having withdrawn during the night.

On no previous occasions had such difficulties of ground been encountered. As an instance of this, a field artillery battery took thirty-six hours to reach Neby Musa, the distance covered, as the crow flies, being only eight miles.

JORDAN VALLEY OPERATIONS

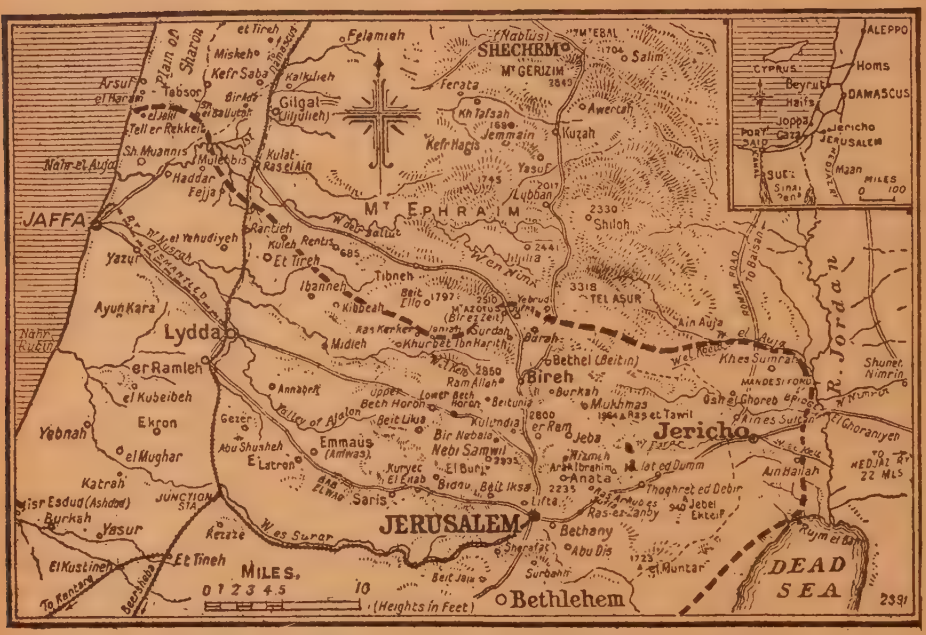
This right flank of the Expeditionary Force was now secure, but General Allenby had not yet obtained "a base sufficiently broad to permit of operations being carried out east of the Jordan against the Hedjah Railway." To get this sufficiently broad base he decided to secure the high ground covering the approaches to the Jordan by the Jericho-Beisan road, and also, further west, the high ground stretching across the hills of Mount Ephraim south of Sinjil and thence northwest—a front of twenty-six miles. In the centre, east of the Shechem road, was Tel Asur, a conspicuous landmark among a mass of high hills. Both the 20th and 21st Corps were engaged, and operations began on March 9.

The ground over which the advance was to take place is rugged and difficult. A succession of high and rocky ridges, separated by deep valleys, afforded the enemy a series of positions of great natural strength. The slopes of the ridges are in many places precipitous. Ledges of rock confine the descent to definite places, on which the enemy could concentrate his fire. In places the slopes are terraced, and men had to pull or hoist each other up. It was necessary to reconnoitre each successive position held by the enemy, and the subsequent movement of troops into positions of assembly was of necessity a slow process. Under these conditions no rapid advance could be looked for.

The fighting was of a bitter character, but on the 9th the 60th Division, which had crossed the Wadi el Auja, north of Jericho, in the dark, seized a position astride the Beisan-Jericho road, and the 53d Division had captured Tel Asur, which mountain the enemy tried repeatedly, but in vain, to recover. On the extreme left the enemy counterattacked the 10th Division. Here by the Wadis el Nimr and El Jib "the downward slopes were exceptionally steep, almost precipitous in places. It was impossible for companies and platoons to move on a wide front. The slopes were swept by machine-gun and rifle fire, and the bottom of the wadis by enfilade fire. The ascent on the far side was steeply terraced. Men had alternately to hoist and pull each other up, under fire, and finally to expel the enemy from the summits in hand-to-hand fighting."

THE RAID ON AMMAN

By March 12 the operations (which had looked like an attempt to advance on Shechem) had reached a point which enabled General Allenby to undertake his projected raids on the Hedjaz Railway in conjunction with the Arab forces of the Sherif and Emir Faisal, which were southeast of the Dead Sea, and under General Allenby's control. Circumstances, says General Allenby, seemed favorable for a raid on the enemy's communications with the Hedjaz. If successful, Sherif Faisal would have an opportunity to attack Maan with some prospects of success. The point aimed at



SCENE OF GENERAL ALLENBY'S PALESTINE CAMPAIGN

was Amman, in the plateau of Moab, and thirty miles in a direct line east by north of Jericho.

The country between the Jordan and Amman offered many obstacles to an advance—first, the marshy valley of the Jordan, then clay ridges, next scrub, and beyond a rise of 3,500 feet in twelve miles. There was a metaled road from Ghoraniyeh bridge over the Jordan, which enters the hills at Shunet Nimrin, and then winds round the slopes of a wadi to Es Salt, (eighteen miles from the Jordan,) and so to Amman. The raid did not fully attain its object; nevertheless, it enabled Sherif Faisal so greatly to damage the railway south of Maan that at least a month's hard work would be needed to repair it.

The operations, [writes General Allenby,] which started during the night of March 21-22, were hampered considerably by rain, which fell during the days preceding the raid and on March 27 and the three following days. The Jordan is unfordable at this time of the year. The current is at all times rapid, and is liable to sudden floods, which render the banks boggy and difficult of approach for transport. On March 28 it rose nine feet. The rain which fell during the operations rendered the tracks in the hills slippery and the movement of horses, and especially of camels, slow and difficult. The delay thus caused enabled the enemy to bring up reinforcements. Before Amman could be attacked in strength some 4,000 Turks, supported by fifteen guns, were in position near Amman, covering the viaduct and tunnel, while another 2,000 were moving on Es Salt from the north.

To have driven the enemy from his position, without adequate artillery support, would have entailed very heavy losses. Owing to the marshy nature of the country it was only possible to bring up mountain artillery, and I therefore ordered a withdrawal, which was carried out without serious interruption. Although it had not been possible to effect any permanent demolitions, five miles of railway line, including several large culverts, and the points and crossings at Alanda station, were destroyed to the south of Amman, while to the north of the town a two-arch bridge was blown up.

Considerable losses were inflicted on the enemy, and in addition fifty-three officers and over 900 other ranks were taken prisoner, including several Germans. The raid also enabled a considerable number of Armenians to escape and find a refuge west of the Jordan.

ADVANCE TO ES SALT

Following this raid the Turks became aggressive, and in April suffered very heavy losses in attacks on the Ghoraniyeh

bridgehead, while they garrisoned Shunet Nimrin with 5,000 rifles. General Allenby determined to cut off and destroy the enemy's force at that place and advance to Es Salt, and hold it till his troops could be relieved by the Arabs. He had planned to make the attempt in the middle of May, but on representations from the Beni Sakhr tribe, the operation was begun on April 30. The 60th (London) Division was to attack Shunet Nimrin, while the mounted troops were to go north and then make a semi-circular sweep south on Es Salt, and cut off the Nimrin garrison. This mounted division was to leave a force to protect the crossing of the Jordan at Jisr ed Damieh, (north of the Ghoraniyah bridgehead,) at which point the Turks held the western side of the river. The report continues:

> The 60th Division captured the advanced works of the Shunet Nimrin position, but were unable to make further progress in face of the stubborn resistance offered by the enemy. The mounted troops, moving northward, rode round the right of the Shunet Nimrin position, and by 6 P. M. had captured Es Salt, leaving an Australian brigade to watch the left flank. This brigade took up a position facing northwest astride the Jisr ed Damieh-Es Salt track. * * * At 7:30 A. M. on May 1 this brigade was attacked by the 3d Turkish Cavalry Division and a part of the 24th Division, which had crossed from the west bank of the Jordan during the night at Jisr ed Damieh. The enemy succeeded in penetrating between the left of the brigade and the detachment on the bank of the Jordan. The brigade was driven back through the foothills. During its retirement through the hills nine guns and part of its transport had to be abandoned, being unable to traverse the intricate ground.

The 60th Division at Shunet Nimrin was unable to make any substantial progress, and on May 2 the troops at Es Salt were attacked by two Turkish battalions from Amman, as well as by cavalry from the north and troops from Ed Damieh. The assistance of the Beni Sakhr had not materialized, further Turkish reinforcements were on their way, and, in the circumstances, the whole force was brought back to the Jordan crossings. They had inflicted heavy loss on the enemy, and had captured fifty officers and 892 other ranks.

TROOPS SENT TO FRANCE

Meantime, the situation on the western front led to a call upon General Allenby to send troops to France, and the result was that further operations on a large scale were not undertaken in the period covered by the dispatch. General Allenby writes:

> During the first week in April the 52d Division embarked for France, its place being taken by the 7th (Meerut) Division, which had arrived from Mesopotamia. The departure of the 52d Division was followed by that of the 74th Division, which left Palestine during the second week in April. The 3d (Lahore) Division was sent from Mesopotamia to replace the 74th Division, but it was not till the middle of June that the last units disembarked. In addition to the 52d and 74th Divisions, nine Yeomanry Regiments, five and a half siege batteries, ten British battalions, and five machine-gun companies were withdrawn from the line, preparatory to embarkation for France.
>
> By the end of April the Yeomanry Regiments had been replaced by Indian Cavalry Regiments, which had arrived from France, and the British battalions by Indian battalions dispatched from India. These Indian battalions had not, however, seen service during the present war; and, naturally, had not the experience of the battalions they replaced.
>
> Thus in April the strength of the force had been reduced by one division, five and a half siege batteries, and five machine-gun companies; while one mounted division was in process of being reorganized, and was not available for operations.
>
> In May a further fourteen battalions of British infantry were withdrawn and dispatched to France. Only two Indian battalions were available to replace them. Thus at the end of May the force had been further reduced by twelve battalions, while the loss of the 74th Division had not yet been fully made good. On the other hand, the reorganization of the mounted division had been completed. * * * During July and the first week in August a further ten British battalions were replaced by ten Indian battalions, the personnel of the British battalions being used as reinforcements.

THE GERMAN DEFEAT

The most noteworthy of the events of the Summer was an attack by the enemy on both sides of the Jordan. West of the Jordan, on July 14, the enemy suddenly attacked at 3:30 A. M., and gained Abu Tellul, surrounding other advanced posts.

At 4:30 A. M. the 1st Australian Light Horse Brigade counterattacked. By 5 A. M. Abu Tellul had been regained. The enemy, driven against our advanced posts, which, with one exception, had held their ground, suffered heavily. Two hundred and seventy-six Germans, including twelve officers, and sixty-two Turks were captured. One hundred wounded and many dead were left on the ground. Great credit is due to the Australians for the quickness of their counterattack and for the determination displayed by the garrisons of the advanced posts in holding out, although surrounded.

While this fighting was in progress, a Turkish force of considerable strength was observed to be concentrating to the east of the Jordan, midway between El Ghoraniyeh bridgehead and the Dead Sea. A cavalry brigade moved out to counter-attack. Taking advantage of the ground, the cavalry arrived within charging distance before they were observed. In the charge that ensued some ninety Turks were speared; and ninety-one, including six officers, in addition to four machine guns, were captured. It was only by reaching ground impassable for cavalry that the remainder of the Turks effected their escape. The Jodhpur Lancers played a distinguished part in this charge.

Idyl of a French Officer's Home-Coming

A correspondent with the allied forces in Flanders was motoring along a road toward the recently freed city of Denain when a French officer asked for a ride. The officer's home had been in Denain, and four years ago he had left his wife there when he joined the colors. Then had come the German occupation, cutting off his family. Now he was going back after these long years to his wife and the baby he had never seen. He was visibly wrought up to the highest pitch. It was quite possible he might find his family dead or gone and his home in ruins.

Denain had been the centre of a battle that had cost civilian lives. Neither the officer nor the correspondent mentioned this fact, but both were thinking it as the car sped over the shell-shattered road.

Entering the city, the officer directed the correspondent toward his home, through streets showing the cruel marks of the invaders' hate. As the car turned into his street, the first house was seen to be in ruins. He gave a nervous start, but said nothing. A few doors further on was his home, and the car stopped across the street from it. The officer climbed out slowly and with an effort, his eyes fixed on the place.

There were no signs of life. The windows were shuttered, and on the door was a sign showing that German officers had been living there. Crossing the street, the officer pulled the bell with a shaking hand. No one answered. He backed away like a man in a trance and leaned against the car, trembling.

Suddenly the door was opened and an aged woman servant appeared in answer to the bell. She was leading by the hand a beautiful baby girl with a wealth of golden curls. The officer took one step toward the child and then halted. He was a stranger to his own flesh and blood. The child hid behind the skirts of the nurse, peering out in fright. Undoubtedly her mother had told her many times during the German occupation that men in uniform were bad, and that she must avoid them.

The horizon-blue uniform of France meant nothing to the baby. The half-blind eyes of the old nurse had recognized her master, and she held out her hands to him, repeating "Monsieur! Monsieur!" in ecstasy. He crossed the road and grasped her hands, but the baby drew back still further.

A door opened at the end of a long hall and a comely young matron came through to see what was going on. When half way down the hall she caught sight of her husband. She stopped, her hand flew to her breast, and she swayed for a second as though about to fall. With a sobbing cry of joy she hurled herself into his arms.

The correspondent's car was already away, for outsiders were not needed to complete the scene. And thus they were left, the nurse beaming on the happy couple and the curly headed youngster looking with round, troubled eyes at this strange man who had appropriated her mother so completely without a word.

INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF THE WAR

The End of the Trail

—From The San Francisco Chronicle

[American Cartoon]

End of Pan-Germanism

—*From The New York Herald.*

"And the Unclean Spirits * * * Entered Into the Swine, and the Herd Ran Violently Down a Steep Place Into the Sea."

[American Cartoon]

Time for Him to Lay Down His Hand

—*From The Cincinnati Post* (*Nov. 5, 1918.*)

[English Cartoon]

Not According to Program

—From London Opinion

THE KAISER: "I Tried the Sword; I Tried the Pen; I Never Expected to Have to Try This Confounded White Flag."

[English Cartoon]

Sauve Qui Peut!

—From The Passing Show, London

The Army of Occupation

"And We Were Told They Couldn't Get Here"

The Reception Committee

Rejoining His Allies

The Unwelcome Guest

"Yes, But Where Can I Go?"

The Marcn to the Rhine

The Spirit of 1918

—All From the New York World

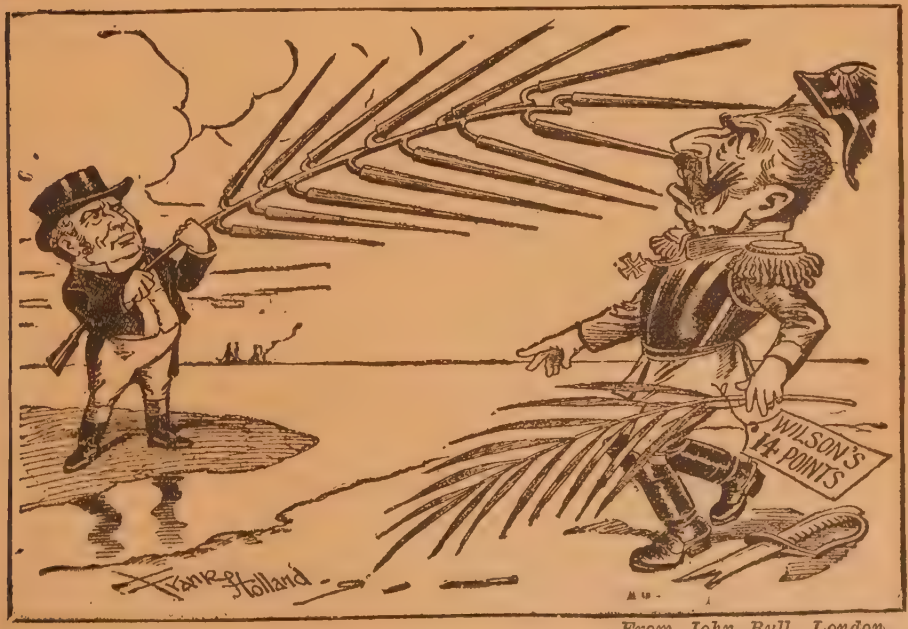
[English Cartoons]

The Latest in Queues

—From London Opinion.

MARSHAL FOCH: "Now, Then, You Nations Surrendering, Form in Line, Please, and Don't Push."

John Bull's Fourteen Points



—From John Bull, London.

[German Cartoon]

"Tin Soldiers"

"Hurrah! The Americans Are Coming!" Cry the Entente Brethren

But When Uncle Wilson's Army Arrives it Is Nothing But a Box of Tin Soldiers

[This Cartoon Appeared in Kladderadatsch of Berlin on July 14, 1918. Four Days Later the American Army Struck the First Blow in the Offensive That Crushed Germany]

[American Cartoon]

Looking for a Job

PAPA, I HOPE WE ALL GET NICE EASY JOBS ALREADY YET!
PAPA, WE ARE SO GLAD THE CRUEL WAR SPARED OUR FAMILY!
WONDER WHAT KIND OF A JOB I CAN GET
HELP WANTED
Verlangt—Männlich.
Buchbinder
Verlangt—Weiblich.
SHAFER

—From The Cincinnati Post.

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

In at the Death

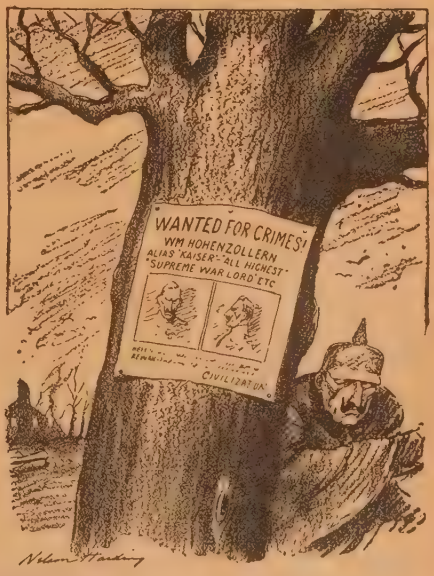
[The Pro-German Nebelspalter of Zurich Thus Depicted President Wilson as Glorying in the Fall of the Central Powers]

At the Summit

"Unwept, Unhonored and Unsung"

Left on the Field of Battle

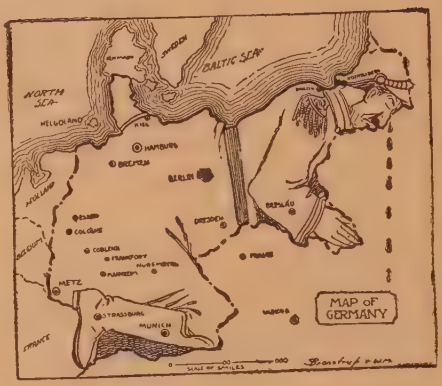
"Wanted"



—*From The Brooklyn Eagle.*

First Aid

The Suppliant



Humpty-Dumpty

The Last Goose Step

—From The San Francisco Chronicle.

[American Cartoon]

The Tasks of Peace

—*From The New York Tribune.*

Now All She Has to Do Is to Wash the Dishes, Feed and Quiet the Children, Straighten Up the House and Pay the Bill

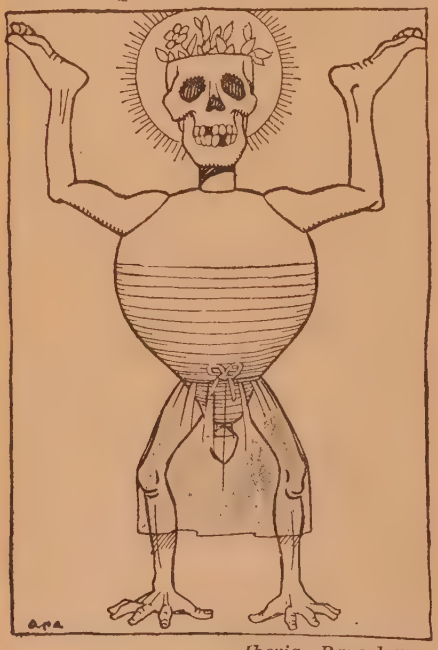
[Spanish Cartoons]

His Due Reward

—*From Esquella, Barcelona*

EX-KAISER: "I Deserve Peace. I Have Given It to So Many Others"

The Spirit of Bolshevism



—*Iberia, Barcelona*

R. I. P.

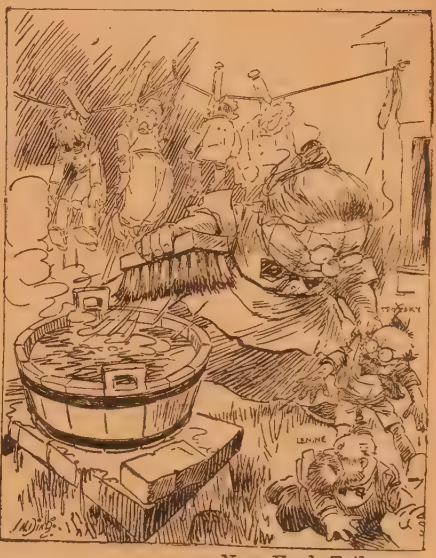
—*Esquella, Barcelona*

[American Cartoons]

It's the Turn of the Bolsheviki Next

—*Cleveland Plain Dealer.*

Making the World Safe for Democracy



—*New York Tribune.*

While We Have Soapsuds Handy

After Forty-seven Years

—*St. Louis Republic*

11-11-1918

Utica Herald-Dispatch

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

The True Victors

—Nebelspalter, Zurich.

[Italian Cartoon]

Toward the End

—L'Asino, Rome.

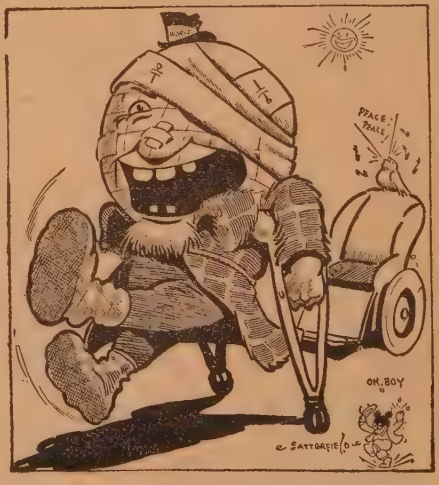
[American Cartoon]

He Had to Come to This

—Cincinnati Post.

[American Cartoon]

Cured

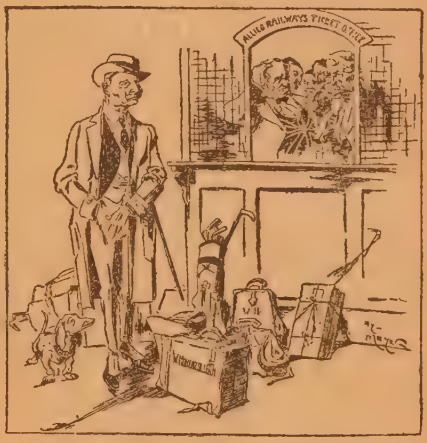


—Helena Independent.

"Come, Your Show's Over"

—*Cleveland Plain Dealer*

Citizen Hohenzollern: "Where Do We Go From Here?"



—*New York Times*

"Dropping the Pilot"

—*Rochester Herald*

Cause and Effect

—© *1918, by The Philadelphia Inquirer Co.*

All Atrocities Barred Now

[Nov. 7, 1918]

IN DER NAME OF CIVILIZATION SPARE DER CITIES OF DER FADERLAND! CROOLTY ISS AGAINST DER RULES!
THAT YELLOW STREAK
FRENCH BLOOD
BLOOD AND CHILDREN

—*Baltimore Sun*

The End of a Dream

—*New York Herald*

The Super-Diplomat

—*Dallas News*

On His Last Line

—*Dallas News*

CROWN PRINCE ALEXANDER OF SERBIA

Prince Alexander is regent of the new Jugoslav State, which includes Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, and Herzegovina

LEADERS IN MOVEMENT FOR AN INDEPENDENT POLAND

Ignace Paderewski, the pianist, who led the activities in America in behalf of Polish freedom

General Joseph Pilsudski, Commander in Chief of Poland's armies

(© *Underwood & Underwood*)

MEN AT HELM OF NEW GERMAN GOVERNMENTS

Friedrich W. Ebert, Socialist Chancellor at Berlin, succeeding Prince Maximilian of Baden

Kurt Eisner, former newspaper editor, first President of the Bavarian Republic

AMERONGEN CASTLE, HOLLAND, RESIDENCE OF THE EX-KAISER

This old Dutch castle, the property of Count Wilhelm von Bentinck, was assigned to the former German Emperor when he fled from Spa

SCENE AT PROCLAMATION OF NEW GERMAN GOVERNMENT

Immense throngs gathered before the Reichstag Building in Berlin, Nov. 10, 1918, when the new Government was proclaimed

(© *International Film Service*)

GREETING PRESIDENT WILSON IN THE PLACE DE LA CONCORDE

Enormous multitudes gathered to cheer the American President on his arrival in Paris as he drove through the streets with President Poincaré

© International Film Service

MURAT MANSION, TEMPORARY RESIDENCE OF PRESIDENT WILSON

The famous mansion of Prince and Princess Murat was placed at the disposal of President and Mrs. Wilson during their stay in Paris

(Times Photo Service)

MARSHAL PETAIN ENTERING METZ IN TRIUMPH

One of the military idols of France riding into Metz at the head of his troops, Nov. 19, 1918

(© *Underwood & Underwood*)

THE FRENCH ENTERING STRASBOURG, CAPITAL OF ALSACE

Scene when Strasbourg echoed once more to the tread of French troops after forty-eight years of German rule

(© *Kadel & Herbert*)

AMERICAN ARMY OF OCCUPATION ENTERING TREVES

American troops marching through the Kaiserplatz, in Treves, Germany, Dec. 1, 1918, amid a population who received them in silence

(© *Underwood & Underwood*)

The United States war fleet returned to New York Harbor on Dec. 26, 1918. That afternoon the crews paraded in Fifth Avenue, amid the cheers of multitudes

(Times Photo Service)

The King and Queen of Belgium rode into Brussels, Nov. 22, 1918, amid the wild acclamations of their people. They are here seen reviewing their troops

(© *Underwood & Underwood*)

King Victor Emmanuel III., in company with President Poincaré of France, driving through the Place de la Concorde

(*Times Photo Service*)

THE WHITE FLAGS THAT BETOKENED GERMANY'S SURRENDER

Arrival of the German armistice envoys at the French outpost near Haudroy, France, Nov. 7, 1918

HISTORIC SPOT WHERE THE ARMISTICE WAS SIGNED

Compiègne Forest, France; at the left is the headquarters train of Marshal Foch, in which the armistice was signed by the German envoys, Nov. 11, 1918

The Hotel Crillon, Paris, residence of the American delegates during the Peace Congress

(Times Photo Service)

American Peace Delegates in Conference Room, Hotel Crillon. Left to right, Colonel House, Secretary Lansing, President Wilson, Henry White, General Bliss

(U. S. Signal Corps, A. E. F.)

PERIOD LIII.

The Peace Congress—President Wilson in Europe—President Wilson's Visit to Italy—Crushing Bolshevism in Germany—The Kaiser's Abdication and Flight—The ex-Kaiser in Exile—Count von Hertling's Last Statement—The Allied Armies in Germany—German Armistice Terms Changed—War Casualties of All Nations—Getting Back to a Peace Basis—Deeds of the American Battle Squadron—Neutrals and the Peace Congress—The Bolshevist War in Russia—Air Raids in England—Alsace-Lorraine's Return to France—Conditions in Liberated Regions—German Maltreatment of Women—The Last Battles in Italy—Fixing Germany's New Frontiers—Marshal Foch to the Victorious Armies—Last Days of the Hapsburg Dynasty—Hungary's Freedom Won in a Night—Creating the Kingdom of Jugoslavia—Events in the Czechoslovak Republic—The Political Situation in Poland—Poland's Thousand Years of Evolution—Ruthenians Versus Poles in Galicia—The Causes of Russia's Ruin—Bolshevism Against Civilization—How the Czar Was Doomed to Death—Private Diary of the Late Czar—Campaign of the Caliphs for Damascus—The Liberators of the World—Latin America in the War.

THE PEACE CONGRESS

Opening Session of the Greatest World Tribunal in History, With Text of the First Addresses

THE Peace Congress held its first session at Paris on Jan. 18, 1919. The formal assembling had been preceded by daily conferences of the Inter-allied Supreme War Council and by two formal meetings of the President of the United States with the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, the United States, France, and Italy, assisted by the Japanese Ambassadors in Paris and London. At these conferences the preliminaries of the organization of the Peace Congress were arranged.

The following joint communique was issued with reference to the organization of the Congress:

> It was decided that the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan should be represented by five delegates apiece. The British Dominions and India, besides, shall be represented as follows: Two delegates respectively for Australia, Canada, South Africa, and India, including the native States, and one delegate for New Zealand.
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> Brazil will have three delegates. Belgium, China, Greece, Poland, Portugal, the Czechoslovak Republic, Rumania, and Serbia will have two delegates apiece, Siam one delegate, and Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, and Panama one delegate apiece.
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> Montenegro will have one delegate, but the rules concerning the designation of this delegate shall not be fixed until the moment when the political situation in that country shall have been cleared up.
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> The meeting adopted the following two general principles:
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> One—Each delegation being a unit, the number of delegates forming it shall have no influence upon its status at the conference.
>
> Two—In the selection of its delegation each nation may avail itself of the panel system. This will enable each State at discretion to intrust its interests to such persons as it may designate.
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> The adoption of the panel system will in particular enable the British Empire to admit among its five delegates representatives of the dominions, including Newfoundland, which has no separate representation, and of India.

In consequence of protests by Serbia and Belgium the representation of each of these countries was later increased from two to three delegates. The Kingdom of the Hedjaz at the same time was allowed two delegates.

A day or two before the Peace Congress held its first session, deep dissatisfaction was created among the press representatives in Paris by the announcement that published information regarding the proceedings would be limited to a daily official communique, and that the delegates in

attendance had agreed not to discuss with correspondents anything that occurred at the meetings. A formal protest lodged with the delegates produced a concession admitting the correspondents to the full conference, though it was announced that deliberations would at times be secret.

LIST OF DELEGATES

The following list of delegates was announced:

France—Georges Clemenceau, Prime Minister; Stephen Pichon, Foreign Minister; Louis Klotz, Finance Minister; André Tardieu, French High Commissioner to the United States, and Jules Cambon.

Great Britain—David Lloyd George, Prime Minister; Arthur J. Balfour, Foreign Secretary; Andrew Bonar Law; George Nicoll Barnes, the Labor leader, and another alternate delegate.

United States—Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States; Robert Lansing, Secretary of State; Henry White, Colonel Edward M. House, and General Tasker H. Bliss.

Italy—Vittorio Orlando, Prime Minister; Baron Sonnino, Foreign Minister; Antonio Salandra, former Premier; Marquis Salvago Raggi, and the Italian Minister of Finance, Signor Stringher.

Japan—The Marquis Saionji, former Prime Minister; Baron Makino, Baron Chinda, Baron Matsui, and Count Hayashi.

Brazil—Senator Epitacio Pessoa, Dr. Pandia Caloreras, and Deputy Raoul Fernandez.

Belgium—Paul Hymans, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Emile Vandervelde, and M. Vandenheuvel.

Serbia—Nikola Pashitch, former Prime Minister, and M. Trumbitch, former President of the Dalmatian Diet, who will alternate with Dr. M. R. Vesnitch, Serbian Minister to France, and M. Reber.

Greece—Eleutherios Venizelos, Premier, and M. Politis, Foreign Minister.

Rumania—M. Bratiano, Prime Minister, and M. Mishr.

Czechoslovakia—Dr. Karl Kramarcz, Premier, and M. Benès, Foreign Minister.

Poland—M. Dmowski, Polish representative to the allied Governments, and a second delegate representing General Pilsudski.

China—Lu Cheng-Hsiang, Foreign Minister, and one other.

Kingdom of the Hedjaz—Two delegates.

Canada—Sir Robert Borden, Premier; Sir George Foster, Minister of Trade and Commerce, with others of the delegation alternating.

Australia—William Morris Hughes, Premier, and one other.

Union of South Africa—General Louis Botha and General Jan C. Smuts.

India—The Maharajah of Bikaner and Sir S. P. Sinha.

Siam—M. Charoon, Minister to France, and one other.

New Zealand—William F. Massey, Premier.

Portugal—Ejas Moniz.

PLACE OF MEETINGS

The Congress held its sessions in the Salle de la Paix of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, just across the Seine from the Place de la Concorde. The hall was originally known as the Salle d'Horloge, and is one of the most splendid reception rooms in Europe.

Directly behind the President's seat stood a heroic statue of Peace holding aloft the torch of civilization. In front of the statue was spread the council table, covered with the traditional green baize of diplomacy. This table was in the form of a huge horseshoe. Across the upper end were nine seats of honor, for the presiding

officer, the Vice Presidents, and the Premiers. On each side of the two arms of the horseshoe there were fifteen seats, making sixty seats besides the nine at the head of the table.

Each delegate's chair was upholstered in bright red leather, and before each place was a complete equipment of writing materials. The fittings of the room were in white and gold, with a frescoed ceiling bordered by dancing Cupids. Four great lustre chandeliers hung from the ceiling, while five large windows, looking out over the Seine River, cast a flood of light over the sumptuous apartment.

Leading from the council room was another large chamber overlooking the gardens. To this room the delegates retired for consultations. Further on was a gorgeous state dining room, where luncheon and dinner were served to the delegates when protracted sessions were held. The whole suite of rooms was suggestive of elegance and beauty and the artistic taste of the French.

THE OPENING SESSION

The opening session of the Congress began at 3 o'clock Saturday afternoon, Jan. 18, 1919. As the delegations arrived they were greeted by fanfares of trumpets, and military honors were accorded by the troops. The Japanese were among the earlier arrivals, and were followed by the Siamese and East Indians in picturesque turbans.

Among the very first were Henry White, the American Commissioner, and Andre Tardieu, the delegate of France, who is Minister of Franco-American Affairs in the French Cabinet. Immediately after came General Bliss, the military member of the American delegation, whose khaki uniform, simple as it was, stood out strikingly among the frockcoated statesmen. This absence of military uniform and all military suggestion was, for such an occasion of great ceremony, one of the striking features of the whole affair. Admiral Benson, wearing the blue uniform of the United States Navy, led a group of American spectators, including Edward N. Hurley and Herbert C. Hoover.

Then President Wilson came, was joined by Secretary Lansing, and began a hand-shaking progress along one side of the room to his place at the top of the table. The greetings exchanged between Wilson and Clemenceau were particularly cordial.

Just at 3 o'clock a ruffle of drums and blare of trumpets announced the approach of President Poincaré. He was escorted by the group of Premiers to the head of the table. Next to him on the right was President Wilson, with three members of the American Commission, Colonel House being absent on account of illness. To the left of M. Poincaré were the British delegates, with one notable exception, for Premier Lloyd George did not arrive until fifteen minutes after M. Poincaré had begun his speech.

The French delegation, with the grizzled Clemenceau at its head, was next to the American along the right side of the table, and then came the Italians, with the Belgians and Brazilians. Along the side below the British were the representatives of Canada, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand, and then those of Japan and Bolivia. All these had places on the outer sides of the table. The interior was occupied by the representatives of the smaller nationalities, an impressive array of

many races from many parts of the world.

It was exactly three minutes after 3 when M. Poincaré began his address, and the Peace Congress came into being. The entire assemblage stood as the French President spoke. He spoke in French, and, when he had concluded, an interpreter read the Presidential discourse in English. As M. Poincaré closed he turned to receive the congratulations of President Wilson and Premier Lloyd George, and then withdrew, saluting each delegation as he retired.

As M. Poincaré made his exit President Wilson rose to propose M. Clemenceau as Permanent Chairman of the Congress. His nomination was seconded by Lloyd George and Baron Sonnino, and was ratified unanimously. At the conclusion of M. Clemenceau's address of acceptance the first session of the Congress came to a close.

PRESIDENT POINCARE'S ADDRESS

President Poincaré's speech was as follows:

"Gentlemen: France greets and thanks you for having chosen as the seat of your labors the city which for more than four years the enemy has made his principal military objective and which the valor of the allied armies has victoriously defended against unceasingly renewed offensives.

"Permit me to see in your decision the homage of all the nations that you represent toward a country which more than any other has endured the sufferings of war, of which entire provinces have been transformed into a vast battlefield and have been systematically laid waste by the invader, and which has paid the human tribute in death.

"France has borne these enormous sacrifices, although she had not the slightest responsibility for the frightful catastrophe which has overwhelmed the universe. And at the moment when the cycle of horror is ending, all the powers whose delegates are assembled here may acquit themselves of any share in the crime which has resulted in so unprecedented a disaster. What gives you the authority to establish a peace of justice is the fact that none of the peoples of whom you are the delegates has had any part in the injustice. Humanity can place confidence in you because you are not among those who have outraged the rights of humanity.

"There is no need of further information or for special inquiries into the origin of the drama which has just shaken the world. The truth, bathed in blood, has already escaped from the imperial archives. The premeditated character of the trap is today clearly proved.

"In the hope of conquering first the hegemony of Europe and next the mastery of the world, the Central Empires, bound together by a secret plot, found the most abominable of pretexts for trying to crush Serbia and force their way to the east. At the same time they disowned the most solemn undertakings in order to crush Belgium and force their way into the heart of France.

"These are the two unforgettable outrages which opened the way to aggression. The combined efforts of Great Britain, France, and Russia were exerted against that man-made arrogance.

"If, after long vicissitudes, those who wished to reign by the sword have perished by the sword, they have but themselves to blame. They have been destroyed by their own blindness. What could be more significant than the shameful bargains they attempted to offer to Great Britain and France at the end of July, 1914, when to Great Britain they suggested: 'Allow us to attack France on land and we will not enter the Channel,' and when they instructed their Ambassador to say to France: 'We will only accept a declaration of neutrality on your part if you surrender to us Briey, Toul, and Verdun.' It is in the light of these things, gentlemen, that all the conclusions you will have to draw from the war will take shape.

"Your nations entered the war successively, but came one and all to the help of threatened right. Like Germany, Great Britain had guaranteed the independence of Belgium. Germany sought to crush Belgium. Great Britain and France both swore to save her. Thus from the very beginning of hostilities there came into conflict the two ideas which for fifty months were to struggle for the dominion of the world—the idea of sovereign force, which accepts neither control nor check, and the idea of justice, which depends on the sword only to prevent or repress the abuse of strength.

"Faithfully supported by her dominions

and her colonies, Great Britain decided that she could not remain aloof from a struggle in which the fate of every country was involved. She has made, and her dominions and colonies have made with her, prodigious efforts to prevent the war from ending in the triumph of the spirit of conquest and the destruction of right.

"Japan, in her turn, only decided to take up arms out of loyalty to Great Britain, her great ally, and from the consciousness of the danger in which both Asia and Europe would have stood of the hegemony of which the Germanic empires dreamed.

"Italy, who from the first had refused to lend a helping hand to German ambition, rose against an agelong foe only to answer the call of oppressed populations and to destroy at the cost of her blood the artificial political combination which took no account of human liberty.

"Rumania resolved to fight only to realize that national unity which was opposed by the same powers of arbitrary force. Abandoned, betrayed, and strangled, she had to submit to an abominable treaty, the revision of which you will exact.

"Greece, whom the enemy for many months tried to turn from her traditions and destinies, raised an army only to escape attempts at domination of which she felt the growing threat.

"Portugal, China, and Siam abandoned neutrality only to escape the strangling pressure of the Central Powers.

TRIBUTE TO AMERICAN REPUBLICS

"Thus, it was the extent of German ambitions that brought so many peoples, great and small, to align themselves against the same adversary. And what shall I say of the solemn resolutions taken by the United States in the Spring of 1917, under the auspices of its illustrious President, Mr. Wilson, whom I am happy to greet here in the name of grateful France and, if you will allow me to say so, gentlemen, in the name of all the nations represented in this room?

"What shall I say of the many other American powers which either declared themselves against Germany—Brazil, Cuba, Panama, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Haiti, Honduras—or at least broke off diplomatical relations—Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Uruguay? From the north to the south the New World rose with indignation when it saw the empires of Central Europe, after having let loose the war without provocation and without excuse, carry it on with fire, pillage, and the massacre of inoffensive beings.

"The intervention of the United States was something more, something greater than a great political and military event. It was a supreme judgment passed at the bar of history by the lofty conscience of a free people and their Chief Magistrate on the enormous responsibilities incurred in the frightful conflict which was lacerating humanity.

AMERICA'S DEFENSE OF FREE IDEALS

"It was not only to protect itself from the audacious aims of German megalomania that the United States equipped fleets and created immense armies, but also, and above all, to defend an ideal of liberty over which it saw the huge shadow of the Imperial Eagle encroaching further every day. America, the daughter of Europe, crossed the ocean to rescue her mother from the humiliation of thralldom and to save civilization.

"The American people wished to put an end to the greatest scandal that has ever sullied the annals of mankind. Autocratic Governments, having prepared in the secrecy of the Chancelleries and the General Staffs a mad program of universal dominion, let loose their packs at the time fixed by their genius for intrigue and sounded the horns for the chase, ordering science (at the very time it was beginning to abolish distances, to bring men closer together and make life sweeter) to leave the bright sky toward which it was soaring and to place itself submissively at the service of violence, debasing the religious idea to the extent of making God the complacent auxiliary of their passions and the accomplice of their crimes—in short, counting as nought the traditions and wills of peoples, the lives of citizens, the honor of women, and all those principles of public and private morality which we for our part have endeavored to keep unaltered throughout the war, and which neither nations nor individuals can repudiate or disregard with impunity.

RISING OF OPPRESSED NATIONS

"While the conflict was gradually extending over the entire surface of the earth the clanking of chains was heard here and there, and captive nationalities from the depths of their agelong jails cried out to us for help. Yes, more, they escaped to come to our aid. Poland came to life again and sent us troops. The Czechoslovaks won their right to independence, in Siberia, in France, and in Italy. The Jugoslavs, the Armenians, the Syrians, and Levantines, the Arabs, all the victims, long helpless or resigned, of the historic deeds of injustice—all the martyrs of the past, all the outraged in conscience, all the strangled in liberty—viewed the clash of arms and turned to us as their natural defenders.

"The war gradually attained the fullness of its first significance and became in the full sense of the term a crusade of humanity for right, and if anything can console us, in part at least, for the losses we have suffered it is assuredly the thought that our victory is also the victory of right. This victory is complete, for the enemy only asked for the armistice to escape from an irretrievable military disaster.

"In the interest of justice and peace it now rests with you to reap from this victory its full fruits. In order to carry out this immense task you have decided to admit at first only the allied or associated powers, and, in so far as their interests are involved in the debates, the nations which remained neutral. You have thought that the terms of peace ought to be settled among ourselves before they are communicated to those against whom we have fought the good fight.

"The solidarity which has united us during the war and has enabled us to win military success ought to remain unimpaired during the negotiations for and after the signing of the treaty.

A CONGRESS OF FREE PEOPLES

"It is not only the Governments, but the free peoples, who are represented here. To the test of danger they have learned to know and help one another. They want their intimacy of yesterday to assure the peace of tomorrow. Vainly would our enemies seek to divide us. If they have not yet renounced their customary manoeuvres they will soon find that they are meeting today, as during the hostilities, a homogeneous block which nothing will be able to disintegrate. Even before the armistice you reached that necessary unity under the aid of the lofty moral and political truths of which President Wilson has nobly made himself the interpreter, and in the light of these truths you intend to accomplish your mission.

"You will, therefore, seek nothing but justice—justice that has no favorites, justice in territorial problems, justice in financial problems, justice in economic problems. But justice is not inert, it does not submit to injustice.

"What it demands first, when it has been violated, is restitution and reparation for the peoples and individuals who have been despoiled or maltreated. In formulating this lawful claim it obeys neither hatred nor an instinctive or thoughtless desire for reprisals. It pursues a twofold object—to render to each his due and not to encourage crime through leaving it unpunished.

"What justice also demands, inspired by the same feeling, is the punishment of the guilty and effective guarantees against an active return of the spirit by which they were prompted, and it is logical to demand that these guarantees should be given, above all, to the nations that have been and might again be most exposed to aggression or threat, to those who have many times stood in danger of being submerged by the periodic tide of the same invasion.

DREAM OF CONQUEST BANISHED

"What justice banishes is the dream of conquest and imperialism, contempt for national will, the arbitrary exchange of provinces between States, as though peoples were but articles of furniture or pawns in a game. The time is no more when diplomatists could meet to redraw with authority the map of the empires on the corner of a table. If you are to remake the map of the world it is in the name of the peoples, and one condition is that you shall faithfully interpret their thoughts and respect the right of nations, small and great, to dispose of themselves and to reconcile with this the equally sacred right of ethnical and religious minorities—a formidable task which science and history, your two advisers, will contribute to assist and facilitate.

"You will naturally strive to secure the material and moral means of subsistence for all those people who are constituted or reconstituted into States, for those who wish to unite themselves to their neighbors, for those who divide themselves into separate units, for those who reorganize themselves, for those who divide themselves according to their regained traditions, and, lastly, for all those whose freedom you have already sanctioned or are about to sanction. You will not call them into existence only to sentence them to death immediately, because you would like your work in this, as in all other matters, to be fruitful and lasting.

CALL FOR A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

"While introducing into the world as much harmony as possible, you will, in conformity with the fourteenth of the propositions unanimously adopted by the great allied powers, establish a general League of Nations which will be the supreme guarantee against any fresh assault upon the rights of peoples. You do not intend this international association to be directed against anybody in the future. It will not, of a set purpose, shut out anybody, but, having been organized by the nations that have sacrificed themselves in the defense of right, it will receive from them its statutes and fundamental rules.

"It will lay down conditions concerning present or future adherence, and, as it is to have for its essential aim the prevention as far as possible of the renewal of wars, it will, above all, seek to gain respect for the peace which you will have established and will find it the less difficult to maintain in proportion as this peace will in itself imply the greater realities of justice and safer guarantees of stability.

"By establishing this new order of things

you will meet the aspirations of humanity, which, after the frightful convulsions of the blood-stained years, ardently wishes to feel itself protected by a union of free people against the ever possible revival of primitive savagery. An immortal glory will attach to the names of the nations and the men who have desired to co-operate in this grand work in faith and brotherhood and who have taken the pains to eliminate from the future peace causes of disturbance and instability.

"This very day forty-eight years ago—on the 18th of January, 1871—the German Empire was proclaimed by an army of invasion in the Château at Versailles. It was consecrated by the theft of two French provinces. It was thus a violation from its origin and, by the fault of its founders, it was born in injustice. It has ended in oblivion.

"You are assembled in order to repair the evil that has been done and to prevent a recurrence of it. You hold in your hands the future of the world. I leave you gentlemen, to your grave deliberations and declare the Conference of Paris open."

CLEMENCEAU'S ACCEPTANCE

Premier Clemenceau, in accepting the Chairmanship, said:

President Wilson has special authority to say that this is the first time in fact that the world has ever seen assembled together a delegation of all the civilized nations of the earth.

The greater the bloody catastrophe which has devastated and ruined one of the richest parts of France, the greater and more splendid must be the reparation—not only the material reparation, the vulgar reparation, if I dare speak so, which is due all of us, but the higher and nobler reparation of the new institution which we will try to establish, in order that nations may at length escape from the fatal embrace of ruinous wars, which destroy everything, heap up ruins, terrorize the populace and prevent them from going freely about their work for fear of enemies which may rise up from one day to the next.

It is a great, splendid, and noble ambition which has come to all of us. It is desirable that success should crown our efforts. This cannot take place unless we have all firmly fixed and clearly determined ideas on what we wish to do.

I said in the Chamber a few days ago, and I wish to repeat here, that success is not possibly unless we remain firmly united. We have come together as friends, we must leave this hall as friends.

That, gentlemen, is the first thought that comes to me. All else must be subordinated to the necessity of a closer and closer union among the nations who have taken part in this great war and to the necessity of remaining friends. For the League of Nations is here. It is yourself. It is for you to make it live, and to make it live we must have it really in our hearts.

As I told President Wilson a few days ago, there is no sacrifice that I am not willing to make in order to accomplish this, and I do not doubt that you all have the same sentiment. We will make these sacrifices, but on the condition that we endeavor impartially to conciliate interests apparently contradictory, on the higher plane of a greater, happier, and better humanity.

That, gentlemen, is what I had to say to you. I am touched beyond words at the evidence of good-will and friendship which you show me.

The program of this conference has been laid down by President Wilson. It is no longer the peace of a more or less vast territory, no longer the peace of continents; it is the peace of nations that is to be made. This program is sufficient in itself. There is no superfluous word. Let us try to act swiftly and well.

Rising after the close of his formal speech, M. Clemenceau called on the delegates to present papers dealing with the special interests of their respective nations, and announced that at the suggestion of Premier Lloyd George one of the early duties of the conference would be to determine the responsibility for the war and the special responsibility which attached to the ex-Kaiser. In adjourning the day's session he then announced that the League of Nations would be set at the head of the order of business at the next plenary sitting.

PRESIDENT WILSON IN EUROPE

His Visit to the King of England Productive of Historic Scenes and Addresses—The President in Italy

PRESIDENT WILSON visited England late in December, 1918, and a few days later paid official visits to Rome, Turin, Genoa, and Milan, returning to Paris on Jan. 7, 1919. He was everywhere received with enthusiastic demonstrations, not alone by sovereigns and their Governments, but by great masses of the people.

During the week following his arrival in Paris—after the formal greetings by President Poincaré and the reception tendered by the municipal authorities of Paris in order to confer the honor of citizenship upon him—the President was busily occupied in conferences with the American Peace Delegation, the heads of the French Government, and representatives of Great Britain and Italy.

The King of Italy arrived in Paris on Dec. 19 and called upon President Wilson the same evening. This occasion was memorable in that it was the first meeting between a President of the United States and a European sovereign. There was a noteworthy absence of official ceremony. The King and President conversed intimately for three-quarters of an hour. The next day the President returned the call made by the King, having conferred with Premier Orlando and Baron Sonnino of Italy earlier in the day.

HONORED AT THE SORBONNE

The University of Paris (the Sorbonne) conferred on President Wilson Dec. 21 the Degree of Doctor, Honoris Causa, in recognition of his work as a jurist and historian. President Poincaré, the Presidents of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, the Diplomatic Corps, members of the Government, and the highest civil and military authorities were present at the ceremony.

Lucien Poincaré, Vice Rector of the University and brother of the President of the republic, paid an eloquent tribute to President Wilson's ability as a professor before he entered upon his political career, and told of the President's part in the war. In his speech he said:

> History will recount how, taking inspiration from the American people and your own thoughts, you reached one glorious day the decision which is one of the greatest events recorded in the war and, in your own words, placed the blood and all the power of America at the service of the principles which have given her life. History will also tell how you have sought to realize the imperishable supremacy of right by means of an association of peoples which should liberate the world.

M. Poincaré paid honor to American university professors for the unfailing sympathy they had shown for France, and also to the American students who in such great numbers came to fight beside their French student comrades. He continued:

> Many, alas! will not return to their beloved country, for they have fallen in France; where, we trust, they felt they were not on foreign soil, and where they have left to the youth of the two republics an immortal example of fraternal union.
>
> Glory to the American students! Glory to the eminent professors of their universities! Glory to you, Mr. President, who are the first among them! In the name of the University of Paris I have the honor to award the insignia and diploma of Doctor to one whom posterity will salute with the surname the Righteous—President Wilson.

PRESIDENT'S SORBONNE ADDRESS

President Wilson, in acknowledging the honor bestowed upon him by the university, said:

> I have always thought that the chief object of education was to awaken the spirit, and that, inasmuch as a literature whenever it has touched its great and higher notes was an expression of the spirit of mankind, the best induction into education was to feel the pulses of humanity which had beaten from age to age through the universities of men who had

penetrated to the secrets of the human spirit.

And I agree with the intimation which has been conveyed today that the terrible war through which we have just passed has not been only a war between nations, but that it has been also a war between systems of culture—the one system the aggressive system, using science without conscience, stripping learning of its moral restraints, and using every faculty of the human mind to do wrong to the whole race; the other system reminiscent of the high traditions of men, reminiscent of all these struggles, some of them obscure, but others clearly revealed in history, of men of indomitable spirit everywhere struggling toward the right and seeking above all things else to be free.

The triumph of freedom in this war means that that spirit shall now dominate the world. There is a great wave of moral force moving through the world, and every man who opposes himself to that wave will go down in disgrace.

The task of those who are gathered here, or will presently be gathered here, to make the settlements of this peace, is greatly simplified by the fact that they are the masters of no one; they are the servants of mankind. And if we do not heed the mandates of mankind we shall make ourselves the most conspicuous and deserved failures in the history of the world.

My conception of the League of Nations is just this—that it shall operate as the organized moral force of men throughout the world, and that whenever or wherever wrong and aggression are planned or contemplated, this searching light of conscience will be turned upon them, and men everywhere will ask, "What are the purposes that you hold in your heart against the fortunes of the world?"

Just a little exposure will settle most questions. If the Central Powers had dared to discuss the purposes of this war for a single fortnight, it never would have happened; and if, as should be, they were forced to discuss it for a year, the war would have been inconceivable.

So I feel that war is, as has been said more than once today, intimately related with the university spirit. The university spirit is intolerant of all the things that put the human mind under restraint. It is intolerant of everything that seeks to retard the advancement of ideals, the acceptance of the truth, the purification of life; and every university man can ally himself with the forces of the present time with the feeling that now at last the spirit of truth, the spirit to which universities have devoted themselves, has prevailed and is triumphant.

If there is one point of pride that I venture to entertain, it is that it has been my private privilege in some measure to interpret the university spirit in the public life of a great nation, and I feel that in honoring me today in this unusual and conspicuous manner you have first of all honored the people whom I represent. The spirit that I try to express I know to be their spirit, and in proportion as I serve them I believe that I advance the cause of freedom.

I, as before, wish to thank you, Sir, from the bottom of my heart for a distinction which has in a singular way crowned my academic career.

CHRISTMAS AT CHAUMONT

The President spent Christmas Day in a visit to Chaumont, the headquarters of the American Expeditionary Forces in France. The city officials of Chaumont gave him an official welcome, after which he reviewed detachments numbering 10,000 of the First Army. They included picked battalions and companies from the 6th, 26th, 29th, 77th, 80th, and 82d Divisions, all of whom had seen active service and suffered many casualties in operations against the Germans.

Following a short formal greeting by General Pershing, after the review, the President replied as follows:

General Pershing and Fellow-Comrades: I wish that I could give to each one of you the message that I know you are longing to receive from those at home who love you. I cannot do that, but I can tell you how every one has put his heart into it. So you have done your duty, and something more. You have done your duty, and you have done it with a spirit which gave it distinction and glory.

And now we are to hail the fruits of everything. You conquered, when you came over, what you came over for, and you have done what it was appointed for you to do. I know what you expected of me. Some time ago a gentleman from one of the countries with which we are associated was discussing with me the moral aspects of this war, and I said that if we did not insist upon the high purpose which we have accomplished the end would not be justified.

Everybody at home is proud of you and has followed every movement of this great army with confidence and affection. The whole people of the United States are now waiting to welcome you home with an acclaim which probably has never greeted any other army, because our country is like this country—we have been so proud of the stand taken, of the purpose for which this war was entered by the United States.

You knew what we expected of you, and

you did it. I know what you and the people at home expected of me, and I am happy to say, my fellow-countrymen, that I do not find in the hearts of the great leaders with whom it is my privilege now to co-operate any difference of principle or of fundamental purpose.

It happened that it was the privilege of America to present the chart for peace, and now the process of settlement has been rendered comparatively simple by the fact that all the nations concerned have accepted that chart, and the application of these principles laid down there will be their application. The world will now know that the nations that fought this war, as well as the soldiers who represented them, are ready to make good—make good not only in the assertion of their own interests, but make good in the establishment of peace upon the permanent foundation of right and of justice.

A PEOPLES' PEACE

Because this is not a war in which the soldiers of the free nations have obeyed masters. You have commanders, but you have no masters. Your very commanders represent you in representing the nation of which you constitute so distinguished a part. And everybody concerned in the settlement knows that it must be a peoples' peace and that nothing must be done in the settlement of the issues of the war which is not as handsome as the great achievements of the armies of the United States and the Allies.

It is difficult, very difficult, men, in any formal speech like this to show you my real heart. You men probably do not realize with what anxious attention and care we have followed every step you have advanced and how proud we are that every step was in advance, and not in retreat; that every time you set your face in any direction you kept your face in that direction. A thrill has gone through my heart, as it has gone through the heart of every American, with almost every gun that was fired and every stroke that was struck in the gallant fighting that you have done; and there has been only one regret in America, and that was the regret that every man there felt that he was not there in France, too.

It has been a hard thing to perform the tasks in the United States; it has been a hard thing to take part in directing what you did without coming over and helping you to do it. It has taken a lot of moral courage to stay at home. But we were proud to back you up everywhere that it was possible to back you up. And now I am happy to find what splendid names you have made for yourselves among the civilian population of France, as well as among your comrades in the armies of the French, and it is a fine testimony to you men that these people like you and love you and trust you, and the finest part of it all is that you deserve their trust.

I feel a comradeship with you today which is delightful. As I look down upon these undisturbed fields, I think of the terrible scenes through which you have gone and realize how the quiet of peace, the tranquillity of settled hopes has descended upon us. And, while it is hard far away from home, confidentially, to bid you a Merry Christmas, I can, I think, confidentially, promise you a Happy New Year, and I can from the bottom of my heart say, God bless you.

HIS ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND

President Wilson reached England on Dec. 26. He crossed the Channel on the steamer Brighton. Richard V. Oulahan, The New York Times special correspondent, thus described the arrival of the first American President on British soil:

"As the white cliffs of Dover came in sight it was apparent that England's first welcome to the President was to be a cordial one.

"The piers, the ships in the harbor, every point of vantage, even the cliffs themselves were crowded with people. The Brighton steamed slowly into the harbor, and as she passed the British warships assembled there, the crews which lined the sides of each vessel gave three sturdy cheers. From the mainmast of every one of them flew the American standard, and their bands played 'The Star-Spangled Banner.' The people gathered in great masses on the piers and along the shore line cheered also. Many of them carried small American flags, which they waved vigorously at the tall man on the bridge of the Brighton who doffed his hat to them and showed by his smiling face to those near enough to see that he was responding to the enthusiasm of the occasion.

"The guns ashore boomed out a salute as the Brighton docked and the President stepped on English soil. He had changed back to his blue overcoat and silk hat. Mrs. Wilson wore a sealskin coat, three-quarter length, trimmed at the bottom with a rich lighter colored fur, while her black velvet hat was a becoming three-cornered affair like those worn by the soldiers in our Continental Army.

RECEPTION IN DOVER

"Dover and the British Government had prepared for the occasion. The decorations in honor of the President's brief visit were lavish. The Lord Mayor, officers of the corporation, and the town burgesses were at hand wearing their robes and chains of office. American and British flags were displayed on all sides.

"On the pier to receive the President was the Duke of Connaught, the King's uncle, wearing the khaki uniform of his rank in the British Army, and as the President stepped ashore he welcomed him warmly in the King's name and entered into an animated conversation with the President and Mrs. Wilson. Close behind the Duke were some old friends of the President—Lord Reading, John W. Davis, the American Ambassador; Admiral Sims, General Biddle, members of the American Embassy, and others of high rank in the American and British Governments.

"The greetings were over in a few minutes and then the President and the Duke of Connaught led the way through the dock sheds to a waiting special train. The station walls, ceilings, and pillars were decorated with the national standards of Great Britain and the United States and a great variety of varicolored signal flags.

PATH STREWN WITH FLOWERS

"As the party passed along between the ranks of British troops and a battalion of sailors from the Terror, standing at present arms, the Erebus's band played lively airs. The way to the train was carpeted with broad red cloth, which added strikingly to the decorative effect. A most pleasing feature of the reception was the presence of a double line of little girls, each with an American flag worn as a shoulder sash, who strewed roses and other fragrant flowers in the pathway of the party.

"The Lord Mayor, standing just at the entrance to the President's car, stepped forward and presented to the President an illuminated address in behalf of the town of Dover. President Wilson's response was brief, but full of appreciation of the welcome he had received.

"The train was ready for departure, and in a few minutes, with the President, Mrs. Wilson, and the members of the Presidential party on board, it steamed out of the station. All the available space within the station was filled with people, and they broke into cheering as the train moved toward London. At every street corner in Dover which the train passed large crowds were gathered, and these also cheered as the train went by. It was that way along the entire route to the capital. The train made no stop, but in every town and village the people were gathered at places overlooking the tracks and in the stations, and gave more cheers. Many of them waved American flags."

WELCOME IN LONDON

Ernest Marshall, a correspondent of The New York Times, cabled this word picture from London on Dec. 26:

"If ever a countenance bespoke unalloyed appreciation it was President Wilson's as he drove through the streets of London today. The King and Queen and the leaders of the State had met the President and his wife at Charing Cross Station. Sovereign honors had been paid the American Chief Magistrate and the First Lady of the Land. Guns had boomed a salute. Guards of honor had presented arms. A military band had played the national anthem of the distinguished visitor's country.

"That was the welcome of the State, given with all due ceremonial. But it was in the streets outside that President Wilson touched the core of his reception in the British metropolis. From Charing Cross to Buckingham Palace it was one long wave of cheering as the Presidential and royal procession passed.

"When the train drew up at Charing Cross, Sir Charles Cust, who was the official representative of the King to accompany the President, stepped out and bowed to the King, who moved forward with outstretched hand as President Wilson came out of his carriage to the platform. The King and the President shook hands warmly, and then his Majesty introduced the President and Mrs. Wil-

son, who followed her husband, to Queen Mary and Princess Mary.

"As the ladies stood chatting, the King and the President walked together along the platform to review the British guard of honor and the American troops drawn up in the station, the band of the Grenadier Guards meanwhile playing 'The Star-Spangled Banner.' Then Premier Lloyd George and Secretary Balfour and all the other members of the Cabinet present were individually presented to the President, who exchanged remarks with a number of them.

"The President's enjoyment of it all was obviously wholehearted. He was not satisfied to go through the ordinary motions of a salute with his hat; he waved it with a grand sweep of which any cavalier would have been proud.

"King George sat beside his guest motionless. It was not his day, but all who know how deep and sterling are his Majesty's convictions on the point of Anglo-American relationship are confident that it was a proud and happy day for him when he had the President of the United States sitting on his right hand and receiving a hearty welcome from thousands upon thousands of his Majesty's lieges.

"Of the character of the reception given to President Wilson there can be no doubt. It was hearty and sincere. To some who do not know the undemonstrative British there may seem to have been a lack of emotion. Those who do know them think rather that the sustained volume of cheering as the President passed was a most significant indication that the English have taken him to their hearts.

CROWDS BEFORE THE PALACE

"In the great open space before Buckingham Palace a crowd of 20,000 had gathered. It was an assemblage of all classes and ages. People up from the country for the holidays rubbed shoulders with dwellers in Mayfair. Aged Chelsea pensioners hobbled alongside dominion soldiers. Factory girls blocked the view of staff officers, and everywhere through the throng were American soldiers and sailors watching a little curiously to see how their President was received. Several busloads of wounded Tommies were admitted to the forecourt of the palace, but they were the only persons for whom places were reserved.

"The first intimation that he was approaching was the boom of the Presidential salute, echoing from the high buildings. Then came the sound of cheers. As the procession passed along Piccadilly, a quarter of a mile away, and turned down Constitution Hill, its course could be traced by the tide of sound which drew nearer and nearer.

"The crowd made one last effort to pack tighter and see better. The 'Waacs' on the Memorial hurried to form a line around the base and man it like bluejackets on a battleship, and the figures of the escort of Life Guards came into view. The crowd held its cheers until the first royal carriage came by, and then gave vent to its enthusiasm with full energy. Children were hoisted on their fathers' shoulders, handkerchiefs and hats were waved, hundreds of little American flags were displayed, and men and women burst into rounds of cheers. The President was evidently much pleased. He bowed and smiled to right and left. His hat was not on his head for a second, and he kept waving it as some more than usually exuberant cheerer caught his eye.

"He passed, and after another detachment of the escort came the second carriage with Mrs. Wilson, the Queen, and Princess Mary. Mrs. Wilson acknowledged the cheers only by smiling, and kept chatting with the Queen.

"The royal and Presidential procession swept by at a gentle trot around the Memorial amid a hurricane of cheers, while the 'Waacs' in their enthusiasm forgot their discipline and ran around to get another view of Wilson. Then the procession disappeared through the main gates of the palace into the interior courtyard."

WORDS TO WOUNDED MEN

London was not satisfied with the tumultuous greeting accorded during the ceremonial drive to Buckingham Palace, where the President and Mrs. Wilson remained as the guests of the King and

Queen. Some 200,000 people, filling the semicurcular assembling place facing the palace, cheered incessantly until the President appeared on the balcony beside the King. They were followed by the Queen, who waved a small American flag, and Mrs. Wilson, who carried a Union Jack; Princess Mary, and the Duke of Connaught.

So prolonged was the cheering that the President, showing great emotion, waved the chorus of voices to silence and then addressed himself especially to the wounded soldiers.

> I do not want to make a speech, [he said,] but I do want to tell you how much I honor you men who have been wounded in this fight for freedom and to thank you all for the welcome you have so generously given me. I hope each and every one of you will come through safely to enjoy the fruits of the victory for which you so courageously fought.

Soon after the President reached the palace King George showed him through the apartments allotted him, the "Belgian Suite." Later in the afternoon President and Mrs. Wilson and Rear Admiral Grayson drove out in a motor car and called at Marlborough House, where they left cards for Queen Mother Alexandra. They drove thence to the residience of the Duke of Connaught, where cards were also left.

DINED BY THE KING

A state dinner was given to Mr. and Mrs. Wilson by the King on the evening of Dec. 27 at Buckingham Palace. Every royal formality which has attended epochal occasions at the palace for two or three hundred years was carried out before and during this state banquet. President Wilson with Queen Mary led the procession into the dining hall, preceded by officials of the palace, splendidly costumed, bearing wands and walking backward and making obeisance to the guests.

Immediately behind the President and the Queen came King George and Mrs. Wilson. They were followed by members of the royal family.

At the head of the table twelve persons were seated, with King George in the middle. President Wilson sat at the King's right, and Mrs. Wilson at his left. To the right of President Wilson was Queen Mary, and then the French Ambassador, Princess Christian, the Spanish Ambassador and Princess Patricia, daughter of the Duke of Connaught. At Mrs. Wilson's left sat Princess Mary, the Italian Ambassador, Princess Beatrice, and the Japanese Ambassador, in the order named. The American Ambassador, John W. Davis, had the first place at a side rectangular table on President Wilson's right.

A SCENE OF SPLENDOR

The scene as the guests proceeded to the hall was one of splendor. In the dining salon was a great collection of solid gold plate and huge gold ornaments valued at $15,000,000. These had been brought from the vaults for the occasion. One of three buffets contained pieces of plate too large or otherwise too cumbersome for use. These included one piece of great size taken from the wreck of the Spanish Armada.

In color the gold-laden table blended with the decorations in the hall, which are white and gold, with crimson carpet and upholstering to match. The crimson effect was further carried out by the exclusive use of poinsettias as floral decorations. In the balcony at the end of the room was a military orchestra. It was not hidden from view by floral or other decorations. The attendants were in full state dress, which was heavy with gold lace.

The banquet hall, which is 200 feet long by 75 feet wide, was approached by the guests through a state hallway approximately a block long, richly furnished and decorated with paintings and porcelain. The banquet hall occasionally is used for other purposes, and has a throne at one end. The main table was arranged so that the backs of President Wilson and King George were toward the throne.

The general body of the guests preceded the royal family and the Presidential and Ambassadorial guests into the banquet hall. They rose and remained standing while the main guests and the hosts entered in procession. Heading the procession was the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord Steward and

other officials in state regalia. Yeomen of the Guard in red Elizabethan costumes and with halberds were in attendance. The military and naval officers were in service uniforms and wore their swords. The Ambassadors were in full Ambassadorial uniform. President Wilson and Ambassador Davis wore the usual formal American evening clothes. The British civilian guests wore Court dress and the insignia of many orders.

ADDRESS OF THE KING

King George, in welcoming President Wilson, said:

This is a historic moment and your visit marks a historic epoch. Nearly 150 years have passed since your Republic began its independent life, and now, for the first time, a President of the United States is our guest in England.

We welcome you to the country whence came your ancestors and where stand the homes of those from whom sprang Washington and Lincoln. We welcome you for yourself, as one whose insight, calmness, and dignity in the discharge of his high duties we have watched with admiration. We see in you the happy union of the gifts of a scholar with those of a statesman. You came from a studious, academic quiet into the full stream of an arduous public life, and your deliverances have combined breadth of view and grasp of world problems with the mastery of a lofty diction recalling that of your great orators of the past and of our own.

You come as the official head and spokesman of a mighty Commonwealth bound to us by the closest ties. Its people speak the tongue of Shakespeare and Milton. Our literature is yours as yours is also ours, and men of letters in both countries have joined in maintaining its incomparable glories.

To you, not less than to us, belong the memories of our national heroes from King Alfred down to the days of Philip Sidney and Drake, of Raleigh and Blake and Hampden, and the days when the political life of the English stock in America was just beginning. You share with us the traditions of free self-government as old as the Magna Charta.

We recognize the bond of still deeper significance in the common ideals which our people cherish. First among those ideals you value and we value freedom and peace. Privileged as we have been to be the exponents and the examples in national life of the principles of popular self-government based upon equal laws, it now falls to both of us alike to see how these principles can be applied beyond our own borders for the good of the world.

It was love of liberty, respect for law, good faith and the sacred rights of humanity that brought you to the Old World to help in saving it from the dangers that were threatening around, and that arrayed those soldier citizens of yours, whose gallantry we have admired, side by side with ours in the war.

You have now come to help in building up new States amid the ruins of those that the war has shattered and in laying the solid foundations of a settlement that may stand firm because it will rest upon the consent of the emancipated nationalities. You have eloquently expressed the hope of the American people, as it is our hope, that some plan may be devised to attain the end you have done so much to promote by which the risk of future wars may, if possible, be averted, relieving the nations of the intolerable burden which fear of war has laid upon them.

The British Nation wishes all success to the deliberations on which you and we and the great free nations allied with us are now to enter moved by disinterested good will and a sense of duty commensurate with the power which we hold as a solemn trust.

The American and British peoples have been brothers in arms, and their arms have been crowned with victory. We thank with all our hearts your valiant soldiers and sailors for their splendid part in that victory, as we thank the American people for their noble response to the call of civilization and humanity. May the same brotherly spirit inspire and guide our united efforts to secure for the world the blessings of an ordered freedom and an enduring peace.

In asking you to join with me in drinking the health of the President, I wish to say with what pleasure we welcome Mrs. Wilson to this country.

I drink to the health of the President of the United States and Mrs. Wilson and to the happiness and prosperity of the great American Nation.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S REPLY.

President Wilson, in reply, said:

I am deeply complimented by the gracious words which you have uttered. The welcome which you have given me and Mrs. Wilson has been so warm, so natural, so evidently from the heart, that we have been more than pleased. We have been touched by it, and I believe that I correctly interpret that welcome as embodying not only your own generous spirit toward us personally, but also as expressing for yourself and the great nation over which you preside that same feeling for my people, for the people of the United States.

For you and I, Sir—I temporarily—embody the spirit of two great nations, and whatever strength I have, and whatever authority, I possess it is only so long

and so far as I express the spirit and purpose of the American people. Every influence that the American people have over the affairs of the world is measured by their sympathy with the aspirations of free men everywhere. America does love freedom, and I believe that she loves freedom unselfishly. But if she does not she will not and can not help the influence to which she justly aspires.

I have had the privilege, Sir, of conferring with the leaders of your own Government and with the spokesmen of the Governments of France and of Italy, and I am glad to say that I have the same conceptions that they have of the significance and scope of the duty on which we have met.

We have used great words, all of us have used the great words "Right" and "Justice," and now we are to prove whether or not we understand these words, and how they are to be applied to the particular settlements which must conclude this war. And we must not only understand them, but we must have the courage to act upon our understanding. Yet, after I have uttered the word "Courage," it comes into my mind that it would take more courage to resist the great moral tide now running in the world than to yield to it, than to obey it. There is a great tide running in the hearts of men. The hearts of men have never beaten so singularly in unison before. Men have never before been so conscious of their brotherhood. Men have never before realized how little difference there was between right and justice in one latitude and in another, under one sovereignty and under another.

And it will be our high privilege, I believe, Sir, not only to apply the moral judgment of the world to the particular settlements which we shall attempt, but also to organize the moral force of the world to preserve those settlements, to steady the forces of mankind, and to make the right and the justice to which great nations like our own have devoted themselves the predominant and controlling force of the world.

There is something inspiring in knowing that this is the errand that we have come on. Nothing less than this would have justified me in leaving the important tasks which fall upon me upon the other side of the sea—nothing but the consciousness that nothing else compares with this in dignity and importance.

Therefore, it is the more delightful to find myself in the company of a body of men, united in ideal and purpose, and to feel that I am privileged to unite my thoughts with yours in carrying forward these standards which we are so proud to hold so high and to defend.

May I not, Sir, with a feeling of profound sincerity and friendship and sympathy, propose your health and the health of the Queen and the prosperity of Great Britain?

THE GUILDHALL ADDRESS

President Wilson held frequent and intimate conferences with the British Premier and other British statesmen. On Dec. 28 he was presented with an address of welcome in the ancient Guildhall by the officials of the City of London, and later was entertained at the Mansion House by the Lord Mayor. In his address at the Guildhall the President said:

I do not believe that it was fancy on my part that I heard in the voice of welcome uttered in the streets of this great city and in the streets of Paris something more than a personal welcome. It seemed to me that I heard the voice of one people speaking to another people, and it was a voice in which one could distinguish a singular combination of emotions. There was surely there the deep gratefulness that the fighting was over. There was the pride that the fighting had had such a culmination. There was that sort of gratitude that the nations engaged had produced such men as the soldiers of Great Britain and of the United States and of France and of Italy—men whose prowess and achievements they had witnessed with rising admiration as they moved from culmination to culmination.

But there was something more in it, the consciousness that the business is not yet done, the consciousness that it now rests upon others to see that those lives were not lost in vain.

I have not yet been to the actual battlefield, but I have been with many of the men who have fought the battles, and the other day I had the pleasure of being present at a session of the French Academy when they admitted Marshal Joffre to their membership. That sturdy, serene soldier stood and uttered, not the words of triumph, but the simple words of affection for his soldiers and the conviction which he summed up in a sentence which I will not try accurately to quote, but to reproduce in its spirit. It was that France must always remember that the small and the weak could never live free in the world unless the strong and the great always put their power and their strength in the service of right.

That is the afterthought, the thought that something must be done now, not only to make the just settlement—that of course—but to see that the settlements remained and were observed and that honor and justice prevailed in the world.

And as I have conversed with the soldiers I have been more and more aware

that they fought for something that not all of them had defined, but which all of them recognized the moment you stated it to them. They fought to do away with an old order and to establish a new one, and the centre and characteristic of the old order was that unstable thing which we used to call the "balance of power"—a thing in which the balance was determined by the sword which was thrown in on the one side or the other; a balance which was determined by the unstable equilibrium of competitive interests; a balance which was maintained by jealous watchfulness and an antagonism of interests which, though it was generally latent, was always deep-seated.

The men who have fought in this war have been the men from the free nations who are determined that that sort of thing should end now and forever. It is very interesting to me to observe how from every quarter, from every sort of mind, from every concert of counsel there comes the suggestion that there must now be, not a balance of power, not one powerful group of nations set up against another, but a single overwhelming, powerful group of nations who shall be the trustees of the peace of the world.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

It has been delightful in my conferences with the leaders of your Government to find how our minds moved along exactly the same line, and how our thought was always that the key to the peace was the guarantee of the peace, not the items of it; that the items would be worthless unless there stood back of them a permanent concert of power for their maintenance. That is the most reassuring thing that has ever happened in the world.

When this war began, the thought of a League of Nations was indulgently considered as the interesting thought of closeted students. It was thought of as one of those things that it was right to characterize by a name which, as a university man, I have always resented. It was said to be academic, as if that in itself were a condemnation—something that men could think about, but never get. Now we find the practical leading minds of the world determined to get it.

No such sudden and potent union of purpose has ever been witnessed in the world before. Do you wonder, therefore, gentlemen, that in common with those who represent you I am eager to get at the business and write the sentences down? And that I am particularly happy that the ground is cleared and the foundations laid—for we have already accepted the same body of principles? Those principles are clearly and definitely enough stated to make their application a matter which should afford no fundamental difficulty.

And back of us is that imperative yearning of the world to have all disturbing questions quieted, to have all threats against peace silenced, to have just men everywhere come together for a common object. The peoples of the world want peace, and they want it now, not merely by conquest of arms, but by agreement of mind.

It was this incomparably great object that brought me overseas. It has never before been deemed excusable for a President of the United States to leave the territory of the United States, but I know that I have the support of the judgment of my colleagues in the Government of the United States in saying that it was my paramount duty to turn away even from the imperative tasks at home to lend such counsel and aid as I could to this great—may I not say final?—enterprise of humanity.

AT THE MANSION HOUSE

President Wilson was next entertained by the City of London at the Mansion House. The Lord Mayor, in proposing the President's health, paid tribute to him as a man and statesman. He said that his presence in Europe was the sweeping away of a policy never before departed from on the other side of the Atlantic. When the aged master of ceremonies, in city livery and standing behind the Lord Mayor's chair, proclaimed: "Your Royal Highness, (addressing the Duke of Connaught,) my Lords, your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I pray silence for the President of the United States," there was a burst of hearty although decorous enthusiasm, with hand clapping, waving of napkins, and beating of tables.

In his reply, referring to breaking a precedent in coming to Europe, the President said:

> The harness of precedent is sometimes a very sad and harassing trammel. In this case the breaking of precedent is sensible for a reason that is very prettily illustrated in a remark attributed to Charles Lamb. One evening in a company of his friends they were discussing a person who was not present, and Lamb said in his hesitating manner: "I h-hate that fellow." "Why, Charles," one of his friends said, "I did not know that you knew him." "Oh," he said, "I-I-I d-don't. I can't h-hate a man I know."
>
> And perhaps that simple and attractive

remark may furnish a secret for cordial international relationship. When we know one another we cannot hate one another.

I have been very much interested before coming here to see what sort of person I was expected to be. So far as I can make out, I was expected to be a perfectly bloodless thinking machine, whereas I am perfectly aware that I have in me all the insurgent elements of the human race. I am sometimes, by reason of long Scotch tradition, able to keep these instincts in restraint. The stern Covenanter tradition that is behind me sends many an echo down the years.

IN HIS GRANDFATHER'S CHURCH

President Wilson, accompanied by Mrs. Wilson, visited Carlisle, England, Dec. 29. Large crowds lined the streets and cheered the Presidential party lustily as it drove from the station, where the President was received by Mayor Bertram Carr and other local notables, at the Crown and Mitre Hotel, where the President signed the freemen's roll.

The President visited Annetwell Street, where the site of his late grandfather's chapel was pointed out to him, and the house in Cavendish Place that was built by his grandfather. Later he attended services in the Lowther Street Congregational Church. Here, in the course of the services, the Rev. Edward Booth, pastor of the church, requested the President to address the assemblage. This the President did, delivering a short speech, in which he referred simply but eloquently to his mother. In the course of this address he said:

I believe, as this war has drawn nations temporarily together in a combination of physical force, we shall now be drawn together in a combination of moral force that is irresistible. It is moral force as much as physical force that has defeated the effort to subdue the world. Words have cut as deep as swords.

The knowledge that wrong has been attempted has aroused the nations. They have gone out like men for a crusade. No other cause could have drawn so many of the nations together. They knew an outlaw was abroad and that the outlaw purposed unspeakable things.

It is from quiet places like this all over the world that the forces are accumulated that presently will overpower any attempt to accomplish evil on a great scale. It is like the rivulet that gathers into the river and the river that goes to the sea. So there come out of communities like these streams that fertilize the conscience of men, and it is the conscience of the world we now mean to place upon the throne which others tried to usurp.

VISIT TO MANCHESTER

On Dec. 30 the President visited Manchester and was formally made a freeman of the city. His reception was cordial in the extreme, and the welcome was intimate and friendly. Everywhere he was received with unrestrained enthusiasm.

In presenting the freedom of the city to President Wilson, the Lord Mayor said it afforded the City of Manchester supreme satisfaction to have on its roll the chief citizen of the American Republic, "foremost of all Americans who have ever visited England," and one whose clear utterances and earnest acts had been a proof of the real union of sentiment. This man, said the Lord Mayor, now stood before the audience as a living type and model of the friendship of the English-speaking races.

"When the complete history of the "war is written," he said, "the world "will comprehend more fully than it can "today the stupendous character of the "effort which the United States made to "insure a right decision. The President "has come among us equally resolved "that the world shall henceforth be bet-"ter and happier for a well-ordered "peace."

President Wilson's fourteen points, he said, had become within twelve months the real basis for a peace settlement and had been accepted by the enemies of the Allies as the preliminary for the permanent peace. "We welcome him," the speaker added, "as President of the "United States, as a helper in the bat-"tles, and as a worker in the business of "peace." The Lord Mayor brought forth loud applause when he applied to President Wilson these words: "What he dared to dream of, that he dared to do."

When the Lord Mayor had completed his oration, the Town Clerk offered the President the morocco-bound volume in which he was to sign his name as a freeman of the City of Manchester. The President sat down at a small table and inscribed his name with a gold pen made

especially for the occasion. In the meantime the assemblage, which was standing, began to sing, "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow." The Aldermen, city officials, and guests joined in the cheers which followed this civic ritual.

ADDRESS AT MANCHESTER

President Wilson replied as follows:

My Lord Mayor, Ladies, and Gentlemen—perhaps I may be permitted to add Fellow-Citizens: You have made me feel in a way that is deeply delightful the generous welcome which you have accorded me, and back of it I know there lies the same sort of feeling for the great people whom I have the privilege of representing.

There is a feeling of cordiality, fraternity, and friendship between the two great nations, and as I have gone from place to place and been made everywhere to feel the pulse of sympathy that is now beating between us I have been led to some very serious thoughts as to what the basis of it all is. For I think you will agree with me that friendship is not a mere sentiment—patriotism is not a mere sentiment. It is based upon a principle, upon the principle that leads a man to give more than he demands.

Similarly, friendship is based not merely upon affection, but upon common service. The man is not your friend who is not willing to serve you, and you are not his friend unless you are willing to serve him. And out of that impulse of common interest and desire of common service arises that noble feeling which we consecrate as friendship.

And so it does seem to me that the theme that we must have in our minds now in this great day of settlement is the theme of common interest and the determination of what it is that is our common interest. You know that heretofore the world has been governed, or at any rate the attempt has been made to govern it, by partnerships of interest, and that they have broken down. Interest does not bind men together. Interest separates men. For, the moment there is the slightest departure from the nice adjustment of interests then jealousies begin to spring up. There is only one thing that can bind peoples together, and that is common devotion to right.

Ever since the history of liberty began men have talked about their rights, and it has taken several hundred years to make them perceive that the principal condition of right is duty, and that unless a man performs his full duty he is entitled to no right. It is a fine correlation of the influence of duty that right is the equipoise and balance of society.

AMERICA'S ATTITUDE

And so, when we analyze the present situation and the future that we now have to mold and control, it seems to me there is no other thought than that that can guide us. You know that the United States has always felt from the very beginning of her story that she must keep herself separate from any kind of connection with European politics. I want to say very frankly to you that she is not now interested in European politics, but she is interested in the partnership of right between America and Europe. If the future had nothing for us but a new attempt to keep the world at a right poise by a balance of power the United States would take no interest, because she will join no combination of power which is not a combination of all of us. She is not interested merely in the peace of Europe, but in the peace of the world.

Therefore, it seems to me that in the settlement which is just ahead of us something more delicate and difficult than was ever attempted before has to be accomplished—a genuine concert of mind and of purpose. But, while it is difficult, there is an element present that makes it easy. Never before in the history of the world, I believe, has there been such a keen international consciousness as there is now.

There is a great voice of humanity abroad in the world just now which he who cannot hear is deaf. There is a great compulsion of the common conscience now in existence which, if any statesman resist, will gain for him the most unenviable eminence in history. We are not obeying the mandate of parties or of politics. We are obeying the mandate of humanity.

"MACHINERY OF FRIENDSHIP"

That is the reason why it seems to me that the things that are most often in our minds are the least significant. I am not hopeful that the individual items of the settlement which we are about to attempt will be altogether satisfactory. One has only to apply his mind to any one of the questions of boundary and of altered sovereignty and of racial aspirations to do something more than conjecture that there is no man and no body of men who know just how they ought to be settled; and yet if we are to make unsatisfactory settlements we must see to it that they are rendered more and more satisfactory by the subsequent adjustments which are made possible. We must provide the machinery for readjustments in order that we may have the machinery of good-will and friendship.

Friendship must have a machinery. If I cannot correspond with you, if I cannot learn your minds, if I cannot co-operate with you, I cannot be your friend; and if

the world is to remain a body of friends, it must have the means of friendship, the means of constant friendly intercourse, the means for constant watchfulness over the common interests.

That makes it necessary to make some great effort to have with one another an easy and constant method of conference, so that troubles may be taken when they are little and not allowed to grow until they are big. I never thought I had a big difference with a man that I did not find when I came into conference with him that, after all, it was rather a little difference, and that if we were frank with one another and did not too much stand upon that great enemy of mankind which is called pride, we could come together.

After paying a friendly tribute to Manchester as possessing many of the characteristics of our great American cities, the President concluded:

I wish it were possible for us to do something like some of my very stern ancestors did, for among my ancestors are those very determined persons who were known as the Covenanters. I wish we could, not for Great Britain and the United States, but for France, for Italy and the world, enter into a great league and covenant declaring ourselves first of all friends of mankind and uniting ourselves together for the maintenance of the triumph of right.

President Wilson's Visit to Italy

Addresses in Rome and Elsewhere

PRESIDENT AND MRS. WILSON left London Dec. 31 on their way to Italy. King George and Queen Mary and the Duke of Connaught accompanied them to the station. Premier Lloyd George was on the platform. The Scots Guards formed the guard of honor, and the band of the Irish Guards played. Notwithstanding the rain, crowds lined the streets from Buckingham Palace to the station and cheered as the procession passed.

The Presidential party reached Paris that evening and departed thence for Italy on Jan. 1, 1919. From the Italian frontier to Rome the journey was like a triumphal procession. Mountaineers and villagers swarmed from the hills and valleys to pay homage to America. They shouted "Vivas," waving hats and handkerchiefs and flags, forming picturesque groups, which were emphasized by the brilliant sunshine, blue sky, luxuriant landscape.

The royal train with President Wilson on board was met at Modane by the Duke of Lante, representing King Victor Emmanuel. Both the French and Italian authorities in the frontier town welcomed the Presidential party. A crowd of the townspeople had gathered at the station and gave the President a greeting. The day was a bright one, with the sun shining on the snow-covered mountains surrounding the village.

The train arrived at Turin in the afternoon of Jan. 2. The President was met at the station by the Prefect of the Province, the Mayor, the General commanding the troops there, and other authorities. Although the reception was unofficial, the station was decorated with the Italian and American colors, while everywhere in the city the Stars and Stripes were flown beside the Italian Tricolor.

An immense crowd welcomed President Wilson with the greatest enthusiasm when he arrived in Rome on Jan. 3, 1919. He was received at the station by King Victor Emmanuel and Queen Helena, members of the Government and representatives of the local authorities. The Duchess of Aosta and Queen Helena greeted Mrs. Wilson and Miss Margaret Wilson with extreme cordiality.

The program of the day included a luncheon with Queen Mother Margherita, a reception by the Parliament, and a state dinner with the King, which followed the visit to the President of a deputation from the Quirinal. In the evening citizenship of Rome was conferred upon the American Executive.

In Parliament a joint reception was tendered the President by members of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The function was impressive. The large and distinguished gathering gave the President an ovation.

During the days of President Wilson's visit Rome seemed transformed into a fairy city of waving flags, green festoons, and decorations of all descriptions, while the brilliant sunshine and blue sky made the scene typically Roman. Every shop decorated its windows with the American flag, while a huge photograph of Wilson dominated everything.

Hundreds of Austrian cannon were exposed in the different squares, decorated with American and Italian flags, while the streets were crowded with soldiers wearing their steel helmets, who had come to Rome from the front to pay the President military honors. Every possible space on the walls was taken up by manifestos containing the following phrases: "From this centre of Latinity, "where the right was proclaimed from "the Forum, break forth warm vibrating "greetings to him who has been the "powerful defender of the right. The "President of the United States of "America, one of the greatest makers "of victory, one of the greatest sup-"porters of the right, triumphantly en-"ters the ancient city of the Caesars. "It is a day of glory and joy. Viva "Wilson! Viva the King!"

ADDRESS TO THE DEPUTIES

President Wilson delivered the following address in the Chamber of Deputies:

Your Majesty and Mr. President of the Chamber:

You are bestowing upon me an unprecedented honor, which I accept because I believe that it is extended to me as the representative of the great people for whom I speak. And I am going to take this first opportunity to say how entirely the heart of the American people has been with the great people of Italy.

We have seemed, no doubt, indifferent at times, to look from a great distance, but our hearts have never been far away. All sorts of ties have long bound the people of our America to the people of Italy, and when the people of the United States, knowing this people, have witnessed its sufferings, its sacrifices, its heroic actions upon the battlefield and its heroic endurance at home—its steadfast endurance at home touching us more nearly to the quick even than its heroic action on the battlefield—we have been bound by a new tie of profound admiration.

Then back of it all, and through it all, running like the golden thread that wove it together, was our knowledge that the people of Italy had gone into this war for the same exalted principle of right and justice that moved our own people. And so I welcome this opportunity of conveying to you the heartfelt greetings of the people of the United States.

But we cannot stand in the shadow of this war without knowing there are things which are in some senses more difficult than those we have undertaken, because, while it is easy to speak of right and justice, it is sometimes difficult to work them out in practice, and there will be required a purity of motives and disinterestedness of object which the world has never witnessed before in the councils of nations.

It is for that reason that it seems to me you will forgive me if I lay some of the elements of the new situation before you for a moment. The distinguishing fact of this war is that great empires have gone to pieces. And the characteristics of those empires are that they held different peoples reluctantly together under the coercion of force and the guidance of intrigue.

The great difficulty among such States as those of the Balkans has been that they were always accessible to secret influence; that they were always being penetrated by intrigue of some sort or another; that north of them lay disturbed populations which were held together not by sympathy and friendship, but by the coercive force of a military power. Now the intrigue is checked and the bands are broken, and what we are going to provide is a new cement to hold the people together. They have not been accustomed to being independent. They must now be independent.

I am sure that you recognize the principle as I do—that it is not our privilege to say what sort of government they should set up. But we are friends of those people, and it is our duty as their friends to see to it that some kind of protection is thrown around them—something supplied which will hold them together. There is only one thing that holds nations together, if you exclude force, and that is friendship and goodwill. The only thing that binds men together is friendship, and by the same token the only thing that binds nations together is friendship. Therefore our task at Paris is to organize the friendship of the world—to see to it that all the moral forces that make for right and justice and liberty are united and are given a vital organization to which the peoples of the world will readily and gladly respond.

In other words, our task is no less colossal than this: To set up a new international psychology; to have a new

real atmosphere. I am happy to say that in my dealings with the distinguished gentlemen who lead your nation, and those who lead France and England, I feel that atmosphere gathering, that desire to do justice, that desire to establish friendliness, that desire to make peace based upon right, and with this common purpose no obstacles need be formidable.

The only use of an obstacle is to be overcome. All that an obstacle does with brave men is not to frighten them, but to challenge them. So that it ought to be our pride to overcome everything that stands in the way.

We know that there cannot be another balance of power. That has been tried and found wanting, for the best of all reasons that it does not stay balanced inside itself, and a weight which does not hold together cannot constitute a makeweight in the affairs of men. Therefore, there must be something substituted for the balance of power, and I am happy to find everywhere in the air of these great nations the conception that that thing must be a thoroughly united league of nations. What men once considered theoretical and idealistic turns out to be practical and necessary. We stand at the opening of a new age in which a new statesmanship will, I am confident, lift mankind to new levels of endeavor and achievement.

FREEDOM OF THE CITY

In accepting the freedom of the city, the President in his address said:

I have rejoiced personally in the partnership of the Italian and American people, because it is a new partnership in an old enterprise, an enterprise predestined to succeed wherever it is undertaken—the enterprise which has always borne that handsome name which we call "liberty." Men have pursued it, sometimes like a mirage that seemed to elude them, that seemed to run before them as they advanced, but never have they flagged in their purpose to achieve it, and I believe I am not deceived in supposing that in this age of ours they are nearer to it than they ever were before. The light that shone upon the summit now seems to shine almost at our feet, and if we lose it it will only be because we have lost faith. A breath of hope and of confidence has come into the hearts and minds of men. I would not have felt at liberty to come away from America if I had not felt that the time had arrived when, forgetting local interests and local ties and local purposes, men should unite in this great enterprise that will ever tie free men together as a body of brethren and a body of free spirits.

ADDRESS BY THE KING

King Victor Emmanuel spoke in part as follows at the official dinner given at the Quirinal in honor of the President:

When Italy entered into the war, a breath, a precursor of the American soul, penetrated into the rank and file of our army through the means of our workers who returned to the fatherland from America and brought into Italy an echo of their second patria. So, correspondingly, the Italian soul vibrated in the hearts of our people.

You, yourself, Mr. President, are become our welcome and pleasing guest only today, but in the consciousness of our people your personality already for a long time has inscribed itself in an ineffaceable way. It is that which in itself gathers all the powers which go to stimulate a will bent on liberty and justice and gives inspiration toward the highest conception of the destinies of humanity.

The enthusiastic salutations which have accompanied your passage through the streets of Rome today are attestations of the sentiments of admiration and recognition that your own name and labor and the name and labor of the United States stir in the Italian people. The principles in which you in magnificent synthesis have summed up the ideal reasons of the war for liberty find resonance in Italian hearts.

The best traditions of Italian culture, the liveliest currents of our national thoughts, have constantly aimed at the same ideal goal—the establishment of the international peace for which you have stood with tenacious faith. Already before the vicissitudes of war and the fraternity of armies had established today's admirable communion of intentions and purposes between our two countries, legions of our workers had emigrated to your great Republic. They had knitted America and Italy together with strong cords of relationships, and these became reinforced by the spiritual affinity between both peoples, who had a common faith in the virtues of free political government.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY

In his reply the President said:

It has been a matter of pride with us that so many Italians, so many men of Italian origin, were in our own armies and associated with their brethren in Italy itself in the great enterprise of freedom. These are no small matters, and they complete that process of the welding together of the sympathies of nations which has been going on so long between our peoples.

The Italians in the United States have excited a particular degree of admiration.

They, I believe, are the only people of a given nationality who have been careful to organize themselves to see that their compatriots coming to America were from month to month and year to year guided to places in industries most suitable to their previous habits. No other nationality has taken such pains as that, and in serving their fellow-countrymen they have served the United States, because these people have found places where they would be most useful and would most immediately earn their own living and add to the prosperity of the country itself.

In every way we have been happy in our association at home and abroad with the people of this great State. I was saying playfully to Premier Orlando and Baron Sonnino this afternoon that in trying to put the people of the world under their proper sovereignties we would not be willing to part with the Italians in the United States, because we too much value the contribution that they have made, not only to the industry of the United States, but to its thought and to many elements of its life.

This is, therefore, a very welcome occasion upon which to express a feeling that goes very deep. I was touched the other day to have an Italian, a very plain man, say to me that we had helped to feed Italy during the war, and it went to my heart, because we had been able to do so little. It was necessary for us to use our tonnage so exclusively for the handling of troops and of the supplies that had to follow them from the United States that we could not do half as much as it was our desire to do, to supply grain to this country, or coal, or any of the supplies which it so much needed during the progress of the war.

And knowing as we did in this direct way the needs of the country, you will not wonder that we were moved by its steadfastness. My heart goes out to the little poor families all over this great kingdom who stood the brunt and the strain of the war and gave their men gladly to make other men free and other women and other children free. These are the people and many like them to whom, after all, we owe the glory of this great achievement, and I want to join with you, for I am sure of joining with you, in expressing my profound sympathy not only, but my very profound admiration as well.

VISIT TO THE POPE

Mr. Wilson crowded into the daylight hours of Jan. 4 a multiplicity of activities, including a call upon Pope Benedict at the Vatican and a visit to the American Episcopal Church, where he met representative Protestants in Rome. He drove from the Palazzo del Drago, the residence of Ambassador Page, to the Vatican, accompanied by Mgr. Charles O'Hearn, rector of the American College. The thousands gathered along the streets cheered and waved their hats when the automobile passed. A continuous shower of flowers fell upon the President, while cries of " Viva America! " rose above the tumult.

As the President entered the Vatican the Swiss Guards, in their multi-colored uniforms, designed by Raphael, presented arms. Crossing the courtyard, the Presidential automobile reached San Damaso, in the centre of the Apostolic Palace, where a detachment of gendarmes heralded its coming with bugles and at the same time rendered military honors.

Proceeding within the palace, President Wilson was met by the whole Pontifical court, headed by the major-domo, Mgr. Tacci, the Master of the Chamber, the Grand Steward, and the Commander of the Swiss Guard.

At the foot of the grand staircase leading to the Pontifical apartments the President was met by Mgr. Canati, Secretary of the Congregation of Ceremonials, with four Swiss Guards in full uniform, and two doorkeepers in their characteristic costumes. The President and Mgr. Canati shook hands, the Secretary extending a formal welcome. Led by pallafrenières, ancient officials who used to hold the bit of the white mule which the Pope rode in processions, they made their way to Clementine Hall, one of the largest and most beautiful in the Vatican, where twenty-four Swiss Guards with halberds presented arms.

The President's arrival was announced by the Master of the Chamber to the Pope, who awaited Mr. Wilson in the Throne Room, where two gilded armchairs had been placed. The President was admitted immediately to the presence of the Pope, who was gowned in pure white. No introduction was necessary as the Pontiff came forward to meet the President holding out his hand.

In his conversation with President Wilson the Pontiff expressed to him sentiments identical with those he had

stated previously to American newspaper men concerning his hopes of peace and his appreciation of America's part in bringing this about. To the President he enlarged on these themes.

From the window in the hall where the Pope and the President sat all of St. Peter's Square could be seen. The square was a mass of cheering people. President Wilson, after talking with the Pontiff a few moments, arose, walked to the window and waved his hat in acknowledgment of the shouts of the crowd.

Their conversation lasted about twenty minutes, the President afterward leaving with the same cortège and the same honors to pay a visit to Cardinal Gasparri, the Papal Secretary of State. This visit over, the President was escorted to his automobile with the same ceremonies as on his arrival.

The Pope presented to the President a handsome mosaic reproducing Guido Reni's famous picture of St. Peter. The mosaic was made in the Vatican grounds by the ancient mosaic factory of the Vatican and is a yard square. It has been valued at $40,000. Cardinal Gasparri presented to President Wilson two copies of the modification of the canon law compiled by himself. One copy is bound in white parchment and contains an autographed dedication to President Wilson. The other is in red leather and bears the following autograph: "Homage to Princeton University from Pietro Cardinal Gasparri, Vatican, Rome."

ACCLAIMED BY 200,000

The popular enthusiasm for the President, instead of diminishing on the second day of his visit, increased every time he appeared in public. His last appearance before departure was when he drove to the Vatican to visit the Pope. This demonstration reached unprecedented heights of enthusiasm.

Hours before the time set for his arrival the immense Piazza di San Pietro was filled. This square, which holds more than 200,000 people, presented a most imposing sight. In the centre rose the Church of St. Peter, while on each side the colonnades were thick with people.

When the Presidential party appeared at the end of the square a great shout arose. Mr. Wilson looked surprised and was momentarily taken aback, as he did not expect another demonstration. Then his smile broke forth, and his hat was continually waving in salutation. Although the President remained for some time in the Vatican, the crowd did not tire and at his return gave him a last rousing cheer.

GREETED BY PROTESTANTS

After his visit to the Vatican President Wilson returned to the American Embassy, whence he drove, with Mrs. Wilson, to the American Protestant Episcopal Church. He was accompanied by Thomas Nelson Page, the American Ambassador; Brig. Gen. William W. Harts, U. S. A., and Count Bruschi-Falgari, gentleman-in-waiting to King Victor Emmanuel, and Countess Bruschi-Falgari, lady-in-waiting to Queen Helena.

In the vestry of the church the President received representatives of evangelical churches in Italy. They were introduced by Dr. Dexter G. Whittinghill, Superintendent of the American Baptist Mission; the Rev. Walter Lowrie, rector of St. Paul's American Church, and Francis B. Keene, the American Consul General. Other bodies represented were the Waldensian Church, the English Baptist Mission, the Italian-American Methodist Churches, the Wesleyan Missions, the Presbyterian Church, and the British Bible Society.

After the presentation of the various representatives President Wilson had a pleasant talk with his callers. Being told that all were praying for the success of his work, the President answered that he thought the hand of Providence might be seen in the "mobilization of the moral forces of the world" and in the union of all the churches for a high standard of civilization.

In the conversation the President remarked that General Pershing had told him that the war had produced stronger religious feelings among the soldiers, and he added that the manner in which the different peoples throughout the world had responded to the appeal to their idealism had touched him. A vast crowd

awaited the President outside the church and gave him a most cordial greeting.

AT GENOA AND MILAN

President Wilson and his party left Rome for Genoa in the evening of Jan. 4. At Genoa he visited the monuments of Columbus and Mazzini and delivered short addresses.

He proceeded next to Milan, where he met with a demonstration and welcome which exceeded in fervor any that had preceded it. The thoroughfares were choked with humanity and the President's motor car was forced to crawl through with the greatest difficulty and in constant danger of running the citizens down. The balconies, roofs, and every vantage point were black with people, and the route was plastered with posters and pictures of President Wilson, together with quotations from his speeches which could be applied to Italy's position.

At Milan the President attended the opera in La Scala and received delegations at the Royal Palace. While he was at the palace the great square before the cathedral was so jammed that the cathedral had to be closed. The American Secret Service men declared they had never taken any President through such scenes of demonstration or through such great crowds. While the crowds were orderly, they seemed simply wild with enthusiasm and determined to crowd near to the President. The tour about the city was to the accompaniment of virtually one continuous roar of "Vivas," it appearing as if every individual was shouting his greeting.

In an address at Milan President Wilson said:

> I am very much touched to receive at the hands of wounded soldiers a memorial in favor of a League of Nations and to be told by them that this was what they had fought for—not merely to win the war, but to secure something beyond, some guarantee of justice, some equilibrium for the world as a whole, which would make it certain that they would never have to fight a war like this again.
>
> This is an added obligation upon us who make peace. We cannot merely sign a treaty of peace and go home with a clear conscience. We must do something more. We must add so far as we can the security which suffering men everywhere demand.
>
> And when I speak of suffering men I think also of suffering women. I know that, splendid as have been the achievements of your armies and tremendous as have been the sacrifices which they have made and great the glory which they have achieved, the real hard pressure of the burden came upon the women at home, whose men had gone to the front, and who were willing to have them stay there until the battle was fought out. And I have heard from your Minister of Food the story how, for days together, there would be no bread. And when they knew that there was no bread the spirit of the people did not flag.
>
> The world is not going to consist of great empires. It is going to consist for the most part of small nations apparently, and the only thing that can bind small nations together is the knowledge that each wants to treat the others fairly. That is the only thing. The world has already shown that its progress is industrial. You cannot trade with people whom you do not trust and who do not trust you.

The President appeared deeply moved by the character of the demonstrations and responded gleefully. He stated that the demonstration in front of the palace at Milan was the most spontaneous and inspiring he ever saw. On that occasion he led the band as he stood on the balcony of the palace, and threw kisses with both hands to the delight of the people.

ADDRESSES AT TURIN

President Wilson's reception at Turin was a repetition of the demonstrations at Rome, Genoa, and Milan. There was continuous cheering by enormous crowds massed behind the soldiers as he passed from the railroad station to the municipality, where he received the freedom of the city. He was acclaimed by a great throng when he appeared at a window of the Philharmonic Club.

Mr. Wilson delivered five addresses in Turin. In accepting the freedom of the city he said:

> The people of the United States were reluctant to take part in the war, not because they doubted the justice of the cause, but because it was the tradition of the American Republic to play no part in the politics of other continents. But as the struggle grew from stage to stage they were more and more moved by the conviction that it was not a European struggle, that it was a struggle for the

freedom of the world and the liberation of humanity, and with that conviction it was impossible that they should withhold their hands.

Their hearts have been with you from the start, and then when the time of their conviction came they threw every resource of men and money and enthusiasm into the struggle. It has been a happy circumstance that America should thus be associated with Italy. Our ties had been many and intimate before the war, and now they constitute a pledge of friendship and of permanent association of purpose which must delight both peoples.

The President, accompanied by Mrs. Wilson and his daughter, Miss Margaret Wilson, returned to Paris on Jan. 7. From that time until the meeting of the Supreme War Council on Jan. 13 he was in constant conference with American and foreign diplomats and delegates who were arranging the preliminaries of the Peace Congress.

Crushing Bolshevism in Germany

Dr. Liebknecht's Warfare on the Ebert Government Leads to Bloody Battles in Berlin, Ending in His Death

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 20, 1919]

TWO main political currents in Germany became swiftly discernible at the close of the year 1918. The Majority Socialists ran toward a test of strength with the Spartacans. On Dec. 16, the Central Council of Delegates from Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils convened at Berlin, in the palace of the former Prussian Diet, to debate the date and place of the National Assembly. Three women occupied seats among the 450 delegates. A special dispatch to The New York Times picturesquely described the significant gathering of the Congress in the hall reminiscent of the autocratic pride of Prussian Junkerdom:

The delegates came early, like men used to work and discipline, some 450, more than half of them in field gray, war-hardened men, many wearing the black and white ribbon of the Iron Cross. There were a few officers among them, distinguished from the others by their shoulder pieces.

For the first time nine-tenths of the delegates found themselves gathered in work of the Government on business of national importance in an extraordinary time, but they behaved very naturally among themselves. They appeared to be deeply conscious of their enormous responsibility.

Here and there one, indeed, discovered the well-known face of a former Diet or Reichstag member, but the great majority were absolutely new to the political world. The members of the Executive Committee and the People's Commissioners occupied the seats reserved for the Government under the old régime. Ebert, Barth, Haase, Rittmann, Landsberg, and Scheidemann, all six were there, and their familiar greetings exchanged with members of the assembly contrasted strangely with the haughty airs of the old-time Government chiefs.

THE CONGRESS IN SESSION

The Congress was opened by Richard Müller, one of the two Presidents of the Executive Committee. Müller, a serious looking young man of some thirty years, had attracted attention in the early days of the revolution by his outspoken hatred of the old oppressive system, and his declaration that "the way to the National Convention would lead only across his dead body." It was remarked that his present speech contained no reference to the purpose of the Congress—the forthcoming National Assembly—being chiefly a eulogy of those who had sacrificed their lives for the revolution. Midway, he was interrupted by a comrade who wished to submit a resolution. The newcomer announced that he represented 250,000 workmen who were then gathered outside the Diet Building. He read a list of demands identical with the Spartacus program. It included retention of all power by the Soldiers' and Workers' Councils, no National Assembly, and the

formation of a Red Guard. This aroused a storm of protest. In the general uproar the intruder left the Chamber. The 250,000 workmen he asserted to be outside the building proved to be 7,000 temporary strikers engineered by Liebknecht agents.

Müller was followed by People's Commissioner Ebert. His address was a panegyric on the future Socialist republic. He also omitted mention of the National Assembly, though on the previous day he had asserted in a notable speech that it must come much sooner than at first planned. Ebert was listened to respectfully but with evident disappointment until he warned the Congress that the nation would perish unless every one co-operated with good-will for its salvation. This was hailed with vigorous applause.

While the Congress was proceeding to organize, a determined attempt at intimidation was made by the Spartacus group. A resolution was submitted that Dr. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg be invited to attend the Congress, with advisory powers. Presentation of the resolution caused a great tumult in the hall. The followers of Dr. Liebknecht and spectators in the gallery joined in a twenty minutes' disturbance, momentarily threatening violent personal encounters. The resolution was voted down by five to one, an initial defeat for the Spartacus group.

Meanwhile, a small dark man had forced his way in through the Diet Building and appeared on the roof overlooking Prinz Albrecht Strasse. He wore a large red badge and waved a red handkerchief at the thousands collected in the streets. At sight of the little man the crowd increased by more thousands. Such was Liebknecht's entry on the scene. His bodyguard gathered around him. It comprised soldiers, sailors, and civilians with large red badges and handkerchiefs. The comparatively few reached by his voice listened to one of his fiery harangues, but apparently without taking him overseriously.

The result of the first day's Congress demonstrated that the Independent Socialists and the Spartacus group were greatly outnumbered by the Majority Socialists. Further, it was held to be significant that none of the important posts in the Congress was given to any delegate from Berlin. The National Assembly was regarded as a certainty.

SUPPRESSING THE RADICALS

The 16th was otherwise marked by energetic action on the part of the Government to end Spartacus rule in Neukölln, a suburb of the capital where Liebknecht held his "fortress." The Town Hall and public buildings were occupied by soldiers sent by the Government, together with some local troops that had just returned from the front. The Spartacus Soldiers' and Workers' Council was dissolved and arrested, but subsequently released. Liebknecht's lieutenants were removed from all the positions they occupied. Spectators in sympathy with the Government watched the proceedings. As an indication of the numerical strength of political parties in the provinces, elections to the National Assembly in the former Duchy of Anhalt resulted in a victory for the Majority Socialists. The Socialists polled 92,229 votes, against a total of 66,951 for the combined bourgeois groups. This gave Anhalt twenty-two Majority Socialists, twelve German Democrats, and two Conservatives in the Assembly. The Independent Socialists failed to obtain a suffiicent number of signatures to nominate.

STORMS IN THE CONGRESS

The second meeting of the Congress on Dec. 17 was notable chiefly for Ledebour's attack upon People's Commissioner Ebert, dissension among members of the Government, and general disturbance.

The proceedings of the day went to show that not only were there serious differences in the ranks of the Government, but the Government appeared to be on bad terms with the Executive Committee of the Soldiers' and Workmen's Council—a kind of supplementary Government. Richard Müller blamed the Government for being weak, as did several other speakers. At times the Ministers were compelled to threaten to

resign in order to obtain a hearing. Commissioner Ebert in an interview said:

> We will maintain order so far as this is possible for a Government which has taken over such an inheritance and finds itself placed before such a terribly tangled situation. You must remember that our influence upon the course of events is limited. We cannot create bread for the German people. If the nation is allowed to starve, then the inevitable will follow. That a nation can be brought to such a desperate pass that it bursts through all restraints is shown by the experience of the past year. Such people finally revenge themselves upon the authors of their miseries. Our old system came to the ground finally as a result of Russian events which it had itself provoked. It is a poor consolation, however, in falling one's self, that one drags one's enemy to the ground also. To us any other solution wil lbe preferable.

Early in the session of the 18th another Liebknecht delegation, professing to represent 250,000 workers, forced its way into the House on the threat that the whole 250,000 would strike the next day unless the delegates were admitted. The same chaotic scene ensued that had been witnessed more than once previously.

DEMANDS OF RADICALS

After a wrangle over granting the delegates permission to speak, their leader won assent. He demanded, first, that Germany must be constituted as one single republic; second, that all power be vested in the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils; third, that the highest executive power be exercised by the Executive Council; fourth, the abolishment of the Council of People's Commissioners; fifth, measures for the protection of the revolution; sixth, disarmament of the counter-revolutionists; seventh, arming of the proletariat; eighth, propaganda for the establishment of a Socialist world republic.

These demands were listened to almost in silence. Only at the end a few venerable-looking Socialists applauded. Thereupon the delegates left the House. At 2 P. M. another delegation tried to enter, but Chairman Leinert had given orders to the soldiers and sailors guarding the entrance that no more delegations were to be admitted on any pretext. The delegation then retired to harangue the outside crowd. The business of the day transacted by the Congress was epitomized in a dispatch from Amsterdam:

> The Congress of German Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils passed a resolution transferring legislative and executive power to the People's Commissioners (the Ebert Government) until other arrangement is made by the National Assembly. The Congress further appointed a Central Council to exercise parliamentary supervision over German and Prussian Cabinets, and with the right to appoint and depose the People's Commissioners of all of Germany, and, until final regulation of State affairs, of Prussia. To supervise the conduct of business in the Imperial Ministry adjuncts will be appointed by the People's Commissioners. They will be selected from the Social Democratic Parties. The Congress rejected a resolution demanding the elimination of the bourgeois class from the Government.

Reports upon other issues indicated great dissatisfaction with the Government's foreign policy in the rupture with Spain and the break in relations with the Polish Government. All papers denounced the latter as a sign of weakness threatening a great loss of territory. The resignations of Dr. Solf and Minister of War Scheuch were attributed to the same cause. In Berlin the strike movement had greatly extended, spreading to all the newspaper offices except the Socialist organs.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY CALLED

When the Congress of Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils reassembled on Dec. 19 the galleries were filled with Spartacans, but fears of physical violence proved unfounded. After a day of heated discussion and much confusion the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils voted that elections to a National Assembly should be held on Jan. 19, 1919. The last orator was Scheidemann. He told the delegates that if the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils continued in operation unspeakable woe would befall Germany, worse even than what had been suffered already. He asserted they were bound to drift into Bolshevism no matter how little they desired it, and they would transform Germany into a second Russia, but worse than the latter, because in Germany there was much more to de-

stroy. He believed the Spartacans were serious in not wishing to imitate Russia, but, nc matter how hard they tried to evade Bolshevism, it was sure to come to them unless there was a change. He was absolutely convinced the German people were behind the present Government.

The vote was taken by the delegates rising from their seats. Some four hundred rose in support of Jan. 19, only about seventy Independent Socialists remaining seated. The most enthusiastic supporters of the National Assembly were surprised with their overwhelming majority. Chairman Leinart was about to announce the vote when a storm broke from parts of the gallery. "Shame! Shame!" some radicals cried, and "Cowards, we shall teach you a lesson yet; you are robbing the people of the fruits of the revolution." Applause from the regular Socialists drowned these shouts of the Spartacans. When Chairman Leinart threatened to clear the galleries the radicals shouted: "Here you have the power, you cowards, but wait until we get you in the streets!" Chairman Leinart cut short further uproar by declaring discussion of the motion before the house closed. The vote was taken at exactly 6 P. M. It was a surprise to many that the Independents did not protest, and had not a single orator to put forward. This shortened the proceedings, and the all-important question of fixing the election date had been voted upon before the Liebknecht agitators could organize their opposition.

They had engineered another invasion by a large number of factory workmen, who were to force their way into the house at the critical moment. Unknowingly the Independents spoiled it by withdrawing their orators. This advanced the voting by more than an hour. Hence the vote had been taken long before the trouble makers arrived.

THE WINNING ELEMENTS

The election of a new Central Executive Committee was completed by the Congress of Delegates of Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils. It was composed of twenty-seven soldiers and workingmen, all Majority Socialists, thus eliminating Ledebour and Müller. The prestige of Ebert and Scheidemann was believed to have been greatly enhanced thereby. As finally organized, the committee was largely a parliamentary body with small functions. It could eject obstreperous Cabinet members and had a restricted veto power. The closing hours of the Congress were devoted to problems of socialization. It approved State control for such industries as were "ripe" for the experiment, though general sentiment was in favor of leaving such complex problems to the National Assembly.

The Congress of Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils adjourned on the afternoon of Dec. 20.

AFTERMATH OF THE CONGRESS

On the heels of the Congress a dispatch via Copenhagen announced the formation of a Friends of the People League in Berlin. Upon the committee were the names of Prince Maximilian of Baden, Hugo Haase, Independent Socialist; Count von Bernstorff, former Ambassador to the United States; Matthias Erzberger, Centrist, and Dr. Solf, former Foreign Minister. The German Government accepted von Hindenburg's plan to form a People's Guard, or National Army. The Cassel Allgemeine Zeitung published the Marshal's proclamation, dated "Christmas, 1918." After referring to "the mighty achievements in war of the German Nation in arms, trained in warfare, which did not collapse before a world of enemies," von Hindenburg went on:

> It drew this capacity from the holy fire of patriotism, the will to victory, and a spirit of loyalty. The German Army has vanished, dissolved, disbanded, although until the last it was feared and respected by its enemies. To the officers, high and low, as trainers and leaders of the National Army, is undeniably due a great share of the glory, and it is petty revenge to deprive them of their insignia and arms and declare them incapable of exercising command. The utter destruction of the national strength of the German people is the intention of those destructive, disruptive spirits, who are working to impede the reorganization of the empire on a sound political and economic basis.

Berlin's first revolutionary Christmas was gloomy. Never before, even during the war, had beggars and street vendors been seen in such numbers. Professional

beggars and crippled and invalid soldiers multiplied daily; other soldiers sold cigarettes, soap, and sweetmeats brought in from west of the Rhine, where such things were more plentiful than in Berlin. An odd holdiday spectacle was an able-bodied soldier in uniform grinding out Christmas music from a street organ. Unter den Linden, Potsdamer Platz, and Friedrichstrasse presented an incongruous appearance with street stalls filled with flimsy wares and substitutes for Christmas pastry and wax candles. There was little encouragement to indulge in holiday travel. Through trains had been withdrawn and local trains were stripped of such ordinary comforts as dining facilities, heating and illumination. Trains were taken off without notice and printed schedules worthless. In Greater Berlin there were said to be 88,000 men out of work.

PLANS FOR A REPUBLIC

Later elections for the National Assembly in Brunswick and Mecklenburg resulted in crushing defeats for the Spartacus group. The bourgeoisie made notable gains. The Düsseldorfer Nachrichten stated that the conference held at Berlin to discuss the new Constitution of Germany agreed upon the following fundamentals:

> An elected President, to be head of the Government, with powers midway between those of the President of the United States and the King of England.
>
> Parliamentary principles to govern the President in forming a Cabinet, which will be assisted by delegates of the Federal republics to the so-called Statenhaus, which corresponds to the American Senate. The Statenhaus, however, must not interfere with the independence of the individual Federal republics, which will number fourteen or fifteen.
>
> The participants in the conference included Hugo Preuss, State Secretary of the Interior; Professor Peters, Professor Max Weber of the University of Heidelberg, and the Austrian Minister Hartman, all well-known authorities on constitutional law.

A dispatch from Copenhagen on Dec. 23 reported the arrival in Berlin of a delegation from the Soviet Government at Moscow headed by M. Radek. Excepting M. Joffe, the mission was said to comprise the full staff of the former expelled Russian Embassy.

New strikes broke out in the Silesian coalfield, attributed to the agitation carried on by agents of Dr. Liebknecht. The Silesian output was only half the normal yield. The Rhenish Westphalian coalfields were also partly paralyzed by a strike, which cut down the usual output by one-third. Even in November the coal shortage in Saxony had amounted to 30,000 tons.

THE SAILORS' REVOLT

A brief clash occurred on Dec. 23 between armed sailors—who sympathized with the Liebknecht radicals—and the soldiers who were supporting the Ebert Government. The morning of the 24th witnessed a renewal of the conflict in serious proportions. The People's Commissioners sat all night considering measures to restore order. Overnight the sailors had occupied the royal palace together with the stables opposite. Government infantry decided to drive the sailors out of the palace, and before daybreak were in possession of part of the building. A great deal of shooting went on for about an hour. After a while a truce was observed by both sides. The machine guns were silent, but the Government soldiers prepared for a resumption of the conflict.

Unter den Linden, from the royal palace to Friedrichstrasse, was closed to pedestrian traffic, in fear that machine guns hidden by the sailors might unexpectedly be brought into action. Toward 10 A. M. the Government troops, hearing that the sailors were about to be reinforced by rescue parties of Spartacans, began to attack the royal stables. There was a terrific cannonade from all sides against the castle and stables, which lasted only about a quarter of an hour. About this time a white flag appeared at a window of the stable. Soon afterward another white flag was displayed on the balcony of the castle. The fire subsided, and some six sailors, one carrying a white flag, proceeded unmolested from the stables to the castle, where they were joined by a deputation of Government troops. Negotiations for a capitulation took place without result.

About this time the guard cuirassiers, marching through Französischestrasse,

reached the scene with several field guns. The sailors thereupon made a last desperate attempt to drive off the Government troops at the risk of hurting thousands of curious onlookers at the street corners. They placed machine guns on the roofs of the stables, but the first shot fired by the Government troops put a machine gun out of action. The fire of the guard cuirassiers was quick and decisive. In about half an hour all was over.

Again the large door of the stable was opened, and sailors carrying a white flag indicated that they wished to surrender. Rebels attempting to escape were stopped and disarmed. Their casualties were reported to have numbered sixty-four. Amid the general lack of order following the surrender of the sailors, civilian onlookers were seen helping themselves to rifles, bayonets, and hand grenades. A few even tried to carry off machine guns. But a few blocks away from the conflict women went on with their Christmas shopping. Great damage had been done to the palace, the façade being sprinkled with shell holes.

The Government appointed a committee consisting of Reuss for the Central Executive of the Soldiers' and Workers' Councils, Tost for the Navy Council, and Müller for the local Soldiers' Council, to arrive at a settlement with the sailors. Meanwhile the reactionary journals denounced the weakness of the Government and expressed doubt of its ability to cope with the situation. Later advices put the number of killed in this episode at 100.

SPEEDING TOWARD CHAOS

From the 24th onward there were increasing signs that a strong hand of direction was lacking in the German Government. Each day produced a widespread attack of nerves, fear of Spartacus coups being uppermost. Berlin reported that parleys between the Majority Socialists and the Independent Socialists concerning elections to the National Assembly had failed, and that the Independents had decided to nominate candidates in all districts. The Berlin Government decided to retain Marshal von Hindenburg and General Gröner in their offices. Vice Admiral Hipper, Commander in Chief of the German High Seas Fleet; Vice Admiral Bachmann, commander of the Baltic Fleet, and Captain Hinke, Director of the Dockyards at Kiel, were dismissed. A compromise with the revolting sailors was arranged on the basis of granting them more than they sought; they were to remain in Berlin as part of the Republican Soldiers' Guard. The sailors, on their part, agreed not to participate in any future revolt against the Government. The Spartacus faction still held possession of the Socialist newspaper Vorwärts, seizure of the offices having taken place on Christmas.

A political crisis developed on Dec. 28. At a co-joint session of the People's Commissioners and the Central Council, Ebert presided and warned that the council must make up its mind to take full responsibility for all measures to maintain law and order which the People's Commissioners should find necessary. Otherwise the Majority Socialists would not remain in the Government. After Ebert had spoken Barth and Haase were heard. As a compromise between the Majority Socialists and the Independents was unobtainable, Haase, Barth, and Dittmann retired from the Cabinet at midnight.

A notable appeal was addressed to Commissioner Ebert by Professor Theodor Schiemann, formerly one of the Kaiser's personal advisers. He besought Ebert "to rescue some sort of law and order from the chaos created by the criminal conduct of the sailors and the consequences of the disastrous armistice." He continued:

> I am ashamed of the undignified appearance which our country presents from within and without and its surrender of all feelings of decency. * * * Our petitions to the leading men of the Entente and to President Wilson lack all dignity, are in a whining tone, and only increase the contempt with which the enemy is treating us. Our present Government has done nothing to sustain the justifiable self-respect of the German people, who so long defended their existence against the whole world, but everything possible has been done to suppress the elements standing for law and order.

Reports from Bavaria, Dec. 27-30, showed growing industrial distress and the threat of an acute political crisis.

Premier Eisner's position was said to be seriously shaken. On the one hand the newly formed Spartacus organization was displaying great activity in the purchase of machine guns, with plenty of ammunition, purchased with Russian Bolshevist money; on the other, Prince Rupprecht had intrenched himself in one of the mad King Ludwig's famed mountain castles. Surrounded by a bodyguard of several hundred officers, Prince Rupprecht was believed to aim at overturning the revolutionary Government in Bavaria, and, with the aid of the Centre Party, seating himself on the throne.

Wholesale arrests of prominent men in Munich on Dec. 30 caused the greatest sensation in the city since the revolution. Pressure was brought to bear on Eisner to resign the Premiership in favor of Herr Auer. He replied that if such an event became necessary he would be willing to accept a portfolio in the Auer Cabinet. Meanwhile he wired his support of the Independent Socialists as against Ebert.

SPREAD OF BOLSHEVISM

M. Radek, head of the Bolshevist Mission to Germany, attended a Spartacus congress in Berlin on the 30th. He said he welcomed the prospect of French occupation of Germany, because it would help the wave of Bolshevism to make still further progress westward. The Russian workmen, he added, were filled with pride at the prospect of fighting beside their German comrades of the Rhine against Anglo-Saxon capitalism.

A dispatch of the 31st stated that Bolshevism had broken out in Silesia, and that the province had been declared a Bolshevist republic. Striking miners had seized the officers of the companies, and, under the menace of loaded rifles, had compelled them to sign "all sorts of documents." It was added that the disorders were of a Russian Bolshevist character, and that there had been murder and pillaging in the affected region.

Premier Ebert granted an interview to The New York Times correspondent on Dec. 30, and told him that henceforth any crime against the public peace would be punished relentlessly. He proceeded:

> The People's Commissioners have now the full and unreserved support of the Central Council, the members of which were elected by soldiers, sailors, peasants, and workers, and they will fearlessly carry out their task of preserving law and order throughout Germany, and especially in Berlin. Shooting at soldiers, Government emissaries, or people, and destroying public property, are crimes which the Social Democratic Republic regards no more lightly than any other State, and will be dealt with accordingly.

According to advices from various sources dated Jan. 2, a Polish army of 30,000 was making "a tearing raid into Germany." The truth was that Polish forces were undertaking to get military possession of the region formerly belonging to Poland. They successfully occupied Beuthen, in Prussian Silesia, and Bromberg, in the Province of Posen. From Berlin it was reported the Poles had entered Frankfort-on-the-Oder, fifty miles east of the German capital. Gustav Noske, member of the Ebert Cabinet, in charge of military affairs, ordered the 5th German Division to advance against the Poles. According to the Frankfort Nachrichten, several German Army corps had been concentrated on the border between Posen and Prussia.

The German Centre Party, in convention at Coblenz, adopted a platform, of which the most striking plank called for a united Germany composed of a federation of States, which should preserve the individuality of the different German branches. On the other hand, the North Schleswig Voters' Association unanimously passed a resolution that on account of their approaching separation from Germany and reunion with Denmark it would be improper for them to take part in elections to a German National Assembly.

THE EICHHORN REVOLT

A Berlin dispatch of Jan. 5 stated that the Cabinet had deposed Eichhorn, Berlin Chief of Police, and that he refused to vacate his post. He had supported the Spartacans in seizing Vorwärts. Herr Ernst, Director of the Vorwärts Publishing Company, was appointed to succeed Eichhorn. The episode was the beginning of the worst phase of civil war that Berlin had yet experienced.

In the afternoon of Jan. 6 a determined Spartacan effort to seize the Government broke loose with greater violence than before. At the opening it centred around Eichhorn, who, backed by Ledebour, held on to his post as Chief of Police. He turned Police Headquarters in the Alexander Platz into a Spartacus stronghold. By evening a furious conflict was raging in the vicinities of Police Headquarters and the Chancellor's palace. Armored cars, machine guns and artillery were brought into use. When night fell it was estimated hundreds of dead strewed the precincts of the Chancellor's palace. Thousands of Spartacans were engaging the Government troops. The telegraph offices and half a dozen of the big newspaper offices early fell into the hands of the Spartacans. While the attack on the Chancellor's palace failed, the radicals maintained their position at Police Headquarters. On the morning of the 7th chaos reigned in the streets adjoining the Chancellor's palace in Wilhelmstrasse and in Kanonierstrasse. The New York Times correspondent described the scene as follows:

"Now and then the leaders of the various columns see a chance to break through the guards forming circles around the Chancellor's palace. Then they rush their people forward with a might that seems irresistible, their lieutenants running backward and forward, urging speed, while their female lieutenants catch women and girls by the hand and extract them from the rush. When by sheer weight of enormous masses they press too hard on the Government guards the latter make a counter-rush with bayonets, whereupon the multitudes retreat with panicky speed, sending up a roar of anger and fright such as human ears seldom have heard before. It is absolutely terrifying."

The day was marked by continuous street fighting. The Spartacans captured the Post Office and the Spandau Arsenal. Dr. Liebknecht established himself at Police Headquarters, where Eichhorn had come to be one of the leaders of the Spartacus group. An effort was made by the Spartacans to confer with the Government, sending as their representatives Dittmann, a former member of the Cabinet; Karl Kautsky, Herr Breitsheid, former Prussian Minister of the Interior, and Oscar Cohen, a former member of the Reichstag. The Government, however, refused to listen to the delegation until all public and private buildings had been vacated by the counter-revolutionaries. The Government proclaimed a state of siege in Berlin.

STRONGER MEASURES

On the 8th the Government moved to take a strong hand against the rising tide of violence. In addressing a large crowd Ebert said, "the Government was determined to maintain security, freedom and right, and would stand or fall by the National Assembly, which was the way to freedom and a happy future for Germany." Scheidemann added:

> You know what the stake is. If these machinations are continued our women and children will be abandoned to worse famine than during the four terrible years of the war. If you men who have had military training will join us, you will get arms. We want you for defense, but we will not be defeated by these people. Be true and hold out. Promise that and we shall do our duty.

Reports from other parts of Germany indicated efforts to produce a condition of civil war. Strikes and demonstrations in sympathy with Liebknecht took place in Dresden, Düsseldorf, Eisen, Dortmund, Brunswick, and Munich. In Munich a mob of several thousand attempted to storm one of the largest banks. Premier Eisner threatened to make war on the Berlin Government unless order was restored.

In Berlin, on the night of Jan. 8, sanguinary conflicts raged in the streets. Government troops succeeded in capturing the Brandenburg Gate after a fierce struggle, in which there were numerous casualties. What was described as a terrible fusillade broke out in the publishing district. Government forces attacked the well-known houses of Mosse, Ullstein, Scherl, and the Wolff Bureau, all occupied by the Spartacans. The battle raged with greatest violence around the Tageblatt Building, on Schützenstrasse, and the Wolff Bureau on Charlotten-

CENTRAL PORTION OF BERLIN, SCENE OF MOST OF THE BITTER FIGHTING BETWEEN THE SPARTACUS REBELS AND THE EBERT GOVERNMENT

strasse. The Government forces were reported to have lost heavily because these buildings had been prepared for a vigorous defense with machine guns. A curious incident of this fighting was the request of some typesetters for a temporary armistice, so that they would not lose the daily wage of the proletarians.

THE REVOLT BROKEN

By dawn of the 9th the situation had changed in favor of the Government, owing to the arrival of reinforcements and the decision of law-abiding civilian elements to support the Government. During the day Government troops defeated the Spartacans and reoccupied the public buildings in Berlin. The Spartacans, however, still held some of the railroad stations and the subways. Reports via Paris on the 10th stated that the Government had won a victory, and the Spartacans were transferring their activity to the provinces. They proclaimed a general industrial strike throughout Germany for Jan. 19, the date for elections to the National Assembly. Eichhorn had fled.

The Spartacans, however, were still conducting a vigorous counter-revolt on Jan. 11. After the Vorwärts Building had been in their possession for a week, Government troops made a concentrated attack on the position with artillery and machine-gun fire. The bombardment lasted two hours. Meanwhile, Government chasseurs broke into one of three large courtyards, where a desperate hand-to-hand conflict raged. Grenades were used with deadly effect. Following rejected attempts at a conditional capitulation, the Spartacans surrendered their Vorwärts stronghold a little after 10 A. M. At the same time the truce agreed upon with the radicals occupying other newspaper buildings terminated, and Government troops advanced to the assault. The Vorwärts battle was said to have cost the Spartacans 300 in killed, and netted the Government 500 prisoners, 1,200 rifles, and over 100 machine guns.

Violent street fighting was in progress at 5 P. M., with looting by the criminal element. During the early hours of night the general cleaning-up process was pushed vigorously. The region of the Anhalt Station was cleared of nests of Spartacus snipers, and the penalty of a stone wall promptly meted out to captured looters. Spartacus tenure of the Vossische Zeitung, Morgenpost, and Tageblatt ofices came to an end when the defenders faded away over the rooftops. Throughout the city the Government was gaining the upper hand.

PROTEST FROM BAVARIA

A Munich dispatch of Jan. 11 announced the arrival there of many wealthy Berliners in hasty flight from the Spartacus terror. Premier Eisner telegraphed to the Berlin Government an appeal for peace. It read:

> With growing horror we follow the murderous civil war. It must end, unless all Germany is slowly to perish. Berlin's example is having a demoralizing effect everywhere, and is producing an epidemic of insanity. The only means of salvation appears to be a Government sustained by the confidence of the people, comprising all Socialist parties and resolved to bring democracy and socialism to victory. Everywhere in South Germany the anger against Berlin is growing. At the same time sinister persons here are calling also for fratricidal warfare.

Elsewhere in Germany the Spartacans progressed in attempting a nation-wide reign of terror, but with varying results. In Stuttgart they captured the City Hall and dissolved the Municipal Council. Strikes in the Westphalian region involved 100,000 workers. An effort to capture the Dresden Volkszeitung on the 10th was repulsed with machine guns. Many persons were killed or wounded in Ratisbon during street fighting. A Socialist Republic was proclaimed in Bremen, the Communists having ousted the Majority Socialists on the Soldiers' and Workmen's Council. At Spandau Government troops stormed the City Hall, and subsequently executed Herr Pleser, chief of the Liebknecht forces. Field Marshal von Hindenburg was organizing a small but dependable army. In a confidential order the Marshal directed:

> Cadres for these divisions should consist of as many active officers as possible; they should be abundantly supplied with ammunition, possess a sufficient number of ammunition columns, and the machine-gun companies should be up

to strength in men and material. Doubtful elements must be discreetly eliminated.

LAW AND ORDER WIN

Berlin messages of Jan. 12 proclaimed a decisive Government victory over the Spartacans. At 6 A. M. Government troops opened a heavy bombardment with seven-centimeter guns on Police Headquarters from the roofs of houses in neighboring streets. The Spartacans answered with a spirited but futile machine-gun fire. Within half an hour the Government artillery had torn tremendous holes in the Spartacus "fortress," bringing the second story crashing down through the centre of the large building. The hoisting of a white flag shortly afterward signified unconditional surrender. Following the fall of Police Headquarters, Government troops seized without a struggle the Silesian railway station, the last important Spartacus stronghold in Greater Berlin.

Great credit was bestowed on General Noske and War Minister Reinhart for their energetic suppression of the second revolt. Dr. Liebknecht was reported hiding in the city. A thousand noncombatants were estimated to have been killed or wounded during the week of Spartacus fury. Berlin had been more shattered by explosions than London in four years of air raids.

Jan. 13 witnessed a fierce attempt by the Spartacans to recover the Anhalt railway station. Its only success was to delay the arrival of several trains of loyal Government troops. Otherwise, the second revolution had degenerated into mere looting without leadership or cohesive action. A branch office of the Disconto Bank on Frankfurterstrasse was broken into and robbed of 100,000 marks, while from Landsberger's department store valuable goods and 50,000 marks were carried away. All the regular newspapers appeared that morning.

The new Chief of Police, Richter, issued an order declaring invalid all the decrees of the Eichhorn régime. He also rearmed the police, who had been deprived of their weapons in the early days of the revolution. The police thereupon removed their red sleeve bands. Herr Richter said in an interview that the escaped leaders, such as Liebknecht and others, must be arrested at the earliest possible moment. He added: "We have in custody Georg Ledebour, Herr Meyer, and Dr. Liebknecht's son, but not Rosa Luxemburg or Karl Radek. The Berlin Government announced its ability to protect the elections for the National Assembly, the decisive issue between the elements of order and those of chaos.

In Munich elections for the Bavarian Constituent Assembly proceeded in an orderly manner. The returns indicated that the Majority Socialists had 50 per cent. of the Assembly membership, the Clericals and Conservatives 32 per cent., the German Democrats 14 per cent., and the remaining 4 per cent. scattered among various factions. The Independent Socialists were completely defeated.

Publication by the Government of Liebknecht's proclamation to "Comrades! Workmen!" dated Jan. 6, showed the confidence of the Spartacans in the triumphant outcome of their revolt. It read:

> The Government of Ebert and Scheidemann has made itself impossible. It is hereby declared deposed by the undersigned Revolutionary Committee and representatives of the revolutionary workmen and soldiers, (Independent Social Democratic Party and Communistic Party.) The undersigned Revolutionary Committee has temporarily taken over the Government's affairs. Comrades and workmen, give your support to the measures of the Revolutionary Committee.
>
> Berlin, Jan. 6, 1919.
>
> THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE, per LEDEBOUR, LIEBKNECHT, and SCHOLZE.

Documents seized in Dr. Liebknecht's house were said to prove that the Spartacus uprising had been inspired from Moscow.

The Berlin newspapers on the morning of Jan. 14 published a Government order demanding that every citizen give up all arms within twenty-four hours on pain of a heavy fine and five years' imprisonment. About 10 o'clock the police proceeded to put it into force by searching every person and house in the factory and tenement district, and by evening large quantities of arms had been surrendered peaceably. On Dec. 15 the revolt had degenerated into comparatively insignificant sniping from housetops.

DEATH OF LIEBKNECHT

Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the leaders of the Spartacans, were killed in sensational circumstances on the night of Jan. 15.

After the red rebellion in Berlin had been suppressed, the two leaders secreted themselves in the house of a sympathizer in the suburbs of Berlin, where they were discovered on the night of the 15th, but both denied their identity. A large crowd gathered and the prisoners were removed under a strong guard to the Eden Hotel in an aristocratic quarter of Berlin.

Here Liebknecht was examined once more, but still denied his identity, insisting that his name was Marcusson. Letters addressed to Liebknecht and initials on his clothing he tried to explain by saying that the latter articles had been borrowed from a friend who had probably been intrusted with letters for Liebknecht. He was then confronted by Frau Marcusson, who identified him as Liebknecht, whereupon he admitted the truth.

Meanwhile news of the arrest of Liebknecht spread like wildfire. A tumultuous throng gathered in front of the hotel despite the late hour. "Hand over the brute! Kill the swine!" howled the people, their yells penetrating to a large room on the first floor where Liebknecht was awaiting his fate. Liebknecht smiled derisively, remarking to the soldiers on guard: "They would kill Jesus Christ Himself." He was very pale, but otherwise showed no fear.

The officer in charge, fearing violence, ordered one of the strongest and largest automobiles available to be drawn up at the side door of the hotel, through which Liebknecht was escorted. Somehow the people got wind of this and Liebknecht had hardly been seated in the car when he was surrounded by a wrathful mass howling "Kill him! Kill him!"

A dozen persons reached the car at the same time, and one of them hit Liebknecht on the head with a heavy cane. At this moment the car started and ruthlessly made its way through the masses trying to cling to it, but it pushed them away. It was chased for a block or two by the mob hooting and screaming.

The automobile's crew had orders to take Liebknecht by the safest way to the Moabit Prison, which was through the Tiergarten. There was an accident to the car in the Charlottenburger Chaussée, requiring considerable repairing.

It was then after 10 o'clock, very dark, and no vehicles were about. Liebknecht had been bleeding profusely, but had not lost consciousness. The soldiers asked if he could walk as far as Hofjaeger Alley, where possibly some vehicle might be found with which to continue.

Liebknecht asked that his handkerchief be bound around his head, whereupon he declared himself ready to walk. The party left the car in the midst of the meadow, but when they got under some trees, hardly a hundred yards distant, Liebknecht suddenly pushed into a ditch the soldier walking at his side and made a dash for a clump of bushes.

Three times the soldiers shouted, "Halt, or you will be shot!" but Liebknecht sped on unheedingly. He had almost disappeared into the darkness when four rifles were fired and the fugitive dropped, two bullets having pierced his back.

There seemed to be some faint life left in him when he was examined, and a passing cab took the unconscious man to the nearest ambulance station. The physician on duty there found that he had died en route. The body was removed to the morgue.

ROSA LUXEMBURG'S END

Rosa Luxemburg, when arrested, also denied her identity and threatened the officers who held her. She also was removed to the Eden Hotel, and soon an enormous crowd surrounded the building. The crowd became so threatening that the officers tried a ruse by announcing that the woman had been taken away. The crowd refused to accept his statement, and finally rushed the hotel and seized the woman. The officers tried to shield her with their outstretched arms, but they were pushed aside and she was torn from them. She fought furiously, trying to escape into the hotel,

but some half a dozen canes and umbrellas descended upon her head and she dropped unconscious.

The soldiers, having been reinforced, rescued Rosa and placed her in an automobile, which immediately bounded up the Kurfürstendamm. But the news of her arrest traveled faster than the car. All along the streets the people hooted and jeered.

Three blocks further a man jumped aboard, and before the soldiers were aware of what had happened he fired a shot at Rosa, killing her. The car sped on despite the swarms of people trying to stop it. At Hitzigbridge the masses were so dense that it could not proceed.

"Neider, neider, neider mit Rose!" yelled the crowd, but a few strong voices cried: "Hoch, hoch, hoch!" There was a tremendous rush, the soldiers feeling themselves swept away as if by a tidal wave, and before they recovered from their surprise Rosa's body had been snatched from the car and borne away into the darkness.

The soldier sitting by her side was so bewildered by the rapid succession of extraordinary events that he could not say with certainty where she was shot, but thought it was in the neck just above the chest. Her assailant, the soldier says, wore a dark overcoat and eyeglasses. He had fired and jumped off before the soldier could grab his arm. This happened on Kurfürstendamm.

A general strike was ordered in Berlin as a protest against the killing of the two leaders, but it proved abortive.

Liebknecht was born in Leipzig Aug. 13, 1871. As a lawyer, in 1904, he defended German Socialists who had been accused at Königsberg with aiding Russian revolutionists. He lectured in America in 1910 and two years later was elected to the Reichstag from Potsdam. His first act in Parliament was to attack the Krupps, charging a conspiracy between them and the army to inspire the war spirit against France. As a result certain employes of the Krupps and certain army officers were brought to trial.

He became the champion enemy of Prussianism and all that it connoted—junkerism, militarism, and Hohenzollernism, and when the war came he alone of his party accused the Government of premeditated attack. His repeated demonstrations against the war caused him to be imprisoned in August, 1916. He was released owing to the political amnesty issued by the Chancellor Prince Max in November last. Having failed to lead the Soldiers' and Workers' delegates coming from the mutiny ports, he tried to gather a following in the streets of Berlin. He was a thorn in the side of organized Government until the masses whom he was trying to lead rose in indignation and extinguished him.

Rosa Luxemburg was born in Russian Poland Dec. 25, 1870. She married a Dr. Lübeck in Dresden in order to secure German citizenship, which, however, was not recognized by Russia. This kept her out of Russia. In Berlin she became the "enfant terrible" of the Social Democrats, who were constantly fearing the havoc her writings and speeches might create by turning the Government against them or by seducing their comrades to anarchy. During the war she passed most of her time in jail. The amnesty which freed Liebknecht also gave her her opportunity. Her name appeared on the editorial page of the Spartacan Red Flag as coeditor with him.

The people throughout Germany voted on Sunday, Jan. 19, for members of a Constituent Assembly, which was to be convoked to meet on Feb. 10, 1919. The Spartacans had fought to prevent this election, and its success signified the failure of Bolshevism in Germany. All men and women throughout the empire over 20 years of age were eligible to vote. The number of electors was estimated at 39,000,000: the total number of delegates to be chosen was 433. There was some disorder in Berlin during the voting, but generally good order prevailed.

LIGHT ON NAVY REVOLT

Captain Boy-Ed, formerly connected with German intrigues in the United States, gave some particulars regarding the part played by the navy in the revolution. He said:

> The revolution in the German Navy was part of a general movement. The Inde-

pendent Socialists and Spartacus adherents prepared for it long ago. Recent revelations by Adolph Joffe, the Bolshevist Ambassador at Berlin, showed that Russian gold played a decisive rôle in the movement. On the other hand, the extraordinary influence exerted upon the resisting qualities of the German people by the propaganda conducted by Lord Northcliffe does not as yet appear to be fully realized.

Independent Socialist leaders declared with almost cynical candor that the outbreak of the revolution was planned for Nov. 4. By a coincidence the German high seas fleet was mobilized on Oct. 13 for an attack on the Flemish Coast, and this put the avalanche in motion prematurely.

Revolutionary leaders used this as a pretext for inciting the men to insubordination, telling them that they were to be led to the shambles at the last moment. Many timid men who had previously been loyal were thus won over.

When the first evidences of insubordination appeared, a meeting was held on a ship of the First Squadron. Conversations between the commander and crew revealed no complaints on the part of the men regarding mistreatment by officers. The men's complaints were based wholly on political and military views.

That insubordination and mutiny in isolated sections of various crews, and the revolution that followed, gained such rapid momentum can be explained only as a general physical and psychical collapse of the people, who, after four years of grinding war with the greater part of the world, had reached the limit of their resources.

The Kaiser's Abdication and Flight

Two Illuminating Accounts

Under the title, "Flight of William the Last," the Berlin Vorwärts of Dec. 6, 1918, published a narrative of the Kaiser's flight to Holland from Spa, Belgium, written by one of his personal attendants; a week later a member of the Kaiser's closest entourage communicated to the Politischer Tagesdienst an account of the ruler's last days at Spa. The latter is as follows:

THE Kaiser said on Nov. 8, "I am not thinking of abdicating. I require of every officer that he remain faithfully at his post. As Supreme War Lord I must stick to my post, for I see the worst Bolshevism breaking over Germany if I go away. A strong hand is necessary to preserve Germany from this disaster. Other strong men, as the circumstances of the day show, are not standing firm in this difficult time; therefore I shall remain. Moreover, I should willingly work with the new order and the new Government. Various gentlemen in it whom I have met are very sympathetic to me to work with."

On the morning of Nov. 9 there were long discussions. Hindenburg was one of the first to announce himself at Fraineuse, the country seat occupied by the Kaiser at Spa. Hindenburg, after his first report to the Kaiser, had had a thorough discussion with fifty head officers of the various armies, each of whom was instructed to send five or six representatives in all haste to Main Headquarters. Each of these officers expressed his view in writing concerning the fidelity of his troops to the Kaiser, and they subsequently had a discussion all together. Hindenburg in his second report, transmitted about 1 o'clock to the Villa Fraineuse, gave it as the opinion of the head officers, which was fairly unanimous, that the troops could be relied on to fight against the enemy, but that they would never fight against their comrades. Meanwhile the Kaiser's abdication was constantly being urged by telephone from Berlin. It was repeatedly asked if he had not yet done it. Consequently a precisely worded answer was sent to Berlin after the discussion—namely, that the Kaiser abdicated as German Kaiser but not as King of Prussia. When this message was sent about 2 o'clock to Berlin the telephonic answer came: "Too late; we have already published his abdication."

The Crown Prince arrived at Spa about midday, and left again about 3 in the afternoon for his army. As he left the Kaiser said to him: "Tell the soldiers it is untrue that I have abdicated as King

of Prussia—I have not abdicated as King of Prussia." Later Hindenburg arrived with General Gröner and Admiral von Hintze, and shortly afterward Admiral von Scheer came. It was then put into the Kaiser's mouth to abdicate as King of Prussia also. When he subsequently left the audience chamber of the villa, he said to Count Dohna-Schlodien, his Aide de Camp: "You no longer have any Supreme War Lord." He then went up to his study. It does not appear from these words whether he intended to say that he had abdicated the Prussian throne or only abdicated the supreme command over the army in connection with his abdication as German Emperor.

FORCED TO FLEE

The same evening the gentlemen of his most intimate entourage urged him with insistence to go to Holland. The Kaiser was unwilling. He said: "They want to force me to flee. I will not." He said he would be in the court train about dinner time. On the way to the train the Kaiser said to his Aide de Camp: "I am so awfully ashamed; I cannot find it in my heart to do this—I cannot go away. If there be only one faithful battalion still here, I shall remain at Spa." In the court train one Job's tidings followed another—among others, that the Bolshevists were in Herbesthal, [about fifteen miles distant.] The retreating troops of the lines of communication were also pressing on Spa. Still the Kaiser was unwilling to leave, but he approved of a possible departure being prepared. To those around him he said: "At other times I have always known what to do, but now I cannot save myself." Expressing his opinion at the Kaiser's wish, one of his Aides de Camp said: "If I had to decide for myself I should remain, for if the troops are unwilling to fight for your Majesty, we will form a protecting detachment of officers. We can occupy all posts to this end, and act as a service for your safety."

At 10 o'clock von Hintze and a representative of the Foreign Office again urged his departure, saying: "Your Majesty, it may be too late in an hour's time." It was desired to preserve the Kaiser from personal ill-treatment, which was feared because of the reports arriving from various towns. The Kaiser then decided on flight. The Castle of Brühl, near Cologne, had been first thought of as a place of sojourn for him, but the roads thither were no longer free. Reports also said that access to the Crown Prince's army was unsafe. The Kaiser must have reflected that the Entente had repeatedly hammered on the point that they refused to conclude peace with him, for he said: "To facilitate peace for the nation I shall go to Holland. If I went to Germany, the supposition would be that I wanted to acquire a new party to help me to make a *coup d'état.*"

It was also thought that from the moment when the Kaiser was no longer Supreme War Lord he had no longer any command. He would then be a mere private person. As the army would not fight for the Kaiser against their comrades who were arriving, he had the feeling that the army had left him in the lurch, by which any possible reproach that he had left the army would be refuted. Moreover, the Kaiser felt himself exempted from the duty to take political decisions for the empire, as the Government out of the plenitude of its own power had announced his abdication.

DESCRIPTION OF FLIGHT

The following from the Vorwärts, written by one of the Kaiser's attendants, supplements the foregoing at many points:

On Tuesday, Oct. 29, at 2:30 P. M., I received from the castle an order to come immediately. Arrived at the castle, I received a commission to prepare, with the personnel appointed to me, to start at 11 o'clock at night from Wildpark Station, to make the journey to Spa in the court train. I arranged provisions for about ten days from the castle's war store, where enormous treasures of food of every description are stocked.

On Oct. 30, at 4 P. M., we entered Spa. The Kaiser and his suite of sixteen gentlemen, with about forty-five servants, continued to reside in the train.

On Nov. 3 the Kaiser undertook a journey to the front at Alost, in North Belgium. We left this station with some delay. Had we remained we should have been no more, for ten minutes after the court train's departure (the Kaiser with some of the suite had left in motor cars) the station was bombed by French airmen and completely ruined, also a munition transport and hospital train full of sick and wounded. On the return journey we saw six enemy airmen still above our train, but we were lucky, as they had thrown all their bombs at Alost. We returned to Spa about midday.

On Nov. 4 we were informed that we should leave that evening for Berlin. Our joy was great, but things turned out differently. The Kaiser had not complied with the request of the General Staff to retire from Spa as quickly as possible, as his presence occasioned fears of the worst, but had taken up his quarters in the Villa Fraineuse, where he had previously lived. I had to contend with all sorts of things in the train. The couriers, who should have brought fresh provisions, meat, game, vegetables, &c., from Berlin, had not arrived. What was I to do? I told a court official that he must see that the necessary provisions were obtained. This was done to a limited extent.

CROSSING THE FRONTIER

On Saturday, Nov. 9, at 6 P. M., we received news in the train that the Kaiser was coming down with all his suite, and would remain in the train. What did that mean? we asked ourselves. After some reflection we arrived at the right conclusion—flight. About 10, when the Kaiser had left the restaurant car, I was instructed to have a traveling breakfast ready early the following morning for the Kaiser, six gentlemen of his suite, and about eight members of the traveling service; and about 4:30 the first breakfast must be ready, as at 5 o'clock motor cars for the further journey (the flight to Holland) would be ready. Thus it happened that the Kaiser left the train at 5 o'clock in the morning [Nov. 10] and fled in motor cars across the Dutch frontier, and we followed in the train, reaching Eysden about 10. Scarcely had the train stopped when we heard people belonging to a factory situated opposite the train asking the mocking question whether we wanted to go to Paris, for if so, we must take the opposite direction.

On Monday, the 11th, at 9:10 A. M., we left Eysden for Maarn, via Maastricht. Our experiences during this journey were simply indescribable. Every single station that we passed swarmed like an antheap with people endeavoring to surpass each other in howling and hissing, holding up their hands, showing their tongues, spitting, and so on. We reached Maarn station at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the Kaiser being received by Count Bentinck at Amerongen.

He seems to feel very comfortable there, for he rides and tours in a motor car as at home; indeed, the gamekeeper told us that the only thing lacking in the Count's castle is dancing.

We arrived at our place of banishment at Amerongen at 8 o'clock, and found a very good reception in a small hotel boarding house, and had supper. We went to our rooms, all of which were without stoves and very cold, but we said to ourselves that it was better than an internment camp. We remained in these quarters, very comfortably looked after by the lady of the house, until the 17th, when K. entered my room early and asked whether I had heard four shots during the night. I answered in the negative. He replied: "Yes, yes; here we sit like a mouse in a trap." Thereupon I said that every mouse that is caught endeavors to escape from the trap. I also should try. He thought there was nothing to prevent this, but I should leave at my own risk. This I did, and through the German Legation at The Hague I was able to steer for home, and in this brilliantly succeeded.

KAISER'S NINETY ESTATES

According to the Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung, the Kaiser's private fortune in cash, mostly deposited at 4½ per cent. with various banks, is estimated at 20,000,000 marks, or $5,000,000, and his annual income therefrom roughly at $225,000.

The Revolutionary Government has de-

cleared (so far as its declarations have any effective value) that the Kaiser's private landed property will not be seized, though the Crown domains will pass to the Treasury. The newspaper says that of ninety forest, farm, park, and other estates, castles, &c., only seven are Crown domain, all the rest being private property. Thus the Kaiser's private estates include Bellevue Palace in Berlin and Monbijou Palace, within whose grounds is St. George's English Church. In Potsdam he has thirteen palaces, all belonging to him; also Wilhelmshöhe Palace at Cassel, where King Edward paid his last visit to the Kaiser and where Napoleon III. was confined after Sedan. Besides palaces and estates in Coblenz, Wiesbaden, Charlottenburg, Freienwalde, and elsewhere, he owns the experimental farming estate at Cadinen, of which he used to boast when the Agricultural League met annually in Berlin; also the famous shooting box and forest of Rominten, near the eastern frontier. He has house property at Trouville, and apparently the Achilleion Palace in Corfu belongs to him.

The cash consists largely of savings effected by Frederic William III.—calculated in 1840 at about $3,750,000; after 1871 William I. received $1,125,000 as a sort of war bonus. Since this latter sum clearly came from the French indemnity, the Kaiser might possibly have to disgorge when Germany has to repay the indemnity. The Kaiser also received $2,500,000 from the State for the ground where the Royal Library stands, and for the old Opera House of Kroll, where the late Sir Herbert Tree gave his Shakespeare performances. Most of this, however, was spent in improving the Royal stables in Berlin.

The ex-Kaiser in Exile

In reference to the extradition and trial of the former Kaiser, People's Commissioner Ebert said on Dec. 17:

> We have separated ourselves from him after decades of bitter struggle, and now we only desire that guilt for the outbreak of the war should finally be fixed in order that he should be exposed once for all. I cannot think of any provision in law upon which Wilhelm would have to be given up.

An interesting explanation of the hospitality extended to the ex-Kaiser by Count Bentinck was given in a special Hague cable to The New York Times Dec. 21. It stated that Count Bentinck was a member of the German Order of Johanniter, or Knights of St. John, among the Dutch nobility. In both Germany and Holland the order wielded great influence. In Germany the Kaiser was protector of the order as King of Prussia.

Not only Count Bentinck but several other Dutch Johanniters would have felt it in accordance with their knightly vows to extend refuge and hospitality to a fallen Knight in the person of the ex-Kaiser. This, in view of the fact that he was not held by his brother Knights of St. John to be "such a bad man as people think." According to this source, von Tirpitz was the ex-Kaiser's evil genius, and "really to blame for the war."

Reports from Amerongen indicated that the ex-Kaiser continued to lead a secluded life. He passed what might have been termed a quiet Christmas, following the usual custom of distributing gifts from a candle-lighted tree to his companions in exile. On Christmas morning he attended service in the private chapel of the castle. He was reported to be receiving an extraordinary number of letters and telegrams every day from all parts of the world. Much of his time was occupied in answering them. A dispatch of the 26th stated that the commission appointed by the Dutch Government to investigate the legal aspects of the ex-Kaiser's extradition was still sitting without having reached a decision. An Amsterdam message of Jan. 3 stated that the British and Dutch Governments had arrived at an agreement regarding the status of the former German Emperor. On the 5th the former Emperor underwent a successful operation on one of his

ears, performed by Professor Lang of Amsterdam University.

A document in the form of a letter sent by Emperor Frederick, then Crown Prince, to Bismarck in 1886 threw a sidelight on the character of the young Prince William, subsequently William II. It was published by the Berliner Tageblatt Dec. 11, 1918, on the authority of Ernst Goetz of Leipsic and read:

My son, Prince William, without my knowing about it, has expressed to his Majesty [the Emperor William I.] a desire during the coming Winter to make closer acquaintance with the activity of our Ministries. Consequently, as I hear, the plan has already been contemplated at Gastein of employing him in the Foreign Office.

As I have not yet received official information about it from any quarter, I consider it necessary in the first place to address myself confidentially to you, in order to learn what has already been settled, and also in order to say that, although I agree in principle with the initiation of my eldest son into questions of higher administration, I am decidedly opposed to his beginning in the Foreign Office. For, in view of the importance of the duties which will fall to the Prince, I consider it necessary above all things that he shall obtain knowledge of the internal conditions in his own country, and feel himself fully informed about them, before he concerns himself, even in a minor degree, with politics, especially as he is inclined to exaggeration, and arrives at very rapid conclusions.

His real knowledge is still defective, and he lacks the necessary foundations; for this reason it is extr· ely necessary that his knowledge should be raised to a higher plane and made more complete. This purpose would be met by giving him a civilian instructor, while at the same time, or later on, he might be employed in one of the administration ministries.

In view of the immaturity of my eldest son, combined with his tendency to conceit, I must describe it as positively dangerous to bring him at once in contact with foreign questions.

While I beg you to regard this letter as for yourself alone and as strictly confidential, I count upon your support in this matter, which is a very serious concern to me.

Count von Hertling's Last Statement

German Felts Sure of Victory Up to the Time of Chateau-Thierry —Dr. Rathenau on Germany's Ruin

A dispatch of Jan. 5 announced the death of Count George F. von Hertling, the former Imperial German Chancellor, at Ruhpolding, Bavaria. Three days before his death he had said to a correspondent of the Paris Matin:

The animosity of a great majority of the Germans toward Prussia will have a decisive influence on the future configuration of Central Europe. At Munich, as at Stuttgart and Cologne, there is resentment against Prussia for having so badly steered the common ship, and let it be understood that by Prussia, not the country, but the caste and the political system, is meant.

Existing Prussia is incomparably stronger than all the other confederated States, but it does not represent a homogeneous ethnical bloc, but an agglomeration of widely different provinces. If the present ideas follow their course, momentous historical events soon will occur, and the name of Prussia will disappear from the map of Europe.

Questioned by the correspondent as to his hatred for Prussia, which appeared to be of recent date, Count von Hertling replied:

Evidently one reasons very differently when deafened by the clamors of victory, and everybody believed in victory. At the beginning of July, 1918, I was convinced, I confess it, that before the 1st of September our adversaries would send us peace proposals. Certainly, our situation was most dangerous, in the sense that we had played our last card. But what did that matter, since we were sure we were winning.

We were all the more sure of that because of certain information of the most favorable nature which reached us from the Entente, notably from France. It was on account of this information that the high command, notwithstanding the opposition of the Government, was able to continue bombarding Paris. It was obviously hoped to hasten thus the process of demoralization, about which well-meaning agents furnished daily fantastic reports.

We expected grave events in Paris for

the end of July. That was on the 15th. On the 18th even the most optimistic among us understood that all was lost. The history of the world was played out in three days.

RATHENAU SEES RUIN

Dr. Rathenau, head of the German General Electric Company, granted an interview to a foreign correspondent in which he pessimistically viewed the fate of Germany. He said:

Germany is ruined for generations to come. It is the greatest calamity that has happened in any country for 2,000 years. We are ruined politically, industrially, and economically. All our people here do not yet know the truth. I told the German people that they would lose the war, but everybody scoffed at me.

We have a population of nearly 70,000,000. Half of them can live on what grows on our soil or is found below it. The other half live on the industries for which all materials have to be bought and paid for by what they sell. Now our colonies are going, and Alsace-Lorraine, too, with all the ores and the greater part of the potash production. There is danger of losing other parts of our country, the Danish and so-called Polish districts, which in reality are German.

Then comes the question of indemnities. If the indemnities are high, the interest and repayments will take our savings and we shall have nothing with which to expand our industries. Black ruin will face us, and there will be a great tide of emigration probably to South America and the Far East and certainly to Russia. It will be most dreadful, and the result will be the Balkanization of Europe.

The disappearance of Germany from a position of importance will be the most dangerous fact in history. Sooner or later the Eastern powers will press on the Western civilization.

Turning to the food question, Dr. Rathenau said:

Germany has been hungry for three years, but is not yet starving. Everybody who sees Germany will say that she is not starving now, and that is perfectly true. But if you talk of provisions to be found in Germany, you must say truthfully that they will be exhausted in two months; and if you wait until then to send food, it will be too late, because 70,000,000 people cannot be fed as easily as, say, 7,000,000 Belgians. Ships are the greatest factor in feeding Germany.

Dr. Rathenau said that he had seen the damage done in Belgium and Northern France, and his estimate of the indemnity payable for this was $5,000,000,000. "That sum would, if anything, be excessive," he added. "It would be a war indemnity."

IMPERIAL GRAFT

Theodor Wolff, in the Tageblatt, made the astounding revelation that the German Legation in Switzerland had more than 1,000 persons in its service, most of whom drew considerable salaries. Herr Wolff wrote:

Many of them are employed in the Propaganda Department for enlightening the neutral public. Others happily do not do anything. Von Romberg, the German Minister, does not seem to be responsible for this state of affairs. They simply sent him a lot of protégés who were thought to be too good for the trenches.

In the Berne Ministry they look at the world with monocled eyes. In free, democratic Switzerland, these darling sons of reactionary Prussia to this day are inflicting their statesmanship on a suffering world, with the result that Germany, despite her thousand diplomats, agents, propaganda makers, economic advisers, and military representatives, has lost every friend in that country.

A few months ago the Berne police discovered bombs, and, as alleged, quite a lively breed of bacilli for the purpose of spreading renderpest, (an epidemic among cattle.) It is said that these were intended as a present for Italy. The case will be tried in January.

No matter what the verdict, we advise the Government to write 1,000 letters telling these 1,000 employes in Switzerland that they have been employed long enough. If necessary, ten or twelve might be retained if they are really capable and can act as plausible representatives of republican Germany in Switzerland.

The Allied Armies in Germany

New Commercial Regulations and Civil Restrictions Found Necessary in the Occupied Regions

[Period Ended Jan. 18, 1919]

No disorder, apart from petty infractions of local regulations, attended the first full month of occupation by the allied armies of the bridgeheads and adjacent districts on the Rhine. The nearest approach to a show of force that was deemed necessary was the dispatch by Marshal Foch of a battalion of French infantry to occupy Mannheim in the neutral zone, to watch the prison camp near that place, where cruel treatment of allied prisoners had been reported.

Special efforts were made to give the American troops an enjoyable Christmas. The Quartermaster's Department and the American Red Cross sent thirty carloads of chocolate and candy, besides four carloads of pastry and material for pies and cakes. Every officers' mess and every company of soldiers had a Christmas tree. The Salvation Army provided three doughnuts for every soldier. There was a lack of turkey, but plenty of other kinds of poultry, as well as roast pig and fish. The Knights of Columbus provided extra tobacco, and the men fared well. Their satisfaction was increased by the announcement that Rhine steamers had been secured for the purpose of giving daily excursions to the soldiers on the days they were off duty.

The morale of the army, despite the natural desire of the men to get home, was excellent and health conditions continued good.

General Pershing on Dec. 27 issued new rules for the guidance of the inhabitants of regions occupied by the American forces. In drafting these rules care was taken to avoid anything that would humiliate the population or that savored of retaliation or revenge. Except minor and specific regulations, the Americans had not previously interfered in local affairs. Cafés had been open and theatres filled night after night. Newspapers had published without restraint such articles as they desired, while crowds promenaded the streets until midnight, and even later. The Germans had come to believe that such conditions would continue, and, while there were no serious incidents as a result of the tolerant rule of the Americans, it was deemed best to check any tendency toward abuse. The text of the proclamation follows:

> Every person above the age of 12 must carry at all times an identification card bearing his signature and address. Such card will, when issued, be stamped by the appropriate civil official. Notification of change of address must be immediately made to the appropriate civil official and indorsed by him on the identification card.
>
> The head of each household must keep posted on the outer door of the building a list showing the name, nationality, sex, age, and occupation of every person of the household.
>
> Circulation will be controlled by the American authorities. The Burgomaster, under the direction of the American authorities, will regulate travel within the district occupied by Americans, and he will be held responsible for strict compliance with all regulations. Authority to leave the American zone will be granted only by a division or higher commander.
>
> The carrying of arms or deadly weapons is forbidden, except by the local police. Every person in possession of arms or ammunition of any kind must deliver them to the American authorities at such time or place as may be appointed. A receipt for each weapon will be given at the time of delivery.
>
> The sale or gift of all alcoholic drinks, except light wine and beer, is forbidden. Alcohol for medicinal or industrial purposes does not come within this prohibition. The sale or gift of light wine and beer is prohibited except from 11 o'clock A. M. to 2 o'clock P. M. and from 5 o'clock P. M. to 9 o'clock P. M. These orders respecting drinks render the offender liable, in addition to other punishment, to confiscation of his stock and the closing of his business.
>
> All gathering of crowds is forbidden. No meeting or assembly of persons shall take place without authority from the local military commander. Sessions of courts, councils, and schools as well as

religious services may be held as usual. A copy of each newspaper or other publication will be delivered to the local military commander immediately upon issue, and the appearance of any matter reflecting upon or injurious to the American military government will render the publication liable to suspension or suppression. Excepting the periodical press, no printed matter will be published without permission from the local military authorities.

Mail is subject to censorship by the American military authorities. The use of the telegraph and long-distance telephone is forbid en except by permission from the local military commander.

The use of aerial wireless apparatus is forbidden, and all private telephone or telegraphic apparatus, ground or aerial wireless apparatus, must be reported to the military commander at once. No person may, without authority from the local military commander, transmit any message or communication to any person outside the territory occupied by American troops except through the Post Office.

The use of carrier pigeons is forbidden. Owners of carrier pigeons will make immediate report of their pigeon cotes to the military commander, with a list of the marks borne by their pigeons. Pigeon houses must be kept open day and night.

The taking of photographs outdoors, except by permission from the local military authorities, is forbidden.

Special rules: Whosoever attacks, disturbs or impedes any American troops or officer or soldier thereof, or destroys, damages or disturbs any railway, telegraph or telephone installation, any lighting or water-power system or any part thereof, or who destroys, damages, steals, or secrets any property of or in possession of the American Army, or purchases, receives in pawn or has in his possession articles of clothing, equipment or rations furnished to American soldiers or belonging to American armies; or destroys, damages, pollutes or secrets any fodder, water or other things useful to the American Army; or acts as any spy or commits acts of war or treason against the American Army; or commits any act whatever injurious to the American Army, or in obstruction of the military government, or in violation of these regulations or any other regulation orders hereafter made by the American military authorities, or refuses to comply with a requisition, or attempts to do any of the foregoing things, or advises or assists any one else to do or attempt to do any of them, will be punished as a military court may direct.

The congested condition of the railways made it necessary that certain restrictions upon importations from Germany into the occupied Rhine Provinces should be imposed. These became effective Jan. 1.

The Interallied Railway Commission of the Rhine Provinces, which issued the regulations, stipulated that the articles which may be imported should include necessary material for the operation of factories, and all kinds of fuel and food. Commercial traffic originating on the west bank of the Rhine and consigned to Germany was forbidden.

Freight trains were permitted to cross into the occupied areas after inspection by the authorities at specified outposts. Passenger service ends at the terminals near the bridgehead lines, where travelers transfer from one train to another.

Passenger travel was authorized only under conditions which conformed to the regulations made by the armies. The agents assigned to the sale of tickets must assure themselves that the passengers possessed the necessary permission to travel, and the agents were held responsible for all infractions of the regulations.

Beginning Jan. 1 all German officers and soldiers in uniform and all railroad workers and policemen in uniform were required to salute all officers of the allied armies in the American zone of occupation. An order to this effect was published in the local newspapers. A corresponding order was issued by the French and English in the first days of occupation. While the American commanders thought at first that such an order was unnecessary, they decided it was best to make the rule alike for all occupied Germany because of the effect on the German population.

German Armistice Terms Changed

Extension Granted, With New Conditions

THE Supreme War Council of the Allies, in formal session Jan. 13 at Paris, considered an extension of the German armistice and reached an agreement as to the terms on which it would be renewed until Feb. 17, 1919, extending it an additional month.

The armistice delegates met at Treves Jan. 15. Marshal Foch was at the head of the allied delegates. The four American representatives were Admiral William S. Benson, Chief of Operations of the United States Navy; Norman H. Davis, representing the United States Treasury; Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the American Shipping Board, and Louis P. Sheldon, who represented the American Food Administration. Matthias Erzberger headed the German delegation.

The new terms required that Germany should hand over to the Allies all her cargo steamers in German and other ports to enable the Allies to revictual Germany and such adjacent countries as may be decided upon. The German mercantile fleet, virtually in its entirety, was placed at the disposal of the associated Governments, to be distributed among them in accordance with the needs of the various nations. Only some of the smaller steamships were left to the Germans.

The allotment of the steamers among the associated powers was governed partly by the respective needs of the nations and partly by the suitability of the steamers for use on particular routes. The giant liners, like the Imperator and the other big, modern steamers finished during the war, are too deep in draft to pass through the Suez Canal. Hence Great Britain took the moderate-sized steamers for the Australian service. The smaller steamers were left to the Germans for their needs in the Baltic coastal traffic.

Equitable remuneration for the use of these ships is to be paid to Germany. The money will be applied in payment for foodstuffs furnished to Germany under another part of the agreement. The supplies to be furnished include 70,000 tons of pork to satisfy the urgent needs of Germany for fats. The furnishing of 200,000 tons of cereals was provided for, but for part of this amount condensed milk may be substituted. The terms also require a restitution of all manufacturing machinery, &c., taken from the invaded regions which it is possible to identify. This was decided upon in the view that it would bring about a quicker revival of economic life than the payment of an equivalent in money. Under the terms Germany must deliver by Feb. 17 some 58,000 agricultural machines of various kinds.

A commission of the Allies which inspected German naval bases and airplane and seaplane stations made the trip late in December on the British battleship Hercules, accompanied by the British destroyers Verdun and Viceroy.

The Submarine Commission, under Lieut. Commander Bower, pushed its investigations assiduously at Hamburg, Bremen, and other points, with the result that scores of U-boats, nearly all near completion and hitherto undeclared by the Germans, were found and reported. Admiral Goette protested to the last against giving up these submarines, but at a final conference consented. The German delegation agreed in the new armistice conditions that all submarines which had been found in course of construction by the commission would be destroyed and all others ready for sea would be at once surrendered.

Agreements were also reached regarding the gold reserve of the Reichsbank and the issue of money by Germany. Guarantees were required regarding the removal of the Reichsbank's gold from Berlin in view of the civil strife there. These were acceded to. German gold reserves totaled 2,262,626,000 marks on Dec. 31.

Compilations made from German official reports relative to paper in circulation gave a total of 31,792,313,000

marks. Besides this, there are great quantities of paper which various municipalities have issued.

As a guarantee for the fulfillment of the demands the Entente reserved the right of occupying the sector of the Fortress of Strasbourg formed by the fortifications on the right bank of the Rhine, together with a strip of territory from five to ten kilometers in front of it.

Herr Erzberger protested against the new terms, but in the end signed the agreement.

During the month preceding the extension the terms of the armistice as previously fixed were in part carried out, apparently in good faith.

On Dec. 21 German representatives brought to Brussels from Cologne about $91,000,000 in gold which was being restored by Germany to Belgium, and by the end of the year they had returned stocks taken from the banks in Northern France amounting approximately to $1,200,000,000. Several safes, weighing five to seven tons each, which the Germans had not opened, were brought back to Valenciennes.

Up to Jan. 7, 1919, about 5,000 motor trucks had been delivered, also 2,500 locomotives, half the number stipulated, and nearly 100,000 railway cars in good working condition.

The British Royal Air Force up to Jan. 14 had collected 500 German airplanes, of which 170 were not in good condition. At Nivelles the airplanes were handed over in good condition. Nearly all of these were of the newest Fokker type, though there were some Albatross, scout, Pralz, and two Junkers. These last were armored trench fighting machines with wings of corrugated aluminium, and have a pair of machine guns which fire through the floor of the observer's cockpit.

Among the arms surrendered were 100,000 rifles, 20,000 of which were captured from the Allies. The heavy artillery included two six-inch guns manufactured in 1873, but used on the front during the latter days of the war. Both guns were in first-class condition. More than 200,000 yards of gray German uniform cloth came into the hands of the Americans from the warehouses at Coblenz.

The Germans left so many shells at Mulheim that the work of counting them was barely begun, although American soldiers had been busy at the task for more than a week. Included in the artillery given up by the Germans were 700 guns of large calibre and nearly 3,000 machine guns. It required one train to carry the machine guns alone. The other guns, ranging from 150s to 210s, required three trains for transportation. Metternich, just outside of Coblenz, was the assembling point for this material. Some of it came from east of the Rhine, many of the guns having been sent into the interior of Germany for repairs, as the terms of the armistice require that all the artillery be turned over in first class condition.

Attempts to defraud in the delivery of supplies were detected by American officials in the second week of January, when concealed materials amounting to more than a million dollars in value were discovered hidden in Coblenz and promptly confiscated.

DREADNOUGHT BADEN SURRENDERED

The German superdreadnought Baden arrived in Scapa Flow Jan. 11, 1919, and was interned there with the other vessels of the German fleet. The surrender of this warship was demanded in place of the battle cruiser Mackensen, which was not sufficiently completed to leave Germany.

The Baden is a vessel of about 27,000 tons, similar to the Queen Elizabeth class, mounting eight 15-inch guns and steaming nominally 23 knots.

Another flotilla of German submarines, numbering sixteen, left Germany Jan. 12 to surrender to the Allies. This group comprised thirteen which were in the Mediterranean when the armistice was signed, and three others found by the Allied Commission at Wilhelmshaven.

There were at that time still seven submarines in neutral waters to be surrendered, and forty-four in German ports that must be given up.

Rear Admiral Rodman, who command-

ed the American squadron in the North Sea with the British Grand Fleet, in testimony before the House Naval Committee at Washington on Jan. 3 assumed responsibility for the recommendation that the older types of German capital ships be taken out to sea and sunk "where they could never be raised or salvaged."

He stated in his testimony that when the armistice was signed he recommended to Admiral Beatty, British Commander in Chief, "that the capital ships of the German fleet, with the exception possibly of their very latest craft, be taken to sea and sunk, where they could never be raised or salved, and that their fleet cruisers, destroyers, and submarines, and other vessels that would be of use be turned over to the Allies to be used by them as they saw fit.

"My reason for recommending the sinking of their capital ships was this: During this war it has been shown that the British and American Navies have dominated the whole surface of the ocean and that they had sufficient strength at any time to wipe the German fleet out of existence, given the opportunity. Hence I could see no reason for adding to the British Navy or our own these older types of German capital ships that would entail great expense for maintenance and upkeep.

"They were of an entirely different type from ours, had different guns, different ammunition, and different standardizations in all constructive features. It seemed to me that it would be cheaper to sink them, because if we could dominate Germany now, when she had a navy, surely when she had none we would be all the stronger.

"Then if Germany were to build a new navy, by the time that navy was built (speaking, of course, of capital ships) these present capital ships would be obsolete, and I could see no object in maintaining them for a number of years. Hence I thought it would be cheaper to sink them and so recommended."

This declaration brought a prompt disavowal from Secretary of the Navy Daniels, who officially announced the next day that he was opposed to sinking the warships. This was followed by semi-official announcements that the Administration did not favor the idea. A similar declaration was made by the British authorities.

EDITH CAVELL'S JUDGE REBUFFED

Baron von der Lancken and Dr. Rieth, who were prominent in the German administration of Belgium, wired on Dec. 27, 1918, from Berlin to Walter Lyman Brown, Director of the Commission for Relief in Belgium at Rotterdam, that they had been appointed by the German Government to negotiate with Herbert C. Hoover for food supplies, and that they desired Mr. Hoover to advise them when and where he would meet them.

In answer to the request for a conference Mr. Hoover sent this message:

"You can describe two and a half years of arrogance toward ourselves and cruelty to the Belgians in any language you may select, and tell the pair personally to go to hell with my compliments. If I do have to deal with Germans it will not be with that pair."

War Casualties of All the Nations

Thirty-three Million Men on Casualty Lists Out of a Grand Total of Nearly Sixty Millions Mobilized

By WALTER LITTLEFIELD

[The figures of military losses in this article are all from official data, or, where these were not obtainable, are from official estimates.]

THIS is an attempt to reveal the war's cost measured in terms of human life, with special reference to the millions diverted from the productive industries of peace to the annihilating vocation of mortal combat—to other millions who today are dead, suffering, or helpless because of the war.

Sixteen established nations and three new ones, which the war brought forth, assembled their human powers for the great conflict—fifteen on one side and four on the other. Against one or more of the four, twelve other nations also declared war, but did not actively indulge in it. Of the remaining fifty more or less independent nations of the world, five also severed relations with one or more of the four original aggressors. All were seriously affected.

It has been estimated that the Polish combatants with the Allies numbered 150,000; that the Czechoslovak armies in Siberia, France, and Italy included 180,000 nationals; that the King of Hedjaz fought the Turk with 250,000 Arabs. These three new nations, therefore, employed a combatant force of 580,000 men, which was joined to the Allies' 39,676,864 against the Central Powers' 19,500,000.

Nearly 60,000,000 men at war! Of this huge number over 7,000,000 are dead and nearly 6,000,000 (30 per cent. of the wounded) are permanent human wrecks.

But this only refers to the soldiers who died or were irreparably maimed. Civilians were even greater sufferers, not only by engines of war but by famine, disease, and massacre. There were those who were killed by direct military causes; those who died from indirect causes.

In the first category we have:

692	Americans slain on the high seas.
20,620	British subjects slain on the high seas.
1,270	English men, women, and children the victims of air raids and bombardment.
30,000	Belgians butchered or deprived of life in various ways.
40,000	French butchered or deprived of life in various ways.
7,500	Neutrals slain by the U-boat.
100,082	

In the second catagory* we have:

4,000,000	Armenians, Syrians, Jews, and Greeks massacred or starved by the Turks.
4,000,000	Deaths beyond the normal mortality of influenza and pneumonia induced by the war.
1,085,441	Serbian dead through disease or massacre.
9,085,441	

All this gives a military and civilian mortality, directly or indirectly the product of the war, of:

Military deaths	7,781,806
Civilian deaths	9,185,523
Total	16,967,329

And this is not all. Who can even estimate the millions of human beings

*American civilian lives lost by U-boat, mines, &c., include all from the one lost on the British ship Falaba, March 28, 1915, till the four lost on the American steamer Lucia, Oct. 17, 1918. British lives lost in the same way include 6,500 members of the mercantile marine not listed as naval casualties. The 7,500 neutral lives also lost are led by those of Norway's death list of 5,120 seamen.

The total of 4,000,000 Armenians, Greeks, Jews, and Syrians massacred by the Turks is the latest official estimate of the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief.

The number of Armenians massacred has been variously estimated at from one to three

Mobilized Strength and Casualty Losses of the Belligerents

United States and Associated Nations

Nation.	Mobilized.	Dead.	Wounded.	Prisoners or Missing.	Total Casualties.
United States.....	4,272,521	67,813	192,483	14,363	274,659
British Empire....	7,500,000	692,065	2,037,325	360,367	3,089,757
France	7,500,000	1,385,300	2,675,000	446,300	4,506,600
Italy	5,500,000	460,000	947,000	1,393,000	2,800,000
Belgium	267,000	20,000	60,000	10,000	90,000
Russia	12,000,000	1,700,000	4,950,000	2,500,000	9,150,000
Japan	800,000	300	907	3	1,210
Rumania	750,000	200,000	120,000	80,000	400,000
Serbia	707,343	322,000	28,000	100,000	450,000
Montenegro	50,000	3,000	10,000	7,000	20,000
Greece	230,000	15,000	40,000	45,000	100,000
Portugal	100,000	4,000	15,000	200	10,000
Total.....	39,676,864	4,869,478	11,075,715	4,956,233	20,892,226

Central Powers

Germany	11,000,000	1,611,104	3,683,143	772,522	6,066,769
Austria-Hungary ..	6,500,000	800,000	3,200,000	1,211,000	5,211,000
Bulgaria	400,000	201,224	152,399	10,825	264,448
Turkey	1,600,000	300,000	570,000	130,000	1,000,000
Total..... ...	19,500,000	2,912,328	7,605,542	2,124,347	12,542,217
Grand total...	59,176,864	7,781,806	18,681,257	7,080,580	33,434,443

whose bones whiten the roads of Poland or fill the charnel houses of the Bolsheviki?

The table printed above on this page gives the authentic figures regarding the man power employed and the casualties suffered by the sixteen nations which were officially mobilized for the war and took active part in it. There is as yet no record available concerning the casualties suffered by the three new nations which came into being through the war, or by little San Marino, which sent a gallant 300 to help Italy beat their common enemy. The rest, however, is upon record.

million. This is probably an exaggeration. An estimate of 300,000 is based on the following facts, published in the Horizon of Tiflis and the Artzakank Parisi, (Paris;) still the natural increase in population in the unaffected region might tend to increase this total. When the war began there were fewer than three million Armenians in all Turkey, Transylvania, and Galicia. In Transcaucasia the Armenian population increased from 1,000,000 to 1,207,000; in Ciscaucasia, from 30,000 to 80,000; in European Turkey, from 400,000 to 500,000, and in Transylvania and Galicia, from 15,000 to 25,000. Supposing that this increase were entirely due to refugees, we have 367,000. Now for the region affected by massacre: First comes Turkish Armenia, with its predominant Kurd population, where, before the war, there were 650,000 Armenians, and today there are 32,000, a decrease of 618,000; Northern Persia had 100,000 and today has 51,000, a decrease of 49,000, showing a total decrease in two regions of 667,000, and a grand total decrease of 300,000, (667,000 minus 367,000.)

ARMY AND NAVY OF THE UNITED STATES

Two elements contributed to make the armed forces of the United States the numerical and dynamic success they had already registered when Germany signed the armistice—the wise laws which brought them into being and the intelligent execution of those laws by both public servants and public sentiment. Under the original selective service law of May 18, 1917, with its subsequent amendments, the man power of the na-

tion between the ages of 18 and 45, inclusive, had registered to the number of 23,709,000, and of these slightly over 2,800,000 had been inducted into military service. These had been added to the Regular, National Guard, and Reserve Corps units, making a total of 3,665,000 men mobilized, of whom there were in Europe, or on the way to Europe, on Nov. 11, 2,053,347 men—less losses—and over 1,700,000 in training at home camps.

On Aug. 7, 1918, the appellations "Regular Army," "Reserve Corps," "National Guard," and "National Army" were ordered discontinued and the military forces of the nation were consolidated into the United States Army. The old volunteer army had numbered on the eve of the declaration of war 190,000 men.

The creation of the National Naval Volunteers by an act approved Aug. 29, 1916, had already made it possible to place the Naval Militia under Federal jurisdiction. The same act also provided for the increase of the enlisted personnel of the Regular Navy and the creation of the United States Naval Reserve Force. On Nov. 11, 1918, the Regular Navy was represented by 5,656 permanent and 4,833 temporary officers and 206,684 men, and the Reserves numbered 21,985 officers and 290,346 men, giving a total of 32,474 officers and 497,030 men, to be added to the United States fighting forces. The total, however, included many women who had been enrolled as yeomen due to the sudden increase of the "business" of the service on account of the war. When war was declared the enlistment and enrollment of the navy numbered only 65,777 men.

Then to the land army and the navy must be added the Marine Corps, who conspicuously upheld the traditions of their caste at Château-Thierry. By an act which went into effect July 1, 1918, the strength of the corps was temporarily increased from 693 officers and 30,000 men to 3,017 officers and 75,000 men. The volunteer enlistments were stopped by Executive order on Aug. 8, when the maximum, showing a total of 78,017, had about been reached.

According to General Pershing's report to Secretary of War Baker, dated Nov. 20, 1918, the losses to the American Expeditionary Force had been as follows up to Nov. 18: Killed and died of wounds, 36,145; died of disease, 14,811; deaths unclassified, 2,204; wounded, 179,625; prisoners, 2,163; missing, 1,160. A supplementary report transmitted Nov. 30 made the following distribution of casualties which the Expeditionary Force of 1,338,169 combat troops had suffered in France, according to data verified up to Nov. 26:

Killed in action, 28,363; died of wounds, 12,101; died of disease, 16,034; deaths unclassified, 1,980; prisoners and missing, 14,290, and 189,955 wounded, divided as follows: Severely wounded, 54,751; undetermined, 43,168; slightly, 92,036.

On Jan. 7 the War Department received a report giving the casualties suffered by the American Expeditionary Force in Northern Russia as follows: Killed in action and died of wounds, 3 officers and 57 men; died of disease, 2 officers and 63 men; accidentally killed, 4 men; drowned, 1 officer and 2 men; missing in action, 16 men; wounded, 15.

Before the United States entered the war 67 members of the navy had lost their lives on armed merchantmen attacked by submarines; during the war the service lost on sea by the sinking of 48 naval vessels and 130 merchant vessels in convoy 1,142 officers and men.

The casualties suffered by the Marine Corps are best described in a passage taken from the most recent report of the Secretary of the Navy:

> With only 8,000 men engaged in the fiercest battles, the Marine Corps casualties numbered 69 officers and 1,531 enlisted men dead, and 78 officers and 2,435 enlisted men wounded seriously enough to be officially reported by cablegram to which number should be added not a few whose wounds did not incapacitate them from further fighting. However, with a casualty list that numbers nearly half the original 8,000 men who entered battle, the official reports account for only 57 United States Marines who have been captured by the enemy.

From the foregoing data the totals reached in regard to the American troops

as shown in the table were obtained as follows:

	Mobilized.	Dead.	W'ded.	Miss.	Total Casual.
Army	3,665,000	65,000	189,955	14,290	269,245
Casualties in Russia	.....	71	15	16	102
Navy	529,504	1,142	.....	.....	1,142
Marine Corps	78,017	1,609	2,513	57	4,170
Total	4,272,521	67,813	192,483	14,363	274,659

BRITISH EMPIRE

In his last report for 1918 Secretary Baker draws an interesting comparison between the development of the British and American expeditionary forces, which contains hitherto unknown facts in regard to the former:

> The British forces in France climbed to one million men in the Fall of 1915, and to a high figure of slightly more than two million troops in the Summer of 1917, three years after England entered the war. In nineteen months after the United States entered the war we were represented overseas by an army of two million men. The growth of the American force was twice as rapid as that of the British force. It must be borne in mind that the British, practically from the beginning, used large numbers of men to fill gaps left by casualties, while the American forces could for many months apply practically every man to building up the force.

Prior to the war the land forces of the United Kingdom, which were first affected, consisted of the Regular Army of 160,000 men and the Territorial Army, organized primarily for home defense. At the battles of Mons and the Marne the expeditionary force was of about 60,000; its losses were filled by a special reserve. During 1915 Lord Derby, Director General of Recruiting, managed to maintain the volunteer system and registered 2,829,263 men between the ages of 18 and 40, which brought the total enrollment up to 2,500,000, of which only about 1,000,000 remained effective. The new Military Service act, which came into force on Feb. 10, 1916, added 820,000 men to the army during that and the following year, and then, in January, 1918, it became necessary to withdraw nearly 500,000 men under 24 years of age from essential industries and send them into the army on account of the expected German offensive which actually began March 21.

It was in explanation of the transfer of 420,000 from industry that Sir Aukland Geddes, Minister of National Service, made an important statement in the House of Commons on Jan. 19, 1918, in regard to the man power of the empire. He said that the British Army was then over 4,000,000 strong on all fronts where it was engaged. The empire as a whole had raised over 7,500,000. England alone had contributed 4,500,000, or 60 per cent.; Scotland, 620,000, or 8 per cent.; Wales, 280,000, or 3.7 per cent.; Ireland, 170,000, or 2.3 per cent., and the dominions, 900,000, or 12 per cent.—significant figures of which all, except the Irish, may be proud.

In 1918 the United Kingdom by a new class of recruits and the diversion of man power from industries to the war had managed to raise the total registration from 5,570,000 to a few hundred over 6,000,000 when the armistice was signed. To this may be added the total registration in the British possessions, which furnished, in round numbers, from the beginning of the war, 2,000,000 men. These, however, include the numerous camp followers of the native Indian Army and the native troops in Africa, concerning which little statistical information has so far been published.

Canada, with a contribution of nearly 1,000,000 men, 800,000 of whom went overseas, lost a total of 220,182, with a mortality total of 60,383. The list, published at Ottawa Jan. 3, follows:

	Officers.	Other Ranks.	Total.
Killed in action	1,842	33,824	35,666
Died of wounds	614	11,806	12,420
Died of disease	220	5,185	5,405
Wounded	7,130	148,669	155,799
Prisoners of war	...	...	3,575
Presumed dead	142	4,529	4,671
Missing	41	384	425
Deaths in Canada	...	...	2,221
Total	9,989	204,397	220,182

Total deaths, 60,383.

Two thousand five hundred and eight prisoners have been repatriated, escaped, or died while prisoners of war.

Australia, with her volunteer system, out of a population of 5,000,000 sent abroad 336,000, which suffered a total

loss of 290,191, including 54,431 dead, 156,000 wounded, and 3,401 prisoners.

India's contribution to the war, in both white and native troops, and the losses these troops sustained are set forth as follows in a report from the India Office on Nov. 27, 1918:

At the outbreak of war the strength of the army in India was: British, 76,953; Indian, 239,561. The number of Indian ranks recruited during the war up to Sept. 30, 1918, was 1,161,789, of which 757,747 were combatants and the rest non-combatants. The number of officers and men sent on service overseas from India up to Sept. 30, 1918, was:

	British.	Indian.
To East Africa	5,403	46,936
To France	18,934	131,496
To Mesopotamia	167,551	588,717
To Egypt	19,168	116,159
To Gallipoli	60	4,428
To Saloniki	66	4,938
To Aden	7,386	20,243
To Persian Gulf	968	29,457
	219,534	953,374
Total		1,172,908
British ranks sent from India to England		42,430
Grand total		1,215,338

The total Indian casualties in the same period were 101,439, of which more than half were incurred in Mesopotamia. In this theatre there were 14,742 killed and 30,589 wounded. The next largest casualties were incurred in France, with 6,900 killed and 16,380 wounded.

On Nov. 19, 1918, the British Deputy Secretary of War, Mr. Macpherson, made a long statement in the House of Commons giving the total casualties of the British Armies as they had so far been ascertained and tabulated. On Nov. 26 the British Admiralty issued a statement in regard to naval losses. Mr. Macpherson said:

The military casualties in the Expeditionary Forces in the different theatres of war are necessarily incomplete, and I am afraid that some time will have to elapse before the exact figures can be given. Up to Nov. 10, 1918, the figures, including the dominion and the Indian troops, in the various theatres of operations, are as follows:

KILLED

(Including died of wounds and other causes.)

	Officers.	Other Ranks.
France	32,769	526,843
Italy	86	941
Dardanelles	1,785	31,737
Saloniki	285	7,330
Mesopotamia	1,340	29,769
Egypt	1,098	14,794
East Africa	380	8,724
Other Theatres	133	690

WOUNDED

	Officers.	Other Ranks.
France	83,142	1,750,203
Italy	334	4,612
Dardanelles	3,010	75,508
Saloniki	818	16,058
Mesopotamia	2,429	48,686
Egypt	2,311	35,762
East Africa	478	7,276
Other theatres	142	1,373

MISSING

Including prisoners of war (including 6,741 officers and 164,767 other ranks known to be prisoners of war and also over 80,000 officers and other ranks whose deaths had been accepted for official purposes):

	Officers.	Other Ranks.
France	10,846	315,849
Italy	38	727
Dardanelles	258	7,431
Saloniki	114	2,713
Mesopotamia	566	14,789
Egypt	183	3,705
East Africa	38	929
Other Theatres	51	908

Totals of killed, wounded, and missing:

KILLED

Officers	37,876
Other Ranks	620,828

WOUNDED

Officers	92,664
Other Ranks	1,939,478

MISSING

Officers	12,094
Other Ranks	347,051

TOTAL OF KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING

Officers	142,634
Other Ranks	2,907,357
Grand Total	3,049,991

The subsequent statement of the Admiralty includes all the various departments of the Royal Navy and the Royal Marines, but excludes the Royal Navy Division used on land, which had been included in Mr. Macpherson's statement. The Admiralty statement is:

	Officers.	Men.
Dead	2,466	30,895
Wounded	805	4,378
Missing	15	32
Prisoners	222	953
	3,508	36,258
Grand Total		39,766

The figures include a number of officers and men of British merchant ships and fishing vessels serving on board H. M. ships and auxiliaries and other commissioned vessels. In addition the following losses have been sustained by men of these classes while pursuing their ordinary vocations:

	Officers and Men.
Killed	14,661
Captured	3,295

LOSSES OF FRANCE

France was able to place in the field at once nineteen army corps, amounting to 800,000 combatants. By the time of the battle of the Marne in September this force had been reinforced by thirty-six divisions of reserve troops, by territorials, and 20,000 troops from Algiers and Morocco, both white and native.

By January, 1915, France had enrolled in her army, excluding colonial troops, fully 12 per cent. of her population, or 4,800,000, including the classes of 1915 and 1916. Four subsequent classes were added later, producing about 1,500,000, which gave Continental France alone a total of 6,300,000 men enrolled.

During the war France issued no figures in regard to either recruiting or enlistments or casualties. Subsequently, however, French officials have been furnished with data as far as ascertained and audited. Thus M. Abraz, Under Secretary of State, announced in the Chamber on Dec. 26, 1918, that the number of killed up to Nov. 1 aggregated 1,071,300, with 31,800 officers and 1,040,000 men, while the total number of dead, prisoners, and missing reached 42,000 officers and 1,789,000 men.; and it was believed that among the prisoners 8,300 officers and 1,789,000 men; and it was This statement had been in reply to a speech made by the Socialist Deputy, Lucien Voilin, which, although a plea for the immediate demobilization of the army, furnished valuable information. Voilin said:

> I betray no secret when I say that the problem of demobilization presents itself thus: we have mobilized 6,900,000 men, we have had about 1,400,000 killed, while 800,000 recovered from wounds. We are going to demobilize 1,200,000 reserves, territorials, and heads of families. There are about 3,500,000 men who will remain mobilized. The question is what does the Government intend to do with 2,000,000 of these who do not belong to the active forces.

Then on Jan. 8 the French High Commission to the United States made the first comprehensive statement showing that France had mobilized in all a number equal to that mobilized by the British Empire as far as combatants were concerned, and that the republic had lost in man power 2,260,000, or nearly 6 per cent. of its population. Some of the principal features of the commission's statement are as follows:

> Men killed in action or dead of wounds numbered 1,028,000, and to the total must be added 299,000 listed as missing and given up for lost, making a total of 1,327,000. The number of wounded was 3,000,000, with 435,000 listed as prisoners. Three-fourths of the wounded have recovered, either entirely or at least to such an extent as to be fit to work again.
>
> Slightly less than 700,000 are absolutely unable to work and have been pensioned. To these figures must be added those who will come back from prison camps in Germany unfit for work. The French Government estimates that the total number of unfit and pensioned may finally be between 800,000 and 900,000 men.
>
> The losses among native troops coming from French colonies or protectorates were 42,500 killed or died of wounds, with 15,000 missing and very probably dead. The number pensioned after wounds or illness was 44,000, to which must be added those of the 3,500 held as prisoners of war who will have to be pensioned.
>
> "If one considers only the losses among French citizens," said the commission's statement, "and compares their "number to the population of France, "about 38,000,000, and to the number of "men mobilized, about 7,500,000, one sees "that the total killed or dead of wounds, "missing, and unfit for work was be-"tween 5 and 6 per cent. of the French "population and between 26 and 30 per "cent. of the men mobilized."

ITALY

Liability to serve in the army or the navy is general and personal in Italy. This liability lasts for nineteen years, and begins at the age of 20. The annual contingent is divided into three categories. The first of these joins the standing army; the second the same, but with unlimited leave; the third is enrolled in the Territorial Militia. Italy

entered the war against Austria-Hungary after ten months of preparation. In that time she had built upon the foundation of 14,121 officers, 250,000 of other ranks, and a cavalry corps of 55,727 until it presented a military establishment of four field armies and one reserve army of something over a million—515,000 in the standing army, 245,000 in the Mobile Militia, and 340,000 in the Territorial Militia. Aside from such corps as the Alpini, Grenadiers, Bersaglieri, and the Carabinieri, or military police, many regiments were locally recruited and preserved their traditional local names, for whose glory they fought. The general inspiration, however, was the King and the House of Savoy.

These conditions and inspiration obtained down to the time of the disaster of Caporetto, in the Autumn of 1917, by which time 3,500,000 combatants had been mobilized. Caporetto changed both the conditions and the inspiration. Three of the old armies were allowed to retain their old organization and preserve the traditions of their old spirit, but seven new armies were mobilized on an entirely different plan—their condition was changed from local—from the "paese" and the "regione"—to the national, and Italy, not the dynasty, became the inspiration. When Austria-Hungary was forced to capitulate, Italy had a concentrated, compact military establishment of about 2,500,000 combatants, the survivors of an original total recruiting of 5,500,000.

So far, on account of the unsettled condition of affairs on the Adriatic littoral, Italy has not begun to demobilize, and data in regard to her casualties have been published in very much the same way that the casualties of the French Army have become known—through Parliamentary utterances. The huge number of prisoners and missing (1,393,000) is accounted for up to 80 per cent. by Caporetto. Emphasis may also be laid upon the enormous number of permanently disabled among the wounded, due to the high altitudes in which Italy conducted the larger part of her operations; these number over 1,000,000, according to Francesco Nitti, Minister of the Treasury. On Dec. 21, Salvatore Barzilai, former Cabinet Minister, who was then with the King in Paris, made a statement in regard to Italian casualties which was supplemented as follows by Colonel Ugo Pizzarello of the Italian Military Mission in the United States:

Killed in action	500,000
Dead by disease in war zone	300,000
Wounded, disabled, missing, prisoners	2,000,000
Grand total	2,800,000

On Dec. 31 the Supreme Command of the Italian Army added these details to the round numbers employed by Colonel Pizzarello: Losses on all fronts during the war, 460,000, of whom 16,326 were officers. Of the 947,000 wounded, 33,397 were officers.

Very little has been officially stated in regard to prisoners, but with the total number of casualties at hand and the number of dead and wounded to be subtracted from the total, the deduction is not difficult.

BELGIUM

In case of war Belgium was prepared to mobilize at once 3 1-3 per cent. of her population, but the unexpected invasion by Germany allowed her to place in the field 117,000 men instead of the expected 250,000. Volunteers increased the original force by 20,000 during August, 1914, but after the battle of the Yser the entire royal army did not, according to a statement made by the Minister of War on Nov. 15, 1917, exceed 60,000. During 1915 the military establishment was entirely reorganized and reequipped, so that by Autumn of 1917 it possessed a combat strength of 180,000 well-trained men, made up principally of recruits who managed to slip out of the German-occupied territory and reservists who had been abroad when the war began. When Germany capitulated the kingdom's total registration of combatants numbered 267,000.

RUSSIA

Russia had prepared for military service in the Autumn of 1914 8 per cent. of her population of 165,000,000, or 13,200,000. She was able to avail herself at once, and until the Spring of 1915, of

about half that number. By the following Summer she had reached her maximum enrollment of combatants, which numbered at the time of the Brusiloff offensive nearly 12,000,000. It was brought up to that figure between then and the revolution of March, 1917, after which the armies gradually, and then more rapidly, dispersed. After November of that year they ceased to operate as an organized force against the enemy.

Russia's enormous losses in prisoners were principally due to her retreat from East Prussia in December, 1914, and to the great retreat through Galicia and Poland in the following Spring and Summer. On the other hand, there were two periods when her taking of prisoners, principally non-German Austro-Hungarians, was equally extensive. Her initial Galician campaign netted her to the fall of Przemysl over 1,000,000, while in the first week of the Brusiloff offensive of the Summer of 1916 she captured 271,620.

According to a statement made by Premier Kerensky on the eve of the Bolshevist coup d'état of Nov. 7, 1917, the Russian casualties in the first year of the war had amounted to 3,800,000 men, in the second to less than 3,000,000, and in the third year to less than 2,000,000. As Kerensky at that time was also the War Minister, it is to be presumed that he had access to the archives of his imperial predecessors. The only other information we have on the subject is a statement issued by a Russian statistician in Petrograd on Dec. 22, 1918, which was to the effect that, of the total Russian casualties in the war, amounting to 9,150,000, (the approximate total of Kerensky,) 1,700,000 had been killed; disabled men numbered 1,450,000, while 3,500,000 soldiers had been wounded, and the prisoners lost numbered 2,500,000. According to a dispatch received by the State Department at Washington on Jan. 2, 1919, 750,000 Russian prisoners had died in German prison camps.

OTHER ALLIED ARMIES

Among the remaining associated nations Serbia calls for special mention, as the ravages of the enemy, of disease, and of famine caused her to lose about 50 per cent. of her civilian population. Serbia's army, which had turned an almost inevitable defeat into victory in December, 1914, capturing over 40,000 Austrians and driving the rest from the land, still had 220,000 combatants when Bulgaria entered the war against her in the following Autumn. What then happened is best told in the language of the Serbian Minister of War uttered on Nov. 14, 1918:

> Serbia, from July 25, 1914, to July 14, 1916, placed 707,343 men in the field. During the whole of this period Serbia maintained a force of 500,000 effectives. The number of men mobilized amounted to 24 per cent. of the entire population within the old frontiers of Serbia. Only about 100,000 men were drawn from the new provinces, because in the newly liberated (Macedonian) territories the military organization was not yet complete. In the two great Austrian offensives in 1914 the number of men killed in battle was 45,861 and the number of deaths from wounds and sickness 69,022.
>
> In 1915 the number of deaths from sickness was 56,842. The total number of deaths from all causes was 171,725. At the time of the retreat, 139,000 wounded were left behind on the battlefields and in hospitals, or sent home disabled or for convalescence, all of whom were taken prisoner by the enemy. During the terrible retreat across Albania there perished in the fighting and from cold, sickness, and hunger, 150,000 men. The last call-up (old men) and part of the third call-up amounted together to 100,000 men, who were only employed on garrison duty, remained in Serbia, and were taken prisoner by the enemy. The number of men brought to Corfu, Bizerta, and France—the remnant of the Serbian armies—amounted to 150,000.
>
> According to the official returns, the number of those fallen in battle and dead in captivity, up to the last Serbian offensive, amounted to 322,000, which is as much as to say that one-half of Serbia's male population had perished outright in the European war.

The figures which represent the Greek mobilization do not take into account the Greek Army mobilized by King Constantine in the Autumn of 1915, 550,000 strong, and demobilized eighteen months later. They represent the Venizelos volunteers, numbering 80,000, and the new Greek Army of 150,000, all mobilized to participate in the war on the side of the Allies in 1917-18. The casualties are derived from individual official estimates, and do not take into account the 20,000

Greek soldiers interned in Germany or the Greeks who died in the Turkish Army.

The figures dealing with the Portuguese Army were recently published in O Observador of Oporto. Those concern-Rumania, with the exception of the figure denoting the number mobilized, 750,000, which is official, are compiled from semi-official reports emanating from Jassy and Bucharest.

ARMIES OF THE ENEMY

The statement that Germany mobilized no fewer than 11,000,000 combatants is based upon the known statistics in regard to her population and a knowledge of the operation of her military laws. The war began with the mobilization of all men having gone through military training, (including the existing active army of 870,000 men and its reserves,) making a total of 4,500,000. From this point onward the accretions are shown in the following table, the yield of combatants of each new class (i. e., not including garrison services and labor battalions) being taken at 450,000, except the class of 1920, which was only mobilized up to 250,000:

1914	August		4,500,000
	From August:		
	Ersatz Reserve	800,000	
	Class 1914 recruits	450,000	
1915	Landsturm I. Ban	1,100,000	
	May-July:		
	Class 1915	450,000	
	Rest of Landsturm	150,000	
	Sept.-Nov., Class 1916	450,000	
	Oct.-Dec., "Recuperated"	300,000	
1916	"Recuperated"	200,000	
	Landsturm II. Ban, non-trained	450,000	
	Mar.-Nov.:		
	Class 1917	450,000	
	"Recuperated"	300,000	
	From Nov., Class 1918	450,000	
1917	"Recuperated"	150,000	
	Aug., Class 1919	450,000	
	Nov., "Recuperated"	100,000	
1918	Class 1920	250,000	
	Total		11,000,000

Germany's U-boats were recalled on Oct. 25, 1918, and in the morning of Nov. 11 her land hostilities ceased. Up to August, 1917, she had published nearly 1,000 casualty lists, which were of great service in calculating her man losses. Henceforth the lists did not appear regularly in the German newspapers until the Ebert Government came in. So far the most comprehensive data in regard to Germany's losses in the war are those based on Casualty List No. 1,284, of Oct. 24, 1918, and published in the Cologne Gazette of Nov. 25. They include the naval losses, whose relatively high figure, 70,509, was due to the fact that numerous naval brigades were used in the trenches.

Up to Oct. 25 the total casualties reported were 6,066,769, of whom more than 4,750,000 were Prussians. The total includes the naval casualties, which were 70,000, comprised of more than 25,000 dead, more than 15,000 missing, and nearly 29,000 wounded.

Casualty List No. 1,284, published on Oct. 24, according to the Cologne Gazette, placed the number of dead at 1,611,104, the number of wounded at 3,683,143, and the missing at 772,522. The paper says that of the number reported missing 180,000 may be considered dead.

The Cologne paper uses the word appalling in describing the casualties among the officers. The total on Oct. 24 included 44,700 officers killed, 82,460 officers wounded, and 13,600 missing, a total of 140,760. The loss in officers alone, the paper points out, exceeds the total casualties of Germany in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, when the total losses were 129,698.

The total on Oct. 24, which did not include casualty lists from the fighting on the western front after that date nor the German losses in Palestine, was apportioned by the paper as follows among the various army contingents:

Prussia — 1,262,060 dead, 2,882,671 wounded, 616,139 missing; total, 4,760,870.

Bavaria—150,658 dead, 363,823 wounded, 72,115 missing; total, 586,596.

Saxony—108,017 dead, 252,027 wounded, 51,787 missing; total, 411,831.

Württemberg — 64,507 dead, 155,654 wounded, 16,802 missing; total, 236,963.

Navy—25,862 dead, 28,968 wounded, 15,679 missing; total, 70,509.

Although the man power of Austria-Hungary was organized on lines similar to that of Germany for war, yet two influences contributed to prevent her

from mobilizing her full strength of 8,500,000 men—the contrived absence from the war of large numbers of Austrian Germans and Magyar officers of noble family, and the fact that the troops themselves did not form a homogeneous body. In the first year of the war the casualty lists published by the Vienna War Office showed the following result in killed, wounded, sick, and prisoners on the four fronts on which the army was then engaged:

Position.	Killed.	Wounded and Sick.	Pris'rs.
Russian front	431,800	1,741,500	580,000
Serbian front	50,400	95,900	78,000
Italian front	17,200	73,700	13,500
French front	1,600	4,000	600

Shortly afterward Vienna ceased to publish casualty lists from which calculations could be made that would produce useful general statistics. Early in 1916 the Italian General Staff estimated, on information obtained from the Intelligence Department, the situation of the Austro-Hungarian Army to be as follows:

With the armies	2,220,000
Losses after 16 months campaigning at the rate of 180,000 men a month	2,880,000
"Starred" men indispensable to the work of the country	500,000
Men abroad	200,000
	5,800,000

The estimated losses of 180,000 a month were produced after a most elaborate method of checking up reports of deserters. Up to that time the Dual Monarchy had mobilized 6,450,000, and so the balance then available was accounted for in the following manner:

Wounded under treatment who will return to the front	250,000
In the depots (wounded who have recovered, Landsturm, and a section of the 1916 class)	150,000
Class 1917	250,000
	650,000

After that time, it is believed by competent authority, not more than 50,000 men were added before the capitulation, although the classes of 1918 and 1919 should have produced a minimum of 400,000, and the new law affecting the Landsturm between the ages of 50 and 55 should have produced 250,000 more.

Again, on the eve of Caporetto, the Italian General Staff estimated the Austro-Hungarian effectives to number 2,239,000. According to official statistics received at Geneva, the Austro-Hungarian armies suffered a loss up to the end of May, 1918, of above 4,000,000, and the total number of dead was placed at 800,000.

As the Italians took in all over 700,000 Austrian prisoners, and as the Russians captured over 500,000, the total number of prisoners may be approximately arrived at, while the wounded would be the difference of the sum of prisoners and dead and the total casualty figure, 5,211,000, which is reached by adding to the 4,000,000 the estimate of 1,211,000 Austrian losses suffered since last May—an estimate made by the Italian military authorities.

The Turkish figures employed in the great table are British official estimates except as regards the number of prisoners; that is exact.

On Jan. 6 the Bulgarian Government at Sofia sent out a statement which approximately agrees with expert estimates, except that the the number of wounded is made to exceed the entire number of men mobilized. Evidently the million unit is here a mistake. the statement reads:

"Bulgaria's losses in the war were: Killed and missing, 101,224; wounded, 1,152,399, and prisoners, 10,825. These figures do not include the losses during the retreat from Macedonia, when many died of influenza, exhaustion, and famine and 90,000 were taken prisoner."

Getting Back to a Peace Basis

United States Government's Solution of Many Problems Created by the Ending of Hostilities

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 15, 1918]

THE ending of the war brought in its train many pressing problems whose solution was certain to tax the energies of the United States. Chief among these were the demobilization of military and naval forces at home and abroad, the economies necessary after the war's enormous drain on the nation's resources, and the absorption into the economic system of the vast number of workers suddenly returned to it.

On Jan. 4, General March, United States Chief of Staff, issued the following statement:

> The designation of men for release from the army has reached a point now where we have come to the combatant divisions, and during the week I have authorized orders to be issued to begin the discharge of men from the combatant divisions, and to proceed through them gradually. The number of men designated for discharge in the United States is now 1,004,000.
>
> The number of men that have been designated for early return to the United States, in addition to those which have already sailed, is 292,000. In addition to those, the 30th, 37th, and 91st Divisions and 2d Corps Headquarters, totaling about 83,000 men, have been put on priority and will be released as shipping becomes available. This makes a total available for early discharge of 1,379,000 men.
>
> Reports show that, according to latest data on hand, up to and including Dec. 28, 1918, the discharge of 592,245 men in the United States was accomplished. The number of men actually released in the United States, as reported to us, is 630,369. The number of officers who have been discharged, up to and including Jan. 3, is 40,491.

WORK FOR SOLDIERS

Various organizations, some Federal and others State and Municipal, actively interested themselves in securing work for returning soldiers, and in the main with excellent results. The United States Employment Service, in the week ended Dec. 7, 1918, reported that it had found employment for 84,284 applicants. The methods adopted were described in the following official statement by the Department of Labor:

> Telegraph reports from camp representatives of the United States Employment Service in the demobilization camps of the country, to the department, indicate that the replacement of soldiers is proceeding rapidly and effectively. The work being done by the camp representatives has an illustration in the report from Camp Devens. * * * Every soldier up for discharge is personally interviewed by the representative forty-eight hours prior to discharge proceedings, the data gained from him are sent on to the Federal director of his home State and by the latter forwarded to the Employment Service Bureau in the community where the soldier lives. The local employment bureau then seeks to place the soldier there.
>
> Since Nov. 29 the camp representative at Camp Devens has interviewed 11,907 men. Of these, 801 have been placed in new jobs, 2,590 have been referred back to old jobs, 1,975 have been referred to service offices, 6,721 convinced the army and service interviewers that they needed no assistance. A careful record of name, address, and serial number of the soldier, as well as the name, address, and character of the employer, was obtained in each instance.
>
> Group replacements are not uncommon in Camp Devens and other field bureaus. In one instance a Captain and practically his entire company were placed on a construction job, with the Captain as foreman of the gang. Many officers also are obtaining positions through the United States Employment Service. Nine such were sent from Camp Devens to one employer. Reports from the demobilization camps indicate that the soldiers about to be discharged are coming to depend more and more on the service, at their disposal, of the camp bureaus.

SOLDIERS' PAY

Considerable criticism was caused in Congress and in the press by complaint on the part of soldiers that their pay was in arrears, sometimes to the extent of many months. It was admitted at

the War Department that this was true in some cases, owing to lost records, insufficient data, and the rapid changes in the war zone due to military exigencies. An explanation was issued, Jan. 3, by the Finance Division of the Quartermaster Corps, which read in part:

> Finance officers are available at every port of debarkation, at every cantonment, camp, and headquarters, and at every hospital, and instructions are explicit and comprehensive that if a soldier has no papers he is to be given a partial payment on his own statement, and final payment, so far as the record shows; all discharged men are given their travel allowances, which, with reduction in railroad fares secured by the War Department, insure a comfortable journey to their homes, while in most cases discharged men receive every penny which they claim is due them.

The division announced that to date a total of $1,694,114,660 had been paid to officers, soldiers, and soldiers' dependents since the declaration of war.

PROVISION FOR DISABLED

Thomas B. Love, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, gave a résumé of the provision made for soldiers and sailors who had incurred disability in the line of duty. The salient features of the statement are here appended:

> The War Risk Insurance act provides that officers and enlisted men in the army and navy who are discharged from the service and who are disabled as a result of personal injury suffered or disease contracted in the line of duty and not caused by the man's own willful misconduct shall after discharge be paid the prescribed monthly compensation so long as the disability continues. These monthly payments are to be graduated in amount according to number and relationship of the man's dependents and the extent of his disability.
>
> If and while the disability is total a man having no wife or child is to receive $30 a month, a wife and no child $45 a month, a wife and one child $55 a month, a wife and two children $65 a month, and a wife and three or more children $75 a month; or, if he has no wife but one child $40 a month, with $10 a month for each additional child up to two. If the man is totally disabled and in addition so helpless as to be in constant need of a nurse or attendant he is to receive such additional sum, not to exceed $20 a month, as the Director of the bureau may deem reasonable, and if a man has lost both feet or both hands or both eyes, or has become totally blind or helpless and permanently bedridden, he shall receive $100 a month, provided that in such cases no additional allowance shall be made for a nurse or attendant.
>
> If the disability is partial the monthly compensation shall be the percentage of the compensation for total disability equal to the degree of reduction in earning capacity.
>
> In addition to this fixed compensation the law provides that the injured person shall be furnished such reasonable Governmental medical, surgical, or hospital service, and with such supplies, including artificial limbs, trusses, and similar appliances, as the Director of the bureau may determine to be useful and reasonably necessary.
>
> The law provides that this compensation shall be payable only after a claim therefor is filed, and such claim may be filed at any time within five years after discharge or resignation from the service.

THE NATIONAL GUARD

Nearly half a million National Guardsmen in the Federal service as officers and enlisted men of the United States Army will be completely freed from military service, both Federal and State, when discharged from the army, under an opinion by Acting Judge Advocate General S. T. Answell, approved by Secretary Baker, and promulgated by General March, Chief of Staff of the Army, Jan. 4, for they will not automatically revert to their former status as National Guardsmen.

On June 30, 1918, there were 16,978 National Guard officers and 417,431 National Guard enlisted men in the United States Army, a total of 434,409, every man of whom will be affected by the decision.

This decision grew out of the fact that the Federal military authorities take the position that when National Guardsmen were "drafted" into the Federal service they ceased to be National Guardsmen, and that when mustered out they must revert to a civilian status. Under this ruling it will be necessary for the various States, desirous of so doing, to create by voluntary enlistment new National Guard forces, or to enlarge the National Guard forces that have been created since the old guard was drafted, inasmuch as it is wholly optional with discharged National

Guardsmen whether they will re-enter the guard after leaving the American Army.

Immediate legislation authorizing resumption of voluntary enlistment in the regular army and the repeal of provisions of the Selective Service act limiting enlistments to the period of the war was urged by Secretary Baker in a letter to Chairman Dent of the House Military Committee on Dec. 26.

The War Department on Dec. 23 recommended that the permanent rank of General should be bestowed on John J. Pershing, Commander of the American forces in France; Peyton C. March, Chief of Staff, and Tasker H. Bliss, military representative in the Supreme War Council, and that the permanent rank of Lieutenant General should be conferred on Hunter Liggett and Robert Lee Bullard, commanding the First and Second Armies.

RECORD OF AIR FIGHTERS

An official report received at the War Department, Jan. 10, showed that there were sixty-three "Aces"—men who had downed five or more enemy machines—in the American Army when hostilities ceased. Of these, the leader was Captain Edward V. Rickenbacher of Columbus, Ohio, who had twenty-six enemy planes to his credit.

When the armistice went into effect on the western front on the morning of Nov. 11, the American Army had in operation on the front forty-five airplane squadrons. This statement was made in a brief review of the operations of the American Air Service in France, up to Nov. 12, which Major Gen. Harbord cabled to the Director of the Air Service.

Major Gen. Harbord reported that 845 enemy planes were brought down by American fliers. Of these the destruction or capture of 491 was confirmed. Eighty-two enemy balloons were reported as destroyed, confirmation being available in the cases of fifty-seven. The United States lost 271 planes and forty-five balloons.

Concerning commissioned personnel casualties the dispatch reported that 109 were killed, 103 wounded, 200 missing, twenty-seven were taken prisoner and three were interned—a total of 442.

The Air Service included, in the zone of advance, 2,161 officers and 22,351 soldiers—a total of 24,512 at the actual front. There were also 4,643 officers and 28,353 soldiers in the service of supply. With the French armies there were detailed eight American flying officers, and with the British Expeditionary Forces there were forty-nine officers and 525 soldiers. The total personnel in France consisted of 6,861 officers and 51,229 soldiers, a total air strength of 58,090. Air Service mechanic regiments with the French Army included 109 officers and 4,744 soldiers.

The flying personnel under instruction on Nov. 11 included 1,323 pilots, assigned as follows: Preliminary, 126; advanced, 29; pursuit, 850; observation, 140; day bombing, 77, and night bombing, 101.

Observers in training included 563 artillery, 65 day bombing, and 61 night bombing—a total of 689 officers. This made the aggregate in training 2,012. The flying personnel awaiting instruction included 155 pilots and 59 observers. Graduations up to Nov. 11, 1918, included 6,069 pilots, divided as follows: Preliminary, 1,573; advanced, 2,359; pursuit, 1,160; observation 723; day bombing, 329, and night bombing, 25.

Two thousand and forty-five observers were graduated, as follows: Pursuit, 88; artillery, 1,425; day bombing, 390, and night bombing, 142. A total of 159 is reported as having been killed in training.

The number of planes, by type, received from all sources by the American Expeditionary Force, between Sept. 12, 1917, and Nov. 16, 1918, was as follows:

Pursuit—For service, 3,337; for schools, 90.

Observation—For service, 3,421; for schools, 634.

Day Bombing—For service, 421; for schools, 85.

Night reconnoissance, 31.

Among other planes received were 2,285 training planes, 30 experimental planes and 108 miscellaneous, making a total of 10,472.

NAVAL AFFAIRS

An event that stirred the country was the entry into New York Harbor, Dec. 26, of the American dreadnought squadron from abroad under Admirals Mayo and Rodman. The warships were given a great welcome, and the tribute from Secretary Daniels, who reviewed the fleet, echoed American sentiment. The Secretary said:

> In welcoming home the powerful American dreadnoughts, which have been engaged overseas during the war, the American people will greet the officers and men with pride and congratulations. These powerful ships, the equal of any in the world, in co-operation with the powerful British fleet, gave such predominance of sea power in the North Sea that the German fleet dared not invite suicide by coming out and offering battle. They did not try conclusions because they knew there never was a fleet in being that could have had a chance of victory against the British and American fleet, working together with the same signals and the same strategy as if they were of the naval power of a single nation. Their mission was as single as if they had represented only one instead of the two great English-speaking nations. Their united service typified and cemented the ties between our country and Great Britain. The silent vigils protected commerce, secured safe passage of troops and supplies, and effectually bottled up the German fleet, rendering it as impotent for harm as if it had never been constructed.

Secretary Daniels made public on Dec. 22 a dispatch from Admiral Sims transmitting an official letter received by him from the British Admiralty, expressing Britain's admiration of the work done by the American naval forces in British waters.

NAVAL PROGRAM TO 1920

The American Navy will number a total of 1,291 vessels, including 40 battleships and 329 destroyers, on July 1, 1920, according to a statement prepared by Rear Admiral Griffin, Chief of the Bureau of Steam Engineering, for the House Naval Committee, and made public Dec. 24.

This statement showed that when war was declared there were 364 ships in the navy, while on Nov. 1, ten days before hostilities ceased, there were 777, exclusive of privately owned yachts and other vessels taken over for patrol service. The greatest increase was 300 in submarine chasers. The increase in destroyers was 41, to a total of 92, and that of submarines from 44 to 79.

Only two Eagle boats had been completed on Nov. 1. Ninety-eight others were contracted for, but Rear Admiral Taylor, Chief of the Bureau of Construction and Repair, informed the committee that the Navy Department had given orders that only sixty of the vessels be completed. Keels for eighty of the Eagles had not been laid, but material for most of them had been fabricated.

Only two battleships were added to the fleet during the war, and only one would be added between this time and July 1, 1920. Six others, however, actually are under construction, and two, the Tennessee and the California, are approximately half completed.

SHIPBUILDING IN 1918

American shipyards built 1,882 vessels of 2,721,281 gross tons in 1918. Reports of the Bureau of Navigation of the Commerce Department made public Jan. 4 showed this total, of which all but 124,000 tons represented seagoing ships. The seagoing steel tonnage alone aggregated 1,861,321 gross. The bureau's figures for 1917 construction showed 1,034,000 gross tons were constructed by American shipyards.

The armistice brought about a decided setback in the yards' output. November was the month of greatest construction in the history of American shipbuilding, 171 vessels of 357,668 gross tons of seagoing ships being produced. In December only 153 ships were completed and the tonnage amounted to 283,359.

Troops continued to stream homeward over stormy seas during December and January. What might have been a serious disaster was averted when the American troop transport, Northern Pacific, grounded on the sands near Fire Island, N. Y., Jan. 1. There were over 3,000 returning troops on board, of whom 1,700 were wounded. The seas were rough, and great care was required in transferring the wounded to shore, but after several days this was successfully accomplished without serious injury or loss of life. The steamship, too, was

pulled by tugs into deeper water and ultimately saved.

PRODUCTION OF MUNITIONS

Figures were furnished by the Ordnance Department of the Interallied Bureau of Statistics, showing that the production of munitions in this country had grown so rapidly that in the last months of the war the United States was far ahead of Great Britain and France. Average monthly production of machine guns and machine rifles for July, August, and September, 1918, in the United States was 27,270, against 10,947 for Great Britain and 12,126 for France. In the same period the United States produced monthly an average of 233,562 rifles, against 112,821 for Great Britain and 40,522 for France. With respect to small arms ammunition, production in the United States was 277,894,000 rounds, in France 139,845,000, and in Great Britain 259,769,000.

Total production from April 6, 1917, to the date of the signing of the armistice, Nov. 11 last, was given as follows:

Machine guns and machine rifles: Great Britain, 181,404; France, 29,238; United States, 181,662.

Rifles: Great Britain, 1,971,764; France, 1,416,056; United States, 2,506,742.

Rifle and machine-gun ammunition: Great Britain, 3,486,127,000; France, 2,983,675,000; United States, 2,879,148,000.

LOANS TO ALLIES

More than one-third of the cost of the war to the people of the United States up to Dec. 31, 1918, was represented by cash advanced to the Allies. The disbursements by the Treasury from April 1, 1917, to Dec. 31, 1918, amounted to $24,589,986,000. If the nation had been at peace during this twenty-one months, the normal expenditures would have been about $2,000,000,000, which means that the cost of the war to the United States so far was $22,589,986,000. Of this sum $7,685,000,000 represented cash advanced to various foreign Governments. Thus from April 1, 1917, to Dec. 31, 1918, the United States had spent on its own account in the war about $14,904,986,000.

These loans to allied Governments were made under authority of four separate acts of Congress. They vested the Secretary of the Treasury with authority upon approval of President Wilson to establish credits in favor of foreign Governments. An appropriation of $10,000,000,000 was provided. Under these authorizations credits were established up to Nov. 15 in favor of eleven countries. The credits to these up to Dec. 31, 1918, were as follows:

Country.	Amount.
Belgium	$252,895,000
Czechoslovaks	7,000,000
Cuba	15,000,000
France	2,436,427,000
Great Britain	4,175,981,000
Greece	39,554,036
Italy	1,310,000,000
Liberia	5,000,000
Rumania	6,666,666
Russia	325,000,000
Serbia	12,000,000
Total	$8,585,523,702

On Nov. 15 credits of $8,171,966 had been established, leaving $1,828,023,334 of the $10,000,000,000 still available. The balance now is $1,414,476,298.

CESSATION OF RESTRICTIONS

Wartime regulations requiring that confirmations of cablegrams should be in plain language instead of code were revoked on Dec. 31 by the Government Censorship Board. Announcement was made by the Federal Food Administration on Dec. 22 that, beginning the following day, all food restrictions would be abolished.

One of the most important cogs in the nation's war-making machine—the War Industries Board, whose head was Bernard M. Baruch of New York—passed out of existence in the evening of Dec. 31, 1918. The great task performed by the War Industries Board had been nothing less than putting the nation's business on a war basis. Among its services was the fixing of the price of copper so far below the market level that millions of dollars were saved to the American and allied Governments. To this board had fallen the task of taking an inventory of the country's industries, finding out who could make each kind of war supplies, slowing down non-essential industries and speeding up essentials, encouraging the conversion of plants from peace-time products to war necessities,

and solving the problem of supplies for the fighting forces in general. When it went out of existence its few unfinished activities were handed over to the War Trade Board. The Capital Issues Committee, which had controlled the issuance of new securities during the war, also went out of existence on Jan. 1.

The question of how to give up Government control of the railways without leaving undesirable results was the subject of a lively discussion as the year closed. Mr. McAdoo, then still Director General of Railroads, on Dec. 11 issued a statement urging that Government control be extended for five years, on the ground that no fair test could be obtained in a shorter period. It met with strong opposition. On Jan. 11, Mr. McAdoo's resignation went into effect when President Wilson cabled the appointment of Walker D. Hines of Kentucky as Director General of Railroads. Mr. Hines had been one of Mr. McAdoo's assistants for more than a year, and had devoted his entire time to railroad administration.

The fifth change in President Wilson's Cabinet, and the second resignation from his official family since the signing of the armistice, was announced Jan. 12, when the White House made public correspondence between President Wilson and Attorney General Gregory showing that the latter would quit the Department of Justice on March 4, after a little more than four years of service as Attorney General.

INFLUENZA IN ARMY CAMPS

The War Department authorized the following statement:

"A summary of the results of the influenza epidemic in the army camps and military centres in the United States shows that a total of 338,257 cases of the disease were recorded, with approximately 17,000 deaths.

"Due to the fact that deaths resulting from influenza and pneumonia were not separately grouped, only approximate figures can be given for deaths resulting from the epidemic. Since Sept. 13, the date of the outbreak, to Dec. 1, 19,694 deaths from all causes were reported from military stations in the United States. It is estimated that approximately 2,000 of these were due to causes other than influenza and pneumonia. This estimate is based on the figures for the same period last year."

Deeds of the American Battle Squadron

By REAR ADMIRAL HUGH RODMAN

Rear Admiral Rodman commanded the Sixth or American Battle Squadron of the Grand Fleet throughout the last year of the war. On board the flagship New York on Dec. 26, 1918, he gave an informal summary of that year's achievements:

AS soon as we were in the war our destroyers got under way and headed straight for the submarine nests to take part in the hunt for those pests. Later we added patrol boats and then aircraft for the same purpose, and in the end they, too, came through with flying colors, the duties they were called upon to perform most creditably accomplished. The overseas transport service landed our army in France and kept that army supplied; the mining force laid the great mine barrage in the North Sea, and a splendid battery of naval guns cooperated with our army in France. I should also mention our naval forces in the Adriatic, which bore a conspicuous part in the naval operations in those waters.

And now I come to the Grand Fleet, of which the New York, Texas, Nevada, Wyoming, Arkansas, and Florida, which formed the Sixth Battle Squadron, were a part. A few months after our entry into the war it became necessary to strengthen the Grand Fleet of Great Britain; and, accordingly, a division of battleships, under my command, was

sent to co-operate with it. This was just one year ago, and since that we have been constantly on active service in the North Sea as a squadron of the Grand Fleet. There were good and sufficient reasons why this information should have been kept secret during the war, but now that it has ended there can be no objection to making public its operations.

The Grand Fleet was the very backbone of the structure which made a victorious peace a certainty. Without it the war would long ago have been disastrously concluded, with just the reverse conditions obtaining from those which now exist. No mention can be made of the Grand Fleet without my thoughts turning to its Commander in Chief, Admiral Sir David Beatty, a man of rare accomplishments, a natural-born, tried, trusted, and gallant leader. Under him our combined forces operated, just as later all the allied armies were placed under the direction of Marshal Foch.

PERFECT TEAMWORK

Now as to our operations with the Grand Fleet. When we joined we were at once, thanks to our home training, able to co-ordinate and co-operate with the British fleet. In order to work homogeneously we adopted their signals and methods of communication, their plans, policies, manoeuvres, and tactics; we took our share of the work, patrol, search, protecting the convoys, mining, and other activities. Sometimes we were commanded by British Admirals, sometimes they served under my command; there was never the slightest friction, misunderstanding, or petty jealousy. In fact, our mutual association in this war's work has drawn us so close together that in the Grand Fleet it was instrumental in ripening friendship with brotherhood.

Within a very short time after our first operations with the Grand Fleet we were assigned to one of the two places of honor and importance in the battle line. We were known and designated as the Sixth Battle Squadron, and, as one of the two so-called fast wings, would take station at the head or rear of the whole battleship force, dependent upon certain conditions, unnecessary to mention, when going into action. As a matter of fact, when, on one occasion, we came within a few miles of cutting off from its base and engaging the German fleet, the disposition was such that the American Battleship Division would have been in the van and have led into action, had the enemy not avoided action and taken refuge behind his defenses, as usual, before we could catch him.

It was our policy to go after him every time he showed his nose outside of his ports; no matter when or where, whether in single ships, by divisions, or his whole fleet, out we went, day or night, rain or shine, (and there was mighty little daylight and much less shine in the Winter months,) blow high or blow low, and chase him back in his hole. So persistent was this performance on our part, so sure were we to get after him, that, toward the end, he rarely ventured more than a few miles from his base.

Every inducement was offered him to come out. Inferior forces were sent down into the Heligoland Bight to induce him to attack; valuable convoys were dispatched apparently without protection, and other devices to tempt him out; but he would not come. It is needless to add that such expeditions, on every occasion, were well guarded, and we were ready to pounce on him with unseen forces had he attempted to take advantage of the seeming small force or unprotected vessels.

THE NEW YORK RAMMED

In our operations in the North Sea we were frequently attacked by submarines, and our battleships had numerous narrow escapes, often only by prompt and skillful handling. On one occasion a submarine rammed the flagship New York, dented the bottom, and demolished the starboard propeller. But there is every reason to believe that the blows from the propeller sank the submarine. En route to drydock to make repairs and install a new propeller three torpedoes in rapid succession were fired at her by hostile submarines. But again she avoided them by clever manoeuvring and escaped. Once when guarding or supporting a convoy of

thirty or forty vessels, on the coast of Norway, in midwinter, a bunch of hostile subs fired six torpedoes at us. Again only our vigilance and instantaneous manoeuvring saved us, but by a very narrow margin. There were still other attacks by submarines which necessitated quick action to avoid them.

It would be superfluous to go into the details of our operations in the North Sea; or to mention the rigorous climate, when the latitude is north of Sitka in Alaska, or about equal to that of Petrograd in Russia; or the terrific weather, the cold, sleet, snow, ice, and heavy seas; the arduous and dangerous navigation; the continuous cruising in close formation at high speeds, without lights, where the Winter nights lasted eighteen hours. Or the dangers of mine fields, our own sometimes, as well as those of the enemy; or the repeated attacks of hostile submarines on our battleships, and the never-ending readiness and vigilance of the whole fleet to put to sea on all but instant notice.

ALWAYS READY TO FIGHT

Let it be sufficient to say that during our absence of a year there was no other condition than that of constant and continuous readiness for action. There was no liberty or leave worth mentioning; no one allowed away from the ships after dark, nor for a period longer than four hours, and then only in the immediate vicinity of the ship, in signal or telephone communication, subject to recall. All ships were completely closed and darkened from sunset to sunrise, as a precaution against air and other attacks; in Winter this meant from fifteen to eighteen hours a day. This, in an all but arctic climate, was one of our many hardships. But there was no complaint; on the other hand, every one seemed happy and contented, and all eager to go to sea every time the occasion demanded in the hopes that we would meet the German fleet and engage it. Let me add that with all the demands which have been placed upon the ships of this division they could steam around the world as they are now and still be ready to go into action.

To give an idea of the immense size and number of vessels employed in the Grand Fleet, it might be of interest here to state that, entering or leaving port, our column of ships, excluding destroyers, was on an average about sixty-five miles long; on one occasion, seventy-six miles. Its length was dependent upon weather and other conditions, as well as upon the number of ships.

THE GERMAN SURRENDER

After four years of war for the Grand Fleet, and after we had been a part of it for the last year, there came the débâcle, the last scene of the great drama. Not as we had all expected, as the successful termination of a great sea battle, but as an ignominious surrender without firing a gun. Surely no more complete victory was ever won, nor a more humiliating end could have come to a powerful and much-vaunted fleet than that which came to the German High Seas Fleet.

The Commander in Chief of the Grand Fleet demanded and received what actually amounted to an unconditional surrender of the whole German Navy. Under his orders the enemy's ships were disarmed, ammunition landed, torpedo warheads sent ashore, breechblocks and fire-control instruments removed, and every offensive utility rendered innocuous. Then, with reduced crews, under the command of a German Admiral, in one long column, the heavy battleships leading, the German fleet sailed for a designated rendezvous, to arrive at a specified time, just outside of the Firth of Forth in Scotland, where the Grand Fleet lay at anchor.

Before daylight the Grand Fleet was under way and proceeded to sea, heading east, in two long columns, six miles apart, our American battleship force being in the middle of the northern line. * * * At a prearranged signal our forces swung symmetrically through 180 degrees, and, still paralleling the enveloped Germans, conducted them into a designated anchorage in the entrance of the Firth of Forth. Then came a signal from the Commander in Chief to the surrendered fleet: "At sundown lower your

colors and do not hoist them again without permission."

After an inspection by British and American officers to gain assurance that the ships were disarmed, they were sent in groups, under guard, to Scapa Flow, in the bleak harbor in the Orkneys, where the Grand Fleet had spent many a dreary month and year, waiting like ferocious dogs in leash, watching and waiting, to pounce on the German fleet should the opportunity ever occur.

Here the Germans now lie at anchor in long symmetrical lines, helpless, innocuous, harmless; coralled like wild and cruel beasts that have been hobbled, guarded by a single division of battleships.

Our mission has been successfully accomplished; the German fleet is a thing of the past; the seas are safe and free to our own and our allies' ships. The value of sea power could have no better demonstration.

CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 20, 1919]

THE results of the general election held in the United Kingdom on Dec. 14, 1918, were published a fortnight later. The election was the first held under the new act of 1918, which changed constituencies, raised the number of seats in the House of Commons from 670 to 707, and allowed women to vote. The results gave the Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, a majority of 235 seats—472 out of 707. It was a great victory for the coalition, with coalition Unionists and Liberals—and especially some Laborites—still subordinating party to national issues. In Ireland, however, the Sinn Feiners had overwhelmed the Nationalists.

On Jan. 10 the Prime Minister announced a new Cabinet. It was mainly a shuffling of the cards, with a majority of Unionists still in high places, and the single innovation of an Indian as an Under Secretary. The chief members, aside from the Premier as First Lord of the Treasury, are as follows:

Lord Privy Seal and Leader in the House of Commons—ANDREW BONAR LAW.

President of the Council and Leader in the House of Lords—Earl CURZON of Kedleston.

Ministers Without Portfolio—GEORGE NICOLL BARNES and Sir ERIC GEDDES.

Lord Chancellor—Sir F. E. SMITH.

Secretary for Home Affairs—EDWARD SHORTT.

Foreign Secretary—ARTHUR J. BALFOUR.

Secretary for the Colonies—Viscount MILNER.

Secretary of War and the Air Ministry—WINSTON SPENCER CHURCHILL.

Financial Secretary to the War Office—HENRY W. FORSTER.

Secretary for India—EDWIN S. MONTAGU.

First Lord of the Admiralty—WALTER HUME LONG.

President of the Board of Trade—Sir ALBERT STANLEY.

Department of Overseas Trade Development and Intelligence—Sir ARTHUR STEEL-MAITLAND.

Secretary of Agriculture—R. E. PROTHERO.

Minister of Education—H. A. L. FISHER.

Secretary of the Ministry of Munitions, (Later Ministry of Supply)—ANDREW WEIR.

Food Controller—GEORGE H. ROBERTS.

Minister of Shipping—Sir J. P. MACLAY.

Minister of Labor—Sir ROBERT STEVENSON.

Minister for National Service and Reconstruction—Sir AUCKLAND GEDDES.

Attorney General—Sir GORDON HEWART.

Postmaster General—ALBERT HOLDEN ILLINGWORTH.

Chancellor of the Exchequer—AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—General Viscount FRENCH.

Chief Secretary for Ireland—Sir JAMES IAN MACPHERSON.

Secretary for Scotland — ROBERT MUNRO.

* * *

MINISTERIAL CRISIS IN ITALY

ALTHOUGH the speeches President Wilson made in Italy were said to have cleared the air there, in reality they precipitated a Ministerial crisis

which was only relieved on Jan. 18 by a reconstruction of the Government under Premier Orlando, the meaning of which is that Italy will adhere to the Treaty of London of April 26, 1915, under whose terms she entered the war, unless the projected League of Nations shall otherwise decree. Last Spring a large portion of public opinion was ready to throw overboard the treaty and make concessions to the Jugoslavs on the Adriatic littoral. Since the Diaz armistice of Nov. 4, however, there has been increasing friction between the Italians and Jugoslavs.

To stem the tide the Socialist Minister of Military Aid and War Pensions, Leonida Bissolati, resigned in the last week of December. His subsequent attempts to justify his policy aroused demonstrations against him. Each side interpreted President Wilson's speeches in its favor. Yet it is likely that only one man knew their true significance—Conte V. Macchi di Cellere, the Ambassador at Washington, who had accompanied the President abroad—and he passed on his knowledge to his chief, Baron Sidney Sonnino, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the uncompromising advocate of the Treaty of London.

Signor Nitti, Minister of the Treasury, relying on his own supposed great popularity, followed the example of Bissolati, believing that the other Ministers would also resign and that he would be called by the King to form a Government, which, with strong Socialist and Clerical backing, would repudiate the Treaty of London and institute a policy of concessions toward Jugoslavia. But how mistaken Signor Nitti was the following official communiqué, issued Jan. 18, will reveal—Orlando is still Premier and Baron Sonnino is still Minister of Foreign Affairs:

> King Victor Emmanuel accepted the resignation of Signor Sacchi, Minister of Justice; Signor Nitti, Minister of the Treasury; Signor Miliani, Minister of Agriculture, and Signor Villa, Minister of Transport. He has designated Signor Facta, former Minister of Finance, to be Minister of Justice; Signor Stringher to be Minister of the Treasury, General Caviglia as Minister of War, General Girardini to be Minister of Pensions, Signor Riccio, former Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, to be Minister of Agriculture, and Signor de Nava, a member of the Boselli Ministry, to be Minister of Transport.
>
> There has been created a post of Vice Premier during the absence of Premier Orlando. Signor Villa has been designated for this place. A Ministry of Reconstruction for invaded territory has been created, and Signor Fradeletto, former Minister of Public Instruction, will be chief.

* * *

National Prohibition

ON Jan. 16 the American Nation voted "dry" when the Legislature of Nebraska ratified the following constitutional amendment, making the necessary three-quarters of the forty-eight States to do so:

> Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all Territories subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes are hereby prohibited.
>
> Sec. 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.
>
> Sec. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

It will be known as the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The ratification by Nebraska was instantly followed by that of Wyoming and Missouri, and then by Minnesota and Wisconsin, leaving eight States still inactive: Connecticut, with its prohibition of liquor advertising in dry districts, Nevada already dry, New Jersey with local option, New Mexico already dry, New York with an attempt to ratify the amendment by popular vote, Pennsylvania partly dry by judicial action, Rhode Island with local option, and Vermont with local option.

On Nov. 21, 1918, nation-wide prohibition from June 30, 1919, until the United States military forces should be demobilized, was enacted by President Wilson signing the Food Stimulation bill. This was a war measure. The new amendment goes into effect Jan. 16,

1920, but prohibition will be the law throughout the United States beginning July 1, 1919.

* * *

Death of Ambassador Page

WALTER HINES PAGE, who died at Pinehurst, N. C., Dec. 21, nearly five month after he had resigned his Ambassadorial post at the Court of St. James's, was the second of our war Ambassadors to die. The first was George W. Guthrie, who died at his post at Tokio in the Summer of 1917. Mr. Page was born at Cary, N. C., sixty-three years ago, and received his appointment April 21, 1913.

He studied at Randolph-Macon College, Virginia, had been a Fellow of Johns Hopkins University, and during his diplomatic career received degrees from the Universities of Cambridge, Aberdeen, Oxford, and Edinburgh.

Early in his London sojourn he began to lose health. During the period of his country's neutrality his position was most trying. His embassy took over the diplomatic interests of Germany and Austria-Hungary. Complaints flowed back and forth between London and Berlin, where Ambassador Gerard had taken charge of the British interests. Both sides complained that illegal implements of war were being used, that atrocities were indulged in. Aside from these cross-charges Mr. Page was obliged to pour oil on the troubled waters aroused by England's drastic methods of applying the right of search and designating contraband which threatened to turn neutrals against the Entente. How well he discharged his difficult duties is shown by the praise he received from both British and German Governments, although the latter never forgave him for not placing the U-boat murders lower in crime than the British confiscations of ships and cargoes. When the United States entered the war he had a force of seventeen secretaries and attachés to help him. His work became less arduous and more congenial. Still, the change was too late to benefit his health.

His life before he entered diplomacy was a strange mixture of profound scholarship, editing, and publishing, to all of which he applied a strict business sense. As editor he rebuilt both The Atlantic Monthly and The Forum, and started The World's Work for Doubleday, Page & Co., of which firm of publishers he was a member when he went to London. His speeches abroad were considered models of their kind by the British press, long accustomed to the English of Lowell and Choate from an American mouth.

* * *

Theodore Roosevelt

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, the twenty-sixth President of the United States, died at Oyster Bay, Jan. 6, 1919, at the age of 60 years and 4 months. His unique personality had probably impressed upon mankind more than any other in history—intimately or remotely he was known to more men—and from royalty and statesmen to the humblest and lowest the whole world rose to do him honor and to mourn. In many ways and through varied vehicles of expression and activity he had touched all vital chords in humanity. He was politician and statesman, naturalist and explorer, and the author of over thirty books, whose range of subjects covered history, travel, biography, science, and belles-lettres. The reputation he achieved in each vocation would have made him distinguished if he had done nothing else.

In a proclamation issued Jan. 7 President Wilson thus enumerated some of his offices and the distinction he received in them:

> As President of the Police Board of his native city, as member of the Legislature and Governor of his State, as Civil Service Commissioner, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, as Vice President and as President of the United States, he displayed administrative powers of a signal order and conducted the affairs of these various offices with a concentration of effort and a watchful care which permitted no divergence from the line of duty he had definitely set for himself.
>
> In the war with Spain he displayed singular initiative and energy and distinguished himself among the commanders of the army in the field. As President he awoke the nation to the dangers of private control which lurked in our financial and industrial systems. It was by thus arresting the attention and stimulating the purpose of the country that he

opened the way for subsequent necessary and beneficent reforms.

His private life was characterized by a simplicity, a virtue, and an affection worthy of all admiration and emulation by the people of America.

* * *

The Harness Maker Who Became a German Chancellor

FRIEDRICH EBERT has conducted the Provisional Government of Germany since Nov. 9, when he was placed in charge as Imperial Chancellor by the last official act of the Kaiser and Prince Max, who, then resigning from the Chancellorship, had not the temerity to reveal his new office of Regent which he had received by imperial mandate. Ebert had been the majority Socialist leader in the old days and the President of the Reichstag Main Committee at a later period. His masterpiece was the famous resolution of July 19, 1917, which so sorely afflicted the neutral world with the belief that the German Government was ready for a just peace and quite convinced Pope Benedict XV. to that effect.

Friedrich Ebert, formerly called Fritz by his associates, is a Heidelberg harness maker, 47 years of age. He is a typical example of how a man can rise to the top of a political party by solid commonplace gifts of head and character, coupled with indefatigable industry and keen interest and ambition to succeed. His career previous to July, 1917, is interesting only for its obscurity and restraint. From the tailor's shop of his father he was apprenticed to a saddler and thence drifted into journalism, writing for the Bürgerzeitung in 1892 on labor topics. In 1900 he became secretary of the artisan organization and finally, five years later, was seated in the Central Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party. It was not until 1910 that he was elected to the Reichstag.

Down to the time of the war he was for the most part one of the silent majority of the parliamentary faction; since that time he appears to have distinguished himself mainly as the consistent champion of orthodoxy—in the sense of fidelity, not to the doctrines of Marx, but to the views of the majority of his colleagues.

Almost any day after Nov. 9 he had the alternative of leading the proletariat or of slaughtering the Spartacans and becoming dictator. He chose a middle course; he asked the support of the proletariat, of the intellectuals, of the capitalists, of the military, and then eliminated the Spartacans with the least possible bloodshed. He possessed none of the spectacular attributes of leadership which characterized Kerensky in Russia, but he used the machine guns at the propitious moment, as Kerensky did not.

* * *

Belgium and Limburg

BELGIUM is asking the Peace Congress for the Dutch province of Limburg, which juts into Belgian territory. Limburg has 850 square miles of area and its population numbers 300,000, most of whom are Flemings. The Germans found it a short cut to the front in West Flanders and passed over its railway the sand and cement used in making the famous "pill boxes" and other more obvious contraband commodities. On Nov. 13 a force of 25,000 Germans concentrated at Maeseyck, or Maasejik, in the Belgian province of Limbourg, attempted to return through Limburg, but were disarmed by the Dutch before they were allowed to do so.

Limburg is bounded on the east by Rhenish Prussia and on the other sides by the Dutch province of North Brabant and the Belgian provinces of Liége and Limbourg. Its capital is Maestricht, where in the Church of St. Sevatius (Hoofdkerk) it has the oldest ecclesiastical edifice in Holland. Under the town is a labyrinth of ancient chalk quarries stretching for fifteen miles. Maestricht is fifty-six miles east of Brussels and fifty-two southwest of Cologne, where the British have their bridgehead on the Rhine.

Lying in the expanding valley of the lower Meuse, Limburg is under a high state of cultivation, and by barge, canal boat, and rail is within easy reach of the markets of both Belgium and Rhenish Prussia and even of Northern France.

On Jan. 16 the Dutch press accused the

French of fathering a campaign in favor of Holland's giving up Limburg to Belgium.

* * *

Poland's New Government

JOSEPH PILSUDSKI, who received the full powers of the Polish Regency Council when it resigned on Nov. 14, 1918, surrendered his authority on Jan. 18, to a coalition Government of which the famous pianist, Ignace Paderewski, was Premier and Foreign Minister. For a while it seemed as if Paderewski would not succeed in satisfying Pilsudski that he intended to establish a democratic republic, and an armed conflict was narrowly averted A period of strain and danger of permanent misunderstanding ensued, aggravated by falsified dispatches originated in Germany. A compromise was at length effected and the new Government formed, representing all factions, the Ministers of Justice, Food, and Public Works, having previously been members of the Moracrewski Government. The Government summoned a Constituent Diet to meet Feb. 9. The first decree of the Paderewski Ministry was to order the obligatory recruitment of men of the class of 1898.

The formation of a stable Government and the composing of the bitter factional fights was due to the yielding of Pilsudski, one of the most picturesque figures in the fight for Polish freedom. Joseph Pilsudski, who comes of very good Lithuanian Polish noble stock, was born in 1867. In 1885, as a student of medicine at the University of Kharkov, he became connected with the Socialist movement, and in 1888 was banished for five years to Siberia. In 1893 Pilsudski returned to Poland and became one of the chief founders of the Polish Socialist Party in Russian Poland. During the following eight years he managed to elude the Russian police, though constantly sought for. Caught in 1900, he successfully simulated madness, inventing novel forms of mania, and, after about a year in a lunatic asylum, escaped to London, which, at that time, was one of the chief centres of the Polish Socialist Party. He returned to Poland in 1902.

Pilsudski was the leader of the group favoring a national Socialist armed revolution. He was active during the Russo-Japanese war and did make one attack at Ragowa, but did not carry his party with him. When the world war broke out he at first continued his opposition to the Czar, but in 1915 stopped recruiting for the army which he had created to aid the Central Powers. He came in conflict with the Austrian authorities and resigned in the Spring of 1916. His resignation was refused, but he withdrew his brigade from the front.

When the Central Powers declared for Polish independence, Nov. 5, 1916, he was called to aid in the formation of a Polish Army, but insisted that there must be a true Polish National Government to direct it. The Central Powers declined to meet his views, and he prevented the formation of the army. When the Russian Revolutionary Government recognized Polish independence he became an opponent of the Central Powers and ordered his followers to refuse to co-operate with them. He was arrested and deported to Germany and was not released until Nov. 2, 1918. Upon his return to Poland, on Nov. 14, Prince Lubomerski, Archbishop Kakowski, and Count Ostrowski, who composed the Regency Council, transmitted its powers to General Pilsudski and he was in supreme control until he in turn transferred the full direction of affairs to the Coalition Government formed by Paderewski.

A comprehensive review of modern Polish conditions and a digest of earlier Polish history appear on Page 313 and 319 of this number of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

* * *

Germany's National Assembly

THE Ebert Government, having disposed of anarchy in Berlin in the week ended Jan. 18, held elections for the National Assembly the next day throughout the area of the old empire, even including Alsace-Lorraine, but not German Austria and Bohemia, whose status is to be fixed by the Assembly when it convenes on Feb. 10. Meanwhile, Herr Ebert is at work on the new Constitution, which, it is said, will govern fifteen States under a form of

federal administration yet to be determined.

The official instructions for the elections issued by the Government were called "The Electoral Law for the Empire of Nov. 30, 1918." By this law the franchise was given to all Germans over 20 years of age, and it is estimated that about 21,000,000 women and 18,000,000 men either voted or were qualified to vote by secret personal single ballot. The former empire had been divided into thirty-eight electoral districts, and the number of delegates elected to the Assembly was 433—provided Alsace-Lorraine elected its quota of twelve. Approximately there was one delegate elected for every 150,000 of the population.

Of the various parties which nominated candidates only one, the German Socialist Democratic Party—the party responsible for the existence of Ebert and his colleagues—entered the field under its old name. The Centre, or Clerical, Party is now known as the Christian Democratic People's Party and even has affiliated with it Protestant churchmen. The old conservatives (Junkers, Pan Germans, and Agrarians) have united with the anti-Semitic group of the former Christian Socialist Party and now form the German National People's Party.

Under the name of the German Democratic Party are united the radicals of the old Progressive Party, the radicals of the National Liberals, and many independent Democrats. The Independent Social Democratic Party itself, which was first formed in protest against the war in March, 1916, by twenty Social Democratic Deputies in the Reichstag led by Hugo Haase, Eduard Bernstein, and Karl Kautsky, (one of the German delegates to the Paris Peace Conference,) had only a few candidates in the field. The attempt of Dr. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg to lead it into the Spartacus group proved its ruin. Its surviving extremists, however, still hold that there should be no National Assembly and that the body politic, as well as the Government, should consist of one class, the proletariat, while the intellectual class should be hired to work for it and the capitalists eliminated altogether.

* * *

Number of U-Boats Destroyed

THE Allies destroyed or captured 202 German submarines during the war. In addition to these, fourteen German submarines were destroyed by the Germans themselves—ten in the Adriatic and four off Flanders. Seven others were interned in neutral countries. One hundred and eighty submarines were surrendered to the Allies, and 170 others found in course of construction in Germany were to be destroyed.

A French Tribute to America's Dead

The following interchange of messages of friendship between France and the United States took place on Jan. 7, 1919. Premier Clemenceau of France, at the suggestion of Mme. Siegfrid, President of the National Council of French Women, took the initiative by sending through the American Embassy this tribute to America's dead:

> The French Government wishes to express its profound sympathy and gratitude to the American families whose sons have met a glorious death on French soil during the war. It wishes to share in their mournings. The graves of the young soldiers of America are as sacred in its eyes as are those of their French comrades, and it will take the necessary measures to provide that they shall be respected and tended with a reverent and patriotic care.

Acting Secretary Polk of the State Department at Washington sent this reply:

> The Government and people of the United States have been deeply touched by the sentiments expressed in your message which gives still further evidence of the warm friendship and close relations existing between the two Governments and their peoples. The loss of the young soldiers of America on the field of battle in France in the fight against autocracy and militarism has made French soil sacred to American families, and it is with the deepest of sentiment we learn of the care the Government of France proposes to give the graves of these fallen heroes.

Neutrals and the Peace Congress

Knotty Problems Touching the Interests of Holland, Luxemburg, Spain, and Other European Neutrals

[Period Ended Jan. 15, 1919]

[For boundary problems among the belligerents see Pages 295 and 306]

THE European nations that remained neutral during the war are to be called upon to send representatives to Paris, where they can be invited to be present at the Peace Conference when the subject touching the interests of these nations are taken up. What are these interests? Apart from the general considerations of a League of Nations, freedom of the seas, and similar subjects, which concern all the nations of the earth, nearly every one of the neutral nations has a more direct concern with some old European question involving rights of territory. Even before the peace sessions began, the Spanish Premier, Count Romanones, visited Paris and raised the question of continued British possession of Gibraltar and of the Spanish and French spheres in Morocco. For Denmark there is the question of Schleswig-Holstein, for Sweden there is the greatest significance in the future of Finland and the Aland Islands, lately a Russian outpost. Holland has a special interest in the future colonial arrangements, owing to her great East India possessions, and she has also heard the echo of old claims of Belgium concerning the Province of Limburg and the south bank of the Scheldt. As for little Luxemburg, her whole future rests in the balance.

HOLLAND AND BELGIUM

One of the first acts of the Belgian Government when restored to its rightful heritage was to announce that, henceforth, Belgium was not to exist as a ward of the nations, the place given to her in the famous "scrap of paper" treaty of 1839, but that Belgium claimed complete independence to take her own means to insure her future safety, so brutally violated by the German Empire in August, 1914. Thus Belgium goes back to where she stood in 1830, after her successful revolution. Already familiar voices of that period have been heard in the unofficial claims that have been put forward for the addition to Belgium of the part of the old Province of Limburg retained by Holland in 1839, and the south bank of the Scheldt, which gives control of the waterway to Holland.

When the conference of powers met in London after the revolution of 1830 to define the limits of the new country, the Belgians presented a memorial dated Jan. 3, 1831, giving their own ideas of what should constitute their State. The memorial declared that "Belgium must be independent, strong, and contented," and set forth four requirements which would have to be fulfilled before the Belgians would consider their desires met. These demands, which are again assuming first importance, were freedom of the Scheldt, possession of the left bank of the Scheldt, possession of the whole of Limburg, and possession of the whole of Luxemburg, subject to obligations of that part of it which was included in the German confederation.

The conference at London, which had undertaken to settle the whole controversy in its own way, and which looked on all revolution with the distrust of the age of the Holy Alliance, rejected the memorial in toto and proceeded to lay down its own boundaries for the new country. The conference decreed that Holland was to get all the territory which belonged to the Republic of the United Provinces of the Netherlands in 1790, and that Belgium was to get what was left out of the Kingdom of the Netherlands as created by the Congress of Vienna, with the exception of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg.

On June 26, 1831, the Conference of

London laid down its famous Eighteen Articles, which were to settle the Belgian-Dutch question, and, in the mind of the proposers, the two nations directly concerned were to accept them without question. In that protocol the claims of Belgium received more favorable consideration than they were destined to receive in the settlement that finally became effective. The question of Luxemburg was left open for further negotiation, and as for Limburg and its principal city of Maastricht, Article 4 of the protocol said:

> If it is found that the Republic of the United Provinces of the Netherlands did not exclusively exercise the sovereignty of Maastricht in 1790, the two parties shall consider the means of making an amicable arrangement on this subject.

Article 5 opened a way to adjust the Limburg difficulties by providing:

> As it would result from the basis laid down in Articles 1 and 2 (making the limits of Holland those of 1790) that Holland and Belgium would possess districts surrounded by the respective territories of each other, such exchanges as may be thought useful to both parties shall be amicably made between Holland and Belgium.

According to Article 8, commissioners of Holland and Belgium were to meet at Maastricht for the demarkation of the territories and the exchanges provided for in Article 5.

These terms the Belgian Government was willing to accept, although there were many in the chamber at Brussels who demanded the full territorial program of 1830 and talked of defying all the powers of Europe. On July 9, 1831, the Belgian Congress accepted the terms, and it was then thought that all that remained was for the powers to gain the signature of the Dutch King to the articles.

But the King of Holland had no intention of letting his affairs be settled in this way. King Leopold of Belgium, in the meantime, assumed his throne in Brussels. On Aug. 4 King William of Holland ordered the resumption of hostilities against the Belgians. A short conflict followed, in which the Dutch, who had prepared for a further struggle and were anxious to retrieve their first failures, won an easy victory over the Belgians, who had neglected to prepare for a new outbreak of fighting. Any chance of obtaining terms on the basis of the Eighteen Articles disappeared.

THE TWENTY-FOUR ARTICLES

New terms were finally offered by the London Conference in the Twenty-four Articles, which gave to Holland the disputed Limburg district and the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg to the ruling house of Holland. These were the terms Belgium finally had to accept, but it was not until 1839, nine years after the revolution, that the little kingdom gave up the struggle to gain the districts which she considered hers. Even then there was the bitterest feeling, and the terms were regarded in Belgium as a most painful surrender. In setting his signature to the treaty which was to give up the disputed districts of Limburg and Luxemburg, M. van de Weyer, the Belgian delegate at the London Conference, said:

> His Majesty, my royal master, owed a last effort to the populations which have showed so much devotion and affection, and if he consents to abandon them it is less because of the dangers which threatened the whole of Belgium than because of the evils which must burst upon Limburg and Luxemburg.

Thus Belgium gave up territory she had clung to for nine years. The Belgians acquiesced in the settlement that has since marked the two small countries, receiving a part of the Duchy of Luxemburg, now known as Belgian Luxemburg, and leaving to Holland the narrow neck of territory running along the Meuse and inclosing the important city of Maastricht, with undisturbed possession of the Scheldt River.

The Belgian claim to the whole of Limburg was based on the fact that it had formed a part of the Spanish and Austrian Netherlands, along with the other Belgic provinces. The Dutch resisted the claim because it meant the loss of Maastricht, one of the strongest fortresses on the Meuse, and bound to Holland through very old ties. (The city figured frequently in the long struggle against the Spanish armies.) Besides Maastricht, the Dutch gained the important towns of Venlo and Roermond, both of which have important bridges.

POSITION OF LIMBURG

The position of the Province of Limburg in the Dutch Kingdom has been peculiar. The Netherlanders recognize the difference between themselves and the Limburgers. Limburg is solidly Catholic, while Holland as a whole is strongly Protestant. The people speak Flemish and German instead of Dutch. Dutch is not even the language of the schools, which for most of the children are church schools. The complaint of neglect of the province by the Central Government is an old one, and one that The Hague has endeavored to overcome in recent years. As the trouble with the Belgic provinces had been one of religion, as well as of other matters, the Catholic Limburger could not hope for a warm welcome at the capital. The complaints still linger, and the question whether Belgium will now, after nearly ninety years, be allowed to annex the district is once more causing the Dutch some anxiety.

The German Government, for reasons of its own, did not touch this strip of territory when it launched its great drive at the heart of France through Belgium. But the peculiar position of Dutch Limburg was brought out during the retreat of the beaten German armies, when they asked and received of Holland permission to pass through this Dutch territory in going home from Belgium.

The New York Times correspondent at The Hague, writing on Jan. 6, sent the following statement of a prominent Dutchman on the Limburg question:

> No one dares to express an opinion, and a referendum taken under present circumstances would be a farce. Wilson's idea of self-determination is all right as a theory, but unless the people are allowed to know and discuss the problem, it is useless. The people are ignorant of the interests, economic and other, at stake. No one dares to explain them. Politicians speaking for our annexation to Belgium would be guilty of high treason, which is punishable by even twenty years in prison.
>
> Just as in Alsace-Lorraine, the officials are not real Limburgeois. Limburg feels itself a stepchild whose interests have always been neglected. Nothing has been done to further her economic interests or protect her industries, the only thing which is exploited being the coal mines, and this is done in the interests of the rest of Holland.

LEFT BANK OF SCHELDT

The suggestion that Belgium should have the left bank of the Scheldt affects the district—near the mouth of the river—known as Dutch Flanders. Before the Dutch provinces were won away from the crown of Spain this territory was a part of the old county of Flanders, which extended right up to the river. But the Dutch, in their long struggle with Spain, won the little territory to the south of the river, which they still hold, and thus gained complete possession of the Scheldt. The territory was recognized as Dutch territory when the powers of Europe accepted the fact of Dutch independence in 1648.

But the Dutch control of the mouth of the Scheldt has been ever since a source of unhappiness for the port of Antwerp. When the French revolutionary armies swept over Belgium and took Antwerp, a decree abolished this control on the part of Holland, on the ground that such possession was a "violation of the rights of man." History is full of the complaints of the Antwerpers against the old control by which Holland could blockade the river in time of war and collect tolls on all shipping in time of peace. When the Emperor, Joseph II., in 1781, visited Antwerp, there were many violent appeals to him to free the Scheldt, and a poet of the city addressed to the Emperor a quaint plea in the name of the river:

> Sois le restaurateur de mes antiques droits,
> Et de mon lustre éteint ressuscite l'aurore.
> Daigne, daigne briser ces funestre liens,
> Qu'Amsterdam a forgé de ses avares mains;
> Songe que de mes flots interdire l'usage,
> Au droit des nations est un cruel outrage.
> La nature en appelle à ta sage équité.*

The new Belgian Kingdom took up the question of the freedom of the Scheldt in 1856, when M. Auguste Lambermont, head of the Commercial Department of the Foreign Office, put forth the first plan to capitalize the tolls and free commerce by a bulk payment to Holland.

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*Quoted in "Luxemburg and Her Neighbors," by Ruth Putnam.

The Belgian Government undertook to pay one-third of the amount necessary and won the assent of the other trading nations to pay the balance on the basis of their commerce with Antwerp. This made the share of Great Britain greater than the share of Belgium. Twenty-one countries signed the treaty, which was finally drawn up and ratified on July 15, 1863. The sum paid was $7,255,710.

The new order was received with great rejoicing in Belgium, and it did much to remove any lingering hostility toward Holland. The relations between the two small countries have from that time been excellent. One of the questions which the Paris Conference must decide is whether any of these old questions are to be taken up and solved anew.

LUXEMBURG CHANGES RULERS

The future of Luxemburg rests in the hands of the Paris Conference. The grand duchy has, since the Congress of 1815, been a frequent subject for the great European powers to discuss. It was joined by that conference to the Kingdom of the Netherlands, since the guiding principle of that meeting was to create a strong northern neighbor for France. In the revolution of 1830 the Luxemburgers to a man joined the movement against the Dutch ruler and looked forward to joining the new Belgium. But the Conference of London was not willing to weaken the ruler to that extent. It divided the duchy, making the western part into the present Belgian Luxemburg and leaving the present grand duchy to the House of Orange.

On the death of the father of the present Queen of Holland, the throne of Luxemburg, bound by the Salic law, passed in 1890 to a related line, that of the Nassau-Weilburgs and the Grand Duke Adolph, thus cutting the duchy off entirely from the ruling house of Holland. In 1893 Adolph's son, William, married Marie Anne of Portugal. Adolph died in 1905, the son in 1912. The son had six daughters, but no son, and in 1907 the Luxemburg Chamber of Deputies recognized the right of the eldest daughter to succeed. She came to the throne in 1912. Two years later she found her little duchy in the hands of the German Army. With the withdrawal of the Germans, revolutionary movements arose in the country, which were renewed in stronger form on Jan. 9, 1919, with a proclamation of a republic by the anti-dynastic party and the withdrawal of the Duchess from the capital to her château outside.

INCIPIENT REVOLUTION

The events of Jan. 9 in Luxemburg were thus described by a New York Times correspondent under date of Jan. 10:

> Yesterday's doings started this way: Since Jan. 1 Parliament has had under investigation the Grand Duchess's attitude during the war, when Luxemburg was occupied by the Germans. Grand Duchess Adelaide comes from the House of Nassau, which is German. Those opposed to her began, as soon as the allied troops got the best of the four years of argument, to accuse her of being pro-German, harking strongly to a telegram Adelaide is alleged to have sent to the Kaiser praying God for his victory.
>
> Now, the population of Luxemburg is much mixed, being divided among French, Belgians, Germans, and those who are just plain Luxemburgeoise. It seems that yesterday there occurred quite a stormy scene in Parliament during a session of the investigation, as a result of which the Clerical Party put on its hat and left the meeting. The Clerical Party is the Grand Duchess's strongest support, and as soon as it left the chamber the democratic factions came automatically into a majority. Then some opportunist seized the occasion to read a resolution declaring a revolution, deposing the youthful Grand Duchess, and proclaiming a republic.
>
> With many cheers the revolting outfit went across the street and called on the army, which at once, 272 strong, joined the revolutionists. With a brass band going, the revolutionists marched into the square, one side of which holds the City Hall, and called on the Burgomaster to state his intentions. That official quickly sized up the situation and made a rousing speech against the Grand Duchess. Thereupon, with a great flourish, the crowd started for the palace to break the news to Adelaide.

HALTED BY ALLIES

> But meanwhile the news had spread to allied headquarters, and a block from the palace the revolution met a regiment, whose Colonel informed the crowd that the revolution was off and stated that the assembled multitude would at once go home, which it did. Marshal Foch's headquarters are in the City of Luxemburg, but American soldiers are in the

lower half of the grand duchy, the 33d Division being there, and they are receiving many reports. * * * The Clerical Party today attended Parliament throughout the session and the revolution lid was on.

It may now be told that the Luxemburg revolutionary factions had decided that it would be a great opportunity to oust the Grand Duchess when the American troops, representatives of the world's greatest democracy, entered their city. It was reckoned a great chance, when foes of royalty came along, to get rid of local royalty. Great preparations were made, an enormous revolutionary parade being organized with great finesse.

But the day before our entrance the revolutionary leaders discovered, to their dismay, that it was planned to have General Pershing and the Grand Duchess review the American troops side by side. Thereupon there went post-haste to American Army Headquarters a delegation, which informed those in charge of the American plans that it was deeply desired that the American Commander in Chief should not stand by the side of the Grand Duchess, because that would interfere with certain plans and might precipitate a riot. I cannot mention his name, but a certain American officer said to the Chairman of this delegation: "General Pershing's plans will not be changed, and if any one starts anything you may be among the casualties."

STATEMENT BY THE GOVERNMENT

The Grand Duchess's past leanings toward Germany, however, had seriously undermined public confidence in her, and on Jan. 10 the Premier, Emile Reuter, made public an important statement regarding the intentions of the Government. It announced the aim of Luxemburg to form close ties with the Entente Powers and to establish the independence of the little State. The text of this statement is as follows:

Fellow Citizens: A revolutionary movement aiming at the proclamation of a republic and the downfall of the dynasty was set afoot yesterday in the capital. Disorders, which are the inevitable consequence of this unhealthy agitation, are seriously compromising the national honor and the independence of the grand duchy at the most critical hour of its history. The Government therefore appeals to all citizens who desire to safeguard these precious possessions to help to the utmost in the maintenance of law and order. This is more important because the country is about to make decisions of the highest importance which will largely affect its future prosperity.

The Government has decided to seek an economic alliance with Entente Powers, especially France and Belgium. Necessary negotiations will be begun shortly. Recent events having established the fact that the presence of a sovereign might, under certain circumstances, prove an obstacle to the negotiations, the Grand Duchess, zealous of her country's interests, has declared her readiness to renounce the throne and instructed the Government to consider measures to guarantee the independence of the country and the preservation of the dynasty.

The Government will get in immediate touch with the Chamber of Deputies with a view to discharging its duties. It is convinced that the preservation of the dynasty constitutes at the present moment a necessary guarantee of national autonomy, and that it does not represent any obstacle to the realization of the desired economic union.

Highest interests of State demand that we should not plunge the country into the deadly throes of anarchy. This is also the desire of a vast majority of our fellow-citizens. Any decision relative to dynastic questions, and all questions affecting the fate of the country, must be reserved until the will of the people of Luxemburg is freely expressed through legal channels.

We urgently beg our fellow-citizens to be united on a basis of national agreement so as to give the country dignity in the eyes of the great friendly powers and restore to it the peace and calm which it so greatly needs.

Grand Duchess Marie retired the same day from the capital, taking up quarters in a château near by, and on Jan. 11 issued a proclamation abdicating the throne. The abdication was accepted on Jan. 14, and the chamber voted, 30 to 19, to make her successor the next younger of the six sisters, Princess Charlotte. The new ruler assumed office on Jan. 15. Grand Duchess Charlotte was born Jan. 23, 1896, and is two years and a half younger than the sister who abdicated. It was the Princess Antoinette, the fourth sister, born in 1899, whose engagement to Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria was announced last Summer.

SPANISH INTERESTS

The Spanish Government, under Count Romanones, has begun to take an active part in the proposed League of Nations. Following the visit of Romanones to Paris just before the holidays, a commission was named to study the question of Spain's entry into a world league.

The commission consists of General Weyler, ex-Premier Maura, de la Cieva, Cambo, Alba, de Alhucemas, all former Ministers, and Gasset. Public expressions by the Premier and King Alfonso have shown the Spanish attitude to be in favor of the league and friendly toward the Entente Powers now in session in Paris.

Paris dispatches indicated that the Spanish Premier, in his conferences with English and French statesmen, raised the question of the future of Gibraltar and Spanish Morocco. The proposals were said to have included the return to Spain of Gibraltar, the cession by Spain to France of her Moroccan territory for a consideration of $200,000,000, and the passing of Ceuta, across the strait from Gibraltar, to Great Britain. A later report said that an agreement had been reached between France and Spain on the Moroccan question, but there was no indication that Great Britain would consider any change regarding Gibraltar, which has been a British possession for more than 200 years.

In her internal affairs latest developments point to a peaceable settlement of the crisis brought about by the threatening stand of the Catalan leaders claiming autonomy for Catalonia. In an interview with The Associated Press correspondent at Paris, Count Romanones said that it was proposed to grant the autonomy of Catalonia and thus settle the only serious question confronting the Government.

The reply of the Ministers to the Catalan Party recognized the fact that autonomous organization of the provinces of Spain was not incompatible with the national unity and sovereignty of the State. The Government assumed that the regional powers would be exercised with regard for the rights of the Cortes and the King. The Government proposed to appoint a commission to study the extent of the powers to be granted to the Regional Governments. Thus the Catalan question is tending toward a reshaping of the whole Spanish Government in the direction of a system of greater "State's rights."

The German envoy to Spain, Prince Max von Ratibor, has at last left the Spanish capital, where he had been shown to be deeply involved in machinations similar to those carried on by the German Embassy in Washington before our entry into the war.

SWITZERLAND

The new President of Switzerland, Mr. Ador, has announced himself as a partisan of the Wilson program for a League of Nations. Immediately after the notification of his election he said to a French correspondent:

"Called by the confidence of the Federative Assembly to preside over the confederation, I ardently hope that the year 1919 will consecrate a definite peace and the triumph of all those principles of right and justice proclaimed by President Wilson, and which ought to be the basis of the future society of nations. Switzerland will be glad to form a part of it."

SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

In Denmark the celebration of the reunion of the Danish part of Schleswig with Denmark has already begun. H. P. Hanssen, the former representative of that district in the German Reichstag, recently arrived in Copenhagen to receive an ovation. At a dinner in his honor given by many officials and prominent Danes, Mr. Hanssen said:

"The great hour has arrived when the posts of the frontier are to be replaced and many are asking how far they ought to be put back. Through our political organization we have tried to give an answer, and this answer has been considered in all its relations; if the line of demarkation is established in conformity with our efforts, the new frontier of the kingdom will correspond exactly with our ideal. A map of Denmark, where all that is Danish is restored to us, that is what we desire, and nothing more. The Minister has spoken of the necessity of a plébiscite on both sides of the border. I am of the same opinion. The Minister has said that the day when the Danish flag floats over Northern Schleswig will be a day of rejoicing for all Denmark. We Schleswigers are rejoicing in advance, like children who are awaiting the fête of Christmas."

A great meeting was held in Copen-

hagen on Dec. 15 in honor of President Wilson's visit to Europe. Great enthusiasm was shown for the President's peace principles.

Norway's bill for ships taken over by the United States during the war has been partly settled by the agreement made by E. N. Hurley of the Shipping Board with representatives of the Norwegian ship owners in London. The United States agrees to pay at once $11,000,000, which is the amount the owners actually had tied up in property and contracts when the ships were requisitioned. The final settlement is left open, as the full claim of the Norwegians is much greater. The necessity of the Norwegians to replenish their exhausted capital was responsible for the partial settlement. Ships also form Norway's chief interest in the Peace Conference at Paris, where a bill for the heavy loss of Norwegian ships and lives of seamen will be entered against the German Government. The latest figures give Norway's total loss in shipping during the war as 829 vessels of a total gross tonnage of 1,240,000, and the number of sailors who lost their lives as 1,155.

Sweden's part in the peace negotiations remains undefined. The collapse of Russia and the arrival of an independent Finland profoundly affect Sweden's outlook on the world. Of special interest to her will be the disposition of the Aland Islands, lying near her coast, and formerly a constant reminder of the westward expansion of Russia. Occupied by the Germans after the Russian débâcle, the fate of the Alands now rests with the Paris Conference. In the meantime Sweden holds to the agreement with Norway and Denmark to act together during the discussion of a League of Nations.

The Bolshevist War in Russia

Attitude of the Allies

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 15, 1919]

THE fighting on the Ural front in Russia at the end of 1918 was marked by two events of importance. On Dec. 24 native Siberian troops, assisted by two Czechoslovak regiments and commanded by General Gaida, captured the City of Perm from the Bolsheviki. In the battle the Soviet Third Army was practically wiped out. General Gaida's booty included a large amount of war munitions and rolling stock and also 31,000 prisoners, prominent Bolshevist leaders among them. The remnant of the Red Army was driven across the Kama River. A week later the Soviet forces achieved a victory by taking Ufa, recently the seat of an anti-Bolshevist Government, and another city south of Ufa.

On Dec. 30 the allied forces advanced fifteen miles up the Onega River, west of the Archangel sector of the northern front, and recaptured the village of Kadish, in the middle sector of the front, thus improving their outpost positions. The attacking forces consisted of the American troops, a Polish legion, a French detachment, Canadian artillery, and Russian volunteers. Fighting around Kadish continued for several days, the American forces being outnumbered by the Bolsheviki three to one. The objective of both the allied and Siberian forces was Vologda.

A report, dated Jan. 11, by Colonel George E. Stewart, commanding the American troops in the Archangel sector, stated that the general health, discipline, and morale of the men were excellent, and their clothing and equipment ample. Total of deaths from all causes among a force of 8,000, six officers and 121 enlisted men. The American command was scattered with allied troops over a front of 400 miles at distances from Archangel varying from 100 to 300 miles, with small detachments at various places in the line of communication.

An allied movement against Kiev was

taking shape in the south during the month. Odessa had become the chief base of operations of the Allies on the Black Sea, and a Russo-French army advancing from this base was trying to

POINTS GAINED ON ONEGA RIVER

unite with a Cossack army under General Krasnov which was advancing toward Kiev from Rostov-on-Don.

On the other hand, two Bolshevist armies were advancing from Petrograd into Esthonia and Lithuania, looting and burning as they went. One of these armies captured Wenden, and the other, in the vicinity of Riga, was opposed by British, Esthonian, and German troops. They were reported to have captured Riga on New Year's Day. The Bolshevist armies continued their destructive progress into Poland, capturing Vilna on Jan. 7, and massacring many civilians.

A Warsaw cablegram of Jan. 10 stated that the Bolshevist troops were moving along the railway from Vilna toward the Polish capital, with Bialystok as their objective. They had seized seventeen locomotives in Vilna and had come into possession of much rolling stock. General Falkenhayn's Tenth Army was reported to be concentrated at Bialystok for demobilization. Grodno was to be evacuated by the Germans on Jan. 15; the soldiers were reported to be receiving 6 marks a day and were allowed to send 120 pounds of food home each month. The German troops on Jan. 13 evacuated Mitau, capital of Courland.

The same day the Ukrainian Government sent an ultimatum to Rumania demanding the evacuation of Bukowina, and asked President Wilson to permit two American Ukrainians to represent that country at the Peace Conference.

British troops landed at Riga Jan. 14 after fighting the Bolsheviki successfully. General Wetzer had left for Reval to study the situation and to assume eventually the chief command of the Finnish Army in Esthonia.

The evacuation of German troops from the Ukraine proceeded under difficulties. A dispatch of Jan. 6 stated that some of the regiments from the Kiev forces had abandoned important stretches of railway, thus endangering the lives of their comrades. The last of the German troops in the Caucasus, with the exception of those of General von Kress, embarked at Poti on the Black Sea. On Jan. 9 General Denekine inflicted a sharp defeat on the Bolsheviki on the River Kuma, in the Caucasus, taking 1,000 prisoners.

Along the Trans-Siberian Railway General Semenoff became active. Stung by the attempt on his life at Chita, he ordered his forces to capture the strategical centre of Verkhne Udinsk, midway between Irkutsk and Chita. When he came into possession of the town he seized Colonel Baronovsky, the military commander of the region, with his staff, all accused of being pro-Bolsheviki. The Colonel and some of his fellow-prisoners later made their escape from the hands of the Cossacks and reached the borders of Mongolia.

On Dec. 27 the Japanese Government announced the withdrawal of 24,000 troops from Siberia, stating its intention to maintain only a diminished force in that country.

Unity of command on the Siberian

CONCENTRIC MOVEMENTS OF ALLIES AGAINST BOLSHEVIST STRONGHOLD

front was arranged, and the French General, Jules Janin, the former commander of the Czechoslovaks, was appointed to the chief command of the allied forces in Russia.

Both in England and in America the month brought some strong parliamentary protests against continuing to maintain troops in Russia. In the British Parliament a criticism of this kind was answered on Dec. 19 by Lord Milner:

You ask me what right we ever had to send British troops to Russia to meddle with the internal affairs of that country, and how long we mean to keep them there now that war is over. The question itself shows that you misapprehend the facts of the case, as well as the motives of the Government.

The reason why allied, not merely British, forces—indeed, the British are only a small proportion of the total allied troops—were sent to Russia is that the Bolsheviki, whatever their ultimate object, were in fact assisting our enemies in every possible way. It was owing to their action that hundreds of thousands of German troops were let loose to hurl themselves against our men on the western front. It was owing to their betrayal that Rumania, with all its rich resources in grain and oil, fell into the hands of the Germans. It was they who handed over the Black Sea Fleet to the Germans, and who treacherously attacked the Czechoslovaks when the latter only desired to get out of Russia in order to fight for the freedom of their own country in Europe.

The Allies, every one of them, were most anxious to avoid interference in Russia. But it was an obligation of honor to save the Czechoslovaks, and it was a military necessity of the most urgent kind to prevent those vast portions of Russia which were struggling to escape the tyranny of the Bolsheviki from be-

ing overrun by them, and so thrown open as a source of supply to the enemy. I say nothing of the enormous quantities of military stores, the property of the Allies, which were still lying at Archangel and Vladivostok, and which were in course of being appropriated by the Bolsheviki and transferred to the Germans till the allied occupation put an end to the process.

And this intervention was successful. The riot was stopped. The Czechoslovaks were saved from destruction. The resources of Siberia and Southeastern Russia were denied to the enemy. The northern ports of European Russia were prevented from becoming bases for German submarines from which our North Sea barrage could have been turned. These were important achievements and contributed materially to the defeat of Germany. I say nothing of the fact that a vast portion of the earth's surface, and millions of people friendly to the Allies, have been spared the unspeakable horrors of Bolshevist rule.

But in the course of this allied intervention thousands of Russians have taken up arms and fought on the side of the Allies. How can we, simply because our own immediate purposes have been served, come away and leave them to the tender mercies of their and our enemies, before they have had time to arm, train, and organize so as to be strong enough to defend themselves? It would be an abominable betrayal, contrary to every British instinct of honor and humanity.

You may be quite sure that the last thing the Government desires is to leave any British soldiers in Russia a day longer than is necessary to discharge the moral obligations we have incurred. And that, I believe, is the guiding principle of all the Allies. Nor do I myself think that the time when we can withdraw without disastrous consequences is necessarily distant. But this is a case in which the more haste may be the less speed. If the Allies were all to scramble out of Russia at once, the result would almost certainly be that the barbarism which at present reigns in a part only of that country would spread over the whole of it, including the vast regions of Northern and Central Asia, which were included in the dominions of the Czars. The ultimate consequences of such a disaster cannot be foreseen. But they would assuredly involve a far greater strain on the resources of the British Empire than our present commitments.

The Russian question was debated in the United States Senate on Jan. 9 for fully three hours. Senator Hitchcock, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, defending the Administration for keeping American soldiers in Russia, told the Senate that Marshal Foch was responsible for the allied troops being at Archangel and along the Murman coast. They were needed there, he said, to prevent, among other things, the Germans from establishing a submarine base. Senator Borah of Idaho wanted the American troops withdrawn and Russia to be allowed to work out her own problems. Senator France of Maryland declared that the United States had no more right to invade Russia than had Germany to invade Belgium.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE ARMISTICE PERIOD

Dec. 20, 1918, to Jan; 20, 1919

UNITED STATES

Major Gen. Charles T. Menoher appointed to succeed John D. Ryan as Chief of Aircraft Production, Dec. 21.

All restrictions except the right to enter and depart from the country freely and the Government's power of internment removed from German enemy aliens, Dec. 25.

The American dreadnoughts which operated with the British Grand Fleet entered New York Harbor Dec. 26 in a great naval parade.

Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee and four other leaders of the Socialist Party, Adolph Germer, William F. Kruse, J. Louis Engdahl, and Irving St. John Tucker, found guilty of sedition and disloyalty under the Espionage act, Jan. 8. Berger's conviction barred him from Congress.

Walker D. Hines appointed to succeed William Gibbs McAdooo as Director General of Railroads, Jan. 11.

Attorney General Gregory resigned from the Cabinet, asking that his resignation take effect March 4.

The prohibition amendment to the Constitution was ratified by the affirmative action of the thirty-sixth State on Jan. 16.

AERIAL RECORD

In raids on England by the Germans during the war 5,511 persons were killed or injured, of whom 4,750 were civilians. The deaths numbered 1,570.

ARMISTICE

Drastic conditions were demanded of Germany in renewal of the armistice for a month to Feb. 17, 1919. They included retribution for cruelty by Germans to prisoners, the restoration of machinery and goods stolen from France and Belgium, the removal of German gold from Berlin to a safe place, the giving over of German shipping to carry food supplies to European countries, and the surrender of U-boats on the stocks.

PEACE CONFERENCE

The Supreme Council of the Peace Congress met at the French Foreign Office, Paris, on Jan. 12, to make arrangements for the procedure of the conference.

The first formal session of the Peace Conference was held Jan. 18 in the French Foreign Office at Paris. It was opened freely to the press of all nations.

RUSSIA AND SIBERIA

Word was received on Dec. 20 that the Bolsheviki had arrested Roger C. Tredwell, the American Consul at Tashkent.

Allied forces advanced up the Onega River and on Dec. 30 American troops took Kadish from the Reds. The Bolsheviki took Ufa on Jan. 1. General Denekine inflicted a sharp defeat on the Bolshevist forces in the Caucasus, and on Jan. 9 took Alexandrovsk Grushevsky, after two days' fighting.

Nikolai Lenine, the Bolshevist Premier, was reported to have been arrested at the command of Leon Trotzky, Minister of War and Marine, who made himself Dictator, Jan. 8.

The peasants in Central Russia rose against the imposition of excessive taxes by the Bolsheviki and against the "Committees for Fighting Poverty." Members of the committees in the Tula Government were killed.

Siberian troops took Perm from the Bolsheviki, Dec. 27.

General Semenoff captured Verkhne Udinsk and ordered officials friendly to Kolchak deposed, Dec. 30.

Unity of command on the Siberian front was arranged, and the French General Jules Janin was named in supreme command of the allied forces in Russia.

BALTIC PROVINCES

The Bolsheviki invaded Esthonia and Livonia. On Jan. 4 they captured Riga, arrested all members of the bourgeoisie, and established a Soviet Government. A proclamation was issued announcing that Livonia was subject to Soviet laws and that all private ownership of land had been abolished. British troops again landed in Riga, Jan. 14.

The Prussian Lithuanians rebelled from German sovereignty and under the leadership of Dr. Gaigalaitis seized several cities.

Mittau, Courland, was occupied by the Bolsheviki.

POLAND

The Polish Government issued an ultimatum to Germany demanding the right of passage over German-held railways to Vilna, which was threatened by the Bolsheviki, Dec. 27. Germany refused to accede to the demand. Vilna was captured by Bolshevist forces, Jan. 8. A massacre of civilians began at once. The Bolsheviki then moved on toward Warsaw along the railway. They occupied Lida.

German officers in Posen fired on an allied automobile carrying an American flag, Dec. 27. Street fighting followed, and the Polish Guards defeated the Germans after 138 persons were killed.

Ignace Jan Paderewski went to Poland as the representative, he said, of 4,000,000 Poles, from whom he received plenary powers. Paderewski was slightly wounded by a shot fired by a would-be assassin, Jan. 12, at Warsaw. Several Bolsheviki implicated in the plot to kill him were arrested.

Paderewski formed a coalition Cabinet on Jan. 18, after an agreement with General Pilsudski, and became Premier.

Ukrainians who were besieging the Poles attacked Przemysl by land and air. Two thousand persons were killed in the bombardment of a few days, ending Jan. 14.

SOUTH AMERICA

A plot on the part of Russians to instigate a Bolshevist movement to overthrow the Governments of Uruguay and Argentina and institute Soviets in both countries was discovered by the police. Isaac Malinoff and four other leaders were arrested. In the disorders attending a general strike in Buenos Aires, 2,000 prisoners were taken, many of whom were revolutionists from Russia. Montevideo took military measures to check the Reds.

GERMANY

The Revolutionary Parliament adjourned Dec. 20, after giving full power to the Ebert Cabinet.

A joint session of the People's Commissioners and the Central Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies was held in Berlin Dec. 28. The Ebert Government was upheld, and Foreign Minister Haase, Minister of Social Policy Barth, and Demobilization Minister Dittmann retired from the Cabinet after the defeat of their policy. Noske, Loebe, and Wissel were appointed members of the Cabinet.

The Spartacus and Independent groups of Socialists started a revolt in Berlin, Jan. 5, calling on the masses to destroy the Government. Civil war raged in Berlin ten days and the Government, with the aid of the loyal army, won a complete victory; many hundreds were killed.

Dr. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were killed by a mob after their arrest, Jan. 16.

Bremen, Cuxhaven, and Düsseldorf were reported in the hands of the Bolsheviki, Jan. 16.

General elections for a National Assembly were held throughout Germany, Jan. 19.

MEXICO

Heinrich von Eckhardt, the German Minister to Mexico, who figured in the Zimmermann disclosures early in 1917, when the German Government attempted to line up Mexico against the United States as an ally of Japan, was recalled by the Berlin Government, Dec. 20, and his successor was warned that anti-American operations must cease.

RELIEF WORK

President Wilson named Herbert C. Hoover Director General of an international organization for the relief of liberated countries.

The House of Representatives passed a bill appropriating $100,000,000 for European famine relief.

ENGLAND

The Lloyd George Government won an overwhelming victory in the general elections. The Sinn Fein swept Ireland. The new Cabinet was announced Jan. 10.

ITALY

The Italian Ministry under Premier Orlando resigned Jan. 18, and was reorganized with the elimination of Bissolati, Nitti, Sacchi, Miliani, and Villa; the new members included Signor Facta, Minister of Justice; Signor Stringher, Treasury; General Caviglia, War, and General Girardini, Pensions.

LUXEMBURG

The Grand Duchess Marie Adelaide abdicated, Jan. 11. Her sister Charlotte succeeded her, Jan. 15. An attempt to establish a republic failed.

JUGOSLAVIA

The United Serbian-Croatian-Slovene Kingdom was formed at Belgrade, Jan. 5, by representatives of all the Jugoslavs, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slovenia.

Air Raids on England

IN raids on England by the Germans during the war 5,511 persons were killed or injured, of whom 4,750 were civilians. The deaths numbered 1,570. An official summary of the casualties caused by German airships, airplanes, and bombardments from the sea shows these casualties among civilians: Killed, 554 men, 411 women, 295 children; injured, 1,508 men, 1,210 women, 772 children. Three hundred and ten soldiers and sailors were killed and 551 were injured.

There were fifty-one raids by airships, causing the deaths of 498 civilians and the injury of 1,236, and the killing of fifty-eight soldiers and sailors and the injuring of 121.

In fifty-nine airplane raids 619 civilians were killed and 1,650 were injured. In these raids 238 soldiers and sailors were killed and 400 injured.

In twelve bombardments from the sea 143 civilians were killed and 604 wounded, while 14 soldiers and sailors were killed and 30 injured.

The greatest losses inflicted by Zeppelins were in raids on Norfolk, Suffolk, and the home counties of London on Oct. 13, 1915, when 54 civilians and 17 soldiers and sailors were killed, and in West Suffolk and the midland counties on Jan. 31, 1916, when 70 civilians were killed and 112 injured. The raid on Lincolnshire, Essex, and Suffolk on March 31 of the same year caused the death of 17 civilians and 31 soldiers and sailors.

The most serious airplane raid was that of Margate, Essex, and London, on June 13, 1917, when 158 civilians and four sailors and soldiers were killed. The next in severity was that of Kent, on Sept. 4 of the same year, when 131 soldiers and sailors lost their lives. On this occasion a crowded barrack was hit. Almost as severe as the raid on Kent was that on Folkestone, on May 25, 1917, when 77 civilians and 18 sailors and soldiers were killed. The attack on Kent, Essex, and London on Jan. 28, 1918, caused the death of 65 civilians and two soldiers and sailors.

The only bombardment from the sea in which there were heavy casualties was that on Hartlepool, Scarborough, and Whitby, on Dec. 16, 1914, when 127 civilians and 10 soldiers and sailors were killed and 567 civilians and 25 soldiers and sailors were injured.

Alsace-Lorraine's Return to France

How the Lost Provinces Came Back and Were Recognized as Part of the French Republic

[See Sketch Map of Alsace-Lorraine on Page 296]

IMMEDIATELY after the signing of the armistice of Nov. 11, 1918, the French Government began taking the necessary steps for the formal return of Alsace and Lorraine to France. The first step was the appointment of three Commissioners to act for the French Republic in the three chief divisions of the reclaimed provinces—Leon Mirman at Metz, the capital of Lorraine; M. Maringer at Strasbourg, the capital of Alsace, and Henri Poulet at Colmar, the chief city of Upper Alsace. These men were to play a large part in the historic events about to occur in the liberated provinces.

As far back as June 5, 1917, a Presidential decree had placed the administration of the reclaimed portions of Alsace-Lorraine under the direct authority of the Minister of War. At the close of the conflict the war portfolio was held by Georges Clemenceau, who was also Premier, and to him fell the grateful task of superintending the formation of new local Governments with the aid of the newly created Commissioners. All this work of reorganization, of course, was subject to the final approval of the Peace Congress.

By authority of the Act of 1917 President Poincaré promulgated the following decree on Nov. 15:

Article 1. During the period of the armistice and until the signing of the peace preliminaries, the civil administration of Alsace-Lorraine is assured on the spot by three Commissioners of the republic nominated by decree and charged respectively with the territories of Lorraine, Lower Alsace, and Upper Alsace. These Commissioners shall there exercise—under the authority of the President of the Council and Minister of War—all administrative powers, and especially those relating to the Presidents of districts. The Commissioner of Lower Alsace shall at the same time see to the functioning of services common to the three territories and shall have the title of High Commissioner.

Art. 2. In each territory the Commissioner of the Republic shall have control of an administrative military mission, appointed by the President of the Council and Minister of War, by means of which he is specially provided with local administrators.

Art. 3. Instructions will be issued determining the relations between the civil administration of Alsace-Lorraine and the military authorities there in command.

Art. 4. The President of the Council and Minister of War is charged with the execution of this decree.

Done in Paris, Nov. 15, 1918, *by the President of the Republic,*

RAYMOND POINCARE.

President of the Council and Minister of War, GEORGES CLEMENCEAU.

MARSHAL PETAIN'S ORDER

Meanwhile the armies of occupation were marching toward Germany. On the eve of the advance into Alsace-Lorraine Marshal Pétain had addressed the following order to his troops:

Through long months you have fought. History will honor the tenacity and proud energy displayed during these four years by our nation, which had to conquer in order not to die. That we may the better dictate peace, we are going tomorrow to move our armies to the Rhine. On this ground of Alsace-Lorraine, which is dear to us, you will advance as liberators. You will go further upon German soil, into territory which we shall occupy as a necessary pledge of just reparation. France has suffered in its ravaged fields, in its ruined towns; it has many and cruel griefs. The freed provinces had to suffer intolerable vexations and odious outrages. But you will not avenge crimes with violences that might seem legitimate to you in your anger. You will maintain discipline and due respect for persons and property; after having vanquished your enemy with arms you are going to lay another debt upon him by the dignity of your attitude, and the world will not know which to admire most, your self-restraint in success or your heroism in battle. With you I recall with emotion our dead, whose sacrifice has given us the victory; I send a salutation full of saddened affection to the fathers and mothers, the widows and orphans of France,

who are ceasing for an instant to weep in these days of national joy in order to applaud the triumph of our arms. I bow before your magnificent banners. Vive la France!

ENTERING MULHOUSE

On Nov. 17 the French, under General Hirschauer, entered Mulhouse, in Upper Alsace, amid wild rejoicings. Thunderous acclamations began as they passed the first houses and swelled in a continual crescendo. Old men in frock coats or redingotes and wearing the medal of 1870 on their breasts shouted "Vive la République!" as they waved their hats. When the column paused some came weeping to kiss the fringes of the tattered flag. Young girls and little children, garbed in the local costumes, waved flags, and many of them, choked with sobs, tried to cry "Vive la France!"

A brief reception was given to General Hirschauer and his staff in the City Hall, where, as the bells rang out in wild peals, the Adjutant saluted the arrival of the new garrison of Mulhouse and announced the restoration of the city to France. At the close of further ceremonies the City of Mulhouse sent telegrams to M. Poincaré, M. Clemenceau, and the following to the French Government:

The City of Mulhouse, freed, sends to France, the liberator, the homage of its gratitude. Its inhabitants share the common joy and wish in their hearts to affirm their unshakable fidelity and their profound attachment to the motherland and the republic.

Similar telegrams poured in from a score of other towns and cities in the liberated territory as the armies continued their advance. The Mayor and City Council of Colmar sent the following to the President on Nov. 19:

The City of Colmar has just given an enthusiastic welcome to the French troops for which it has waited so long. Reunited forever under the Tricolor, we give our oath of fidelity to the French motherland and offer our homage to the Chief Magistrate of France.

President Poincaré replied:

France receives with joyous confidence the oath of fidelity which you offer voluntarily under the protection of the victorious flag of the republic. She has never doubted the sentiments of the people of Colmar, and she is happy to respond with the most constant affection.

FRENCH TROOPS IN METZ

Marshal Pétain, Commander in Chief of the French Armies in Alsace-Lorraine, made his formal entry into Metz on Tuesday, Nov. 19, amid indescribable enthusiasm. The Tenth Army, in the absence of General Mangin, victim of a slight accident with his horse, was commanded by General Leconte. The whole population was out to greet the troops, and the old Lorraine city, after a captivity of forty-seven years, celebrated its return to France with unforgettable demonstrations of love.

A review took place in the Esplanade before Marshal Pétain and Generals Fayolle and Buat. General Leconte presented the infantry, artillery, and cavalry of the Tenth Army. After the review Marshal Pétain and his staff proceeded amid popular jubilations to the City Hall, where he was received by representatives of the city and of local societies. Later came the installation of M. Mirman, Commissioner of the Republic, at the prefecture, where he was attended by General de Maud'huy, Governor of Metz.

General Mangin, though he had been prevented by an accident from entering Metz at the head of the Tenth Army, posted up the following proclamation:

FRENCH REPUBLIC

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity

People of Lorraine: My dear compatriots, at last there has sounded the hour of deliverance that you awaited for forty-seven years with a fidelity that has been the admiration of the world.

Beaten on all the fields of battle from the North Sea to the Vosges, after having lost in four months more than 400,000 prisoners and more than 5,000 guns, the German armies have had to beg for an armistice which is a complete capitulation. The earth is freed from Prussian militarism, the colossus of the German Empire is crumbling in anarchy. You are freed forever from the yoke of the stranger. The régime of oppression and vexation which you endured for half a century is ended forever.

The army of the republic is bringing liberty and justice to the soil of Lorraine. Your families, your goods, will be protected, your institutions, your traditions will be respected. Let those have no fear who by necessity had to bow beneath the German yoke. France, whose ransom you were, opens wide her arms to all her recovered children. Those whom

she loves most are those who have suffered most. Long live France!

The General commanding the army,
MANGIN.

MESSAGE OF LOYALTY

The City of Metz sent this telegram to President Poincaré:

The notables of Metz, assembled by the Commissioner of the Republic in order to designate the members of the first French Municipal Council of the city, after having selected these members unanimously are unanimous also in addressing to the President of the French Republic an expression of the immense joy they feel in being at last united to their mother country. They affirm before him their desire to remain patriotically united in order to carry on successfully the necessary work of restoration. They proclaim their unalterable attachment to the French Republic and its institutions. They beg him to transmit the expression of their unutterable gratitude to the heroic army of France and to the allied nations which have delivered Alsace-Lorraine from the hateful German yoke and have re-established the reign of right and liberty in the world.

Long live France! Long live the Republic! Long live the French Army!

President Poincaré replied:

Profoundly moved by the memorial which the City of Metz sends to France and to the allied armies, I address to that city the felicitations and vows of the motherland. Very often in the course of this long war I have paused in the midst of our troops on some Lorraine hill to scan the horizon for the silhouette of the captive city. It will be very sweet to me to be able to go soon and express to you the joy which your deliverance has brought us. Metz is awakening today from a long nightmare, and all France smiles upon her.

The new City Council of Metz on Nov. 23 unanimously elected Victor Prevel as Mayor, and he was attached to the Cabinet of Commissioner Mirman for the settlement of civil questions. He named five men and one woman as his assistants. One of the first acts of the council was to create a commission charged with restoring to the old streets of Metz the names that they had borne before 1870, to give the new streets the names of distinguished French Generals, and to banish every name recalling the German régime.

Mayor Prevel on Nov. 25 posted the following proclamation:

Our dear City of Metz is living through historic and unforgettable times. After the sorrows of the annexation and forty-three years of oppression by a nation that has never understood us and which knows only one principle, "Might makes right"; after four years of unprecedented terror, during which it was a crime to speak the mother tongue, the brave soldiers of the Allies have at last brought deliverance and liberty in the folds of the French flag that now floats forever over our walls. Honor and thanks to these heroes! Our joy is immense and legitimate. Let us not, however, be intoxicated by it; let us remain worthy of the sympathy of the whole world, which is watching us.

You are French in your hearts, which means that you know how to act calmly and nobly; and I am counting upon you all to aid me in my task and to make my labors easy. As for myself, my devotion to you is complete, and you will always find me ready to prove it to you.

And you of German origin who are also inhabitants of Metz and, as such, subject to my administration, perhaps you are asking with fear and trembling what awaits you. In 1914 I was one of the first of the many victims of the brutality of your Government, which was not ashamed to throw into infested prisons and treat ignominiously peaceful citizens who had always shown themselves respectful to your laws. Who would dare to say that a harsh vengeance would not be legitimate today? But, as I have just said, we are French, and a Frenchman knows how to place duty, equity, and justice above everything else.

You are subjects of my administration, and I will treat you loyally as such. I do not ask of you hypocritical manifestations of a French patriotism which you do not feel. I will watch over and safeguard your legitimate rights until the conclusion of the peace treaty, which will fix your final status. Until then I ask of you only one thing: that you, too, remain worthy of respect, meditating in privacy upon your situation as conquered men. In that way you can enjoy liberty, which is the essence of France.

But to those who will not follow that method I here give a solemn and public warning. If any one of you thinks to stir up trouble, to poison public opinion or to defy it, to create disorder in any manner whatsoever, I shall know how to proceed to energetic and pitiless repression. Fomenters of disorder will be arrested immediately and taken before a court-martial, where they will learn to their cost that in France liberty does not exclude the necessary severity for the maintenance of order.

German inhabitants of Metz, do not forget that we are still under the rule of war, and that martial law and war courts

remain in action. Do not expose yourselves to making their acquaintance or it will be the worse for you. Vive la France! Vive la Republique!

The Mayor of Metz,
V. PREVEL.

M. Mirman, the Commissioner, promulgated an order restoring all the old French names throughout the region under his control, and the Mayor of every city was ordered to abolish, as far as possible, all the German names that had been forced upon communities and individuals. Not only were the names of cities, villages, streets, and squares changed under this order, but also the names of thousands of families and of commercial firms, and even the names on tombstones.

PROCLAMATION TO LORRAINE

A proclamation to the whole Province of Lorraine was posted up in Metz and other cities on Nov. 19 by Leon Mirman, Commissioner of the French Republic. It was printed as a large poster, about 29 by 46 inches, with a red, white, and blue border. Translated, it was as follows:

FRENCH REPUBLIC.
THE COMMISSIONER OF THE REPUBLIC TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE OF DISANNEXED LORRAINE.

Brothers and sisters of Lorraine, Citizens of France: In 1871, by a hateful abuse of force—which she is expiating today—Germany had wrenched your families from the bosom of tender France. For nearly fifty years the brutal conqueror kept you under the yoke.

After having accumulated lies and crimes, German imperialism has seen the indignant consciences of all free peoples rise up against it. They have joined together to overthrow her. They have overthrown her. They will henceforth prevent her from doing harm. The name of Germany will no longer be feared in the world. Your servitude is ended. Your long nightmare is dispelled.

You are again taking your place today at our hearthstone, at the moment when France has just acquired a magnificent prestige in the eyes of the entire world. This prestige France does not owe only to the incomparable valor of her armies, which you acclaimed yesterday, or to the intelligence and energy of her civil and military chiefs, or to the suppleness of her democratic institutions, or to the fecund action of her Parliamentary assemblies, or to the work, the civic firmness, the sacred union, the beautiful moral bearing of the whole nation; she owes it also to the fidelity of her children of Alsace and Lorraine.

You continued at the price of great misery to love France after she was conquered. How could you not love her in the splendid radiance of her victory!

France, after fifty years, has learned much. She remained and she still is—that is her glory, and it is, perhaps, the secret of her strength—the champion of idealism; but she acquired and strengthened in herself the sense of reality. You will find her tomorrow powerfully equipped in the various economic domains, developing each day her institutions and her laws relative to common welfare, accomplishing each day some social progress, advancing in that direction boldly but methodically, without disturbance, without disorder, as becomes organized democracy, which is conscious of the duties imposed by liberty.

Immediately after the signature of the preliminaries of peace the French Parliament, in its sovereignty, will make arrangements for the definite organization of the disannexed territories of Alsace and Lorraine. In making these laws it will be inspired by the feelings of the most tender affection for the liberated French population.

In the meantime, and from this very day, the immediate and urgent necessity must be recognized here of provisioning the country, of relieving the suffering, of healing many sores, then of restoring economic life, and finally, of rewelding the moral chain which is to join you to the rest of Lorraine and of France.

To the accomplishment of this noble material and moral task, I will give all my strength and all my heart, with the joyful passion of a man who, for more than four years, from the heights of the Couronné de Nancy, contemplated the Cathedral of Metz, and dreamed of being called soon to the honor of bringing together the two portions of the Lorraine flesh that were severed in 1871 by the sword of the conqueror.

Tolerant of all beliefs, I invite all French people to unite in the cult of the motherland. I shall know, here, and wish to serve, but one party, that of France.

The Republic asks its Commissioners to rule with zeal and equity. According to the abominable Prussian doctrine—which ended by deforming the very soul of the German Nation—"all that is useful to the State is just." Our French doctrine, on the contrary, declares: "Only that which is just is useful to the State." That justice will reign here; the benefits thereof will be assured to everybody.

To work! Brothers of Lorraine, rich or poor, workman or employer, peasant or bourgeois, conservative or Socialist, I greet you all cordially. Sisters of Lor-

raine, I salute you with warm-hearted and tender respect.

LONG LIVE LIBERATED LORRAINE!—LONG LIVE THE REPUBLIC!—LONG LIVE FRANCE, ONE AND INSEPARABLE!

LEON MIRMAN,
Commissioner of the Republic.

TO GERMANS IN LORRAINE

At the same time M. Mirman posted up in Metz and other cities of the region the following proclamation, addressed to the Germans who had remained in Lorraine:

France accepts the homage only of those who love her. I am sure that you will love France when, regenerated morally by a long and salutary exercise of liberty, you shall have become capable of knowing and worthy of comprehending her. But today, in her name, I repel your hypocritical acclamations. I shall esteem you more if you are silent and sad, bearing with dignity the grief of your monstrous delusions. I ask and exact of you only one thing: respect for France and her laws. Any one who is inclined to create disorder will be punished. Those of you who conduct yourselves like honorable men will not be molested, or, if you should be, you may claim my protection against any offender in the name of the republic.

None of you will be disturbed for having given public expression, in the past, to joy over temporary successes, or, more recently, to sorrow over the final disasters of your country. But if France, in the noble pride of her victory, remains the servant of right, she does not forget—and that very right makes it her duty not to forget—the crimes committed against her children. Those of you who were content to applaud those crimes will not be pursued; if you perceive today the moral aberration into which you allowed yourselves to be led by the keepers of your conscience, France leaves you with pity to your remorse; if you do not yet comprehend, she leaves you with disdain in your abject state.

But for those who have taken part in any crime it will be otherwise:

(a) Every sale of objects belonging to French or allied subjects, made without the consent of the owner, is null and void; the objects thus acquired must be returned within twenty-four hours to the original owner or his representative, or to the Mayor; after twenty-four hours the holder of said objects will be prosecuted on a charge of theft. Every right of the proprietor to claims for damages, besides, is reserved.

(b) Every holder of objects sent from the front and obtained by pillage must, within twenty-four hours, hand them over to the Mayor, who will give a receipt for them; after the period named, the responsibility for retaining them will be seriously increased.

(c) All those who, after a regular inquiry and cross-examination, shall be convicted of having, either by incitement or denunciation or by an overt act, participated in cruelties inflicted on a French citizen or an ally of France, especially upon a wounded soldier, a prisoner, or an evacuated civilian, will be immediately arrested and punished according to law: that will be justice!

All functionaries will remain at their posts until I shall have decided otherwise for each of them. All public services are to be maintained; I shall hold the chiefs responsible. Anarchy is the hideous caricature of liberty. Under the imperative condition that they shall be exercised in an orderly way, the liberties of the workers are guaranteed. I have spoken. In the name of the republic, in the name of France, one and inseparable!

LEON MIRMAN,
Commissioner of the Republic.

FRENCH AT STRASBOURG

The French troops under Marshals Foch and Pétain entered Strasbourg, the capital of Alsace, on Nov. 25 at 1 o'clock. Ever since early morning innumerable little groups clad in Alsatian costumes had been flowing into the city from distant points; Saverne especially, where German militarism had fallen afoul of the people and hurled at France the insulting defiances of General Deimler, furnished a large contingent to the joyous army of Alsatians who poured into the capital that day to acclaim the entry of the French troops. And at the moment of that entry the famous Statue of Strasbourg in the Place de la Concorde at Paris was freed at last from all the mourning wreaths and ex-votos with which it had been covered for nearly half a century.

What their return to French allegiance meant to the people of Strasbourg that day may well be described in the words used by a London Times correspondent two weeks later when he saw Strasbourg's reception to President Poincaré. He wrote that only twice in the whole war period had he felt it utterly hopeless and beyond words to describe what he saw. One was at the climax of Verdun, the other was when he stood and watched the endless procession of the

people of Strasbourg filing solemnly and gayly past to show their abiding love for their mother country. After the procession was over he asked his French chauffeur what he thought of it all. "Oh, monsieur," he said, "no words can express what one felt. I wept the whole day." The correspondent continues:

"For something like an hour and a half a stream of young men and maidens, old men and children, five or six deep, flowed along between two compact banks of lookers-on, all apparently sympathizers, through all the main streets and squares of Strasbourg. Some of them walked or marched, whole companies of them skipped and danced to the time of the marches played by the scores of bands by which the members of each guild or trade or religious fraternity or village or musical or gymnastic society was headed. There seemed to be no end to them. The crowds through which they moved were so dense that the wonder was how any Alsatians were left to make a procession.

"Why each fresh rainbow of girls dancing along hand-in-hand should make you catch your breath and bring tears to your eyes I do not know. I only know that for me they did, and that every man that I know who was there, English or French or American, was affectin exactly the same way. And it was not only the troops of girls and women and children that pulled at one's heartstrings. It was the universality of the whole thing—the numbers of the gorgeously embroidered banners of the different villages and guilds, the constant succession of butchers and bakers and candlestick-makers, the unity of the French heart, that has never ceased, through all the suffering of the war and the German dominion, to beat in the breasts of the whole population under an apparently German exterior. The language that most of them spoke might be, and was, German or Alsatian. Their thoughts and memories and hopes and rejoicing were emphatically French."

STRASBOURG'S NEW MAYOR

At the time of the armistice the City Council of Strasbourg was controlled by a majority of immigrant Germans, who did not represent the population, as all the native-born citizens had abstained from taking part in the elections. The City Government, executing itself, disappeared in the whirlwind of the revolutionary movement that broke out the next day after Nov. 11; and when the French troops entered the Alsatian capital the Mayoralty was held by a Socialist member of the Council, with another Councilor or his assistant. The rest of the Municipal Board had evaporated and did not reappear even for a moment during the historic days of the return of the lost province to France. Marshals Pétain and Foch, and Generals de Castelnau and Gouraud were saluted in the name of the city by the two Councilors who were acting for the Mayor. As this curious situation could not last, M. Maringer, Commissioner of the Republic, named a Municipal Commission, consisting of Strasbourg notables, to take the place of the City Council. This commission elected as its President M. Ungemach, who thus came to perform the functions of Mayor.

The French Government on Nov. 27 issued a new decree providing for the fuller co-operation of the three Commissioners, and placing most of the executive power in the regained provinces in the hands of the Under Secretary of State, at the same time creating a Superior Council of Alsace and Lorraine, made up of all the minor provincial officials and a dozen leading citizens from the three districts. A decree fixing the commercial relations of the provinces with neighboring regions was also promulgated.

Meanwhile the German Government was still trying to keep alive its claims on the disputed provinces, as indicated by this radiogram from Berlin, dated Dec. 19, "addressed by the Government of the Empire to the Soldiers' Council at Strasbourg":

> The occupation of Alsace-Lorraine by the Entente does not prejudice in any respect the solution of the Alsace-Lorraine question in conformity with the principles of international law regarding the free self-determination of peoples.
>
> EBERT-HAASE.

The members representing Alsace and Lorraine in the Prussian Diet, having

withdrawn from that body on Nov. 12, met at Strasbourg as a National Assembly, and on the eve of their adjournment on Dec. 5 unanimously passed the following declaration:

The Deputies of Alsace and Lorraine, elected by universal suffrage and organized into a National Assembly, salute with joy the return of Alsace and Lorraine to France after a long and cruel separation. Our provinces will be proud to owe to the refound mother country, with the safeguarding of their traditions, beliefs, and economic interests, which have been solemnly guaranteed to them by the heads of the victorious army, a new era of liberty, prosperity, and honor.

The National Assembly, concerned to see that there shall not remain, either in France or in the allied nations, nor yet in allied or enemy nations, the slightest doubt regarding the true sentiments of Alsatians and Lorrainers, affirms that the neutralist agitation was the work of a base minority or of German agents, and declares solemnly that, as a faithful interpreter of the constant and unbreakable will of the people of Alsace and Lorraine, expressed as far back as 1871 by its representatives in the Bordeaux Assembly, it considers as forever inviolable and imprescriptible the right of Alsatians and Lorrainers to remain members of the French family.

The National Assembly regards it as a duty, before adjourning, to proclaim in its turn the re-entry of Alsace and Lorraine into their right, their unquestionable and final reunon (rattachement indiscutable et définitif) with France.

Abbé Delsor, the Deputy from Marlenheim, read the foregoing declaration and then spoke as follows:

The applause which has just welcomed this reading proves to you that you have faithfully translated the sentiments of Alsace and Lorraine. This applause will have its echo throughout our dear country of France, in the allied, neutral, and enemy countries of Europe, and beyond the ocean. The statesmen who are most energetically defending the right of peoples to the free disposition of themselves have reason now to be fully satisfied.

There is no longer any need for a referendum. One has been held in the last few days by the whole Alsatian people. We are now the only legal representatives of our beloved country. It remained for us to place our seal upon the act of disannexation and annulment of the odious treaty which wrested us from France.

You would be justly aggrieved if I ended without sending a greeting across the years to the Deputies who protested at Bordeaux. They were in disfavor with the prevailing power, and had not, like us, the joy of being honored.

President Poincaré made an official tour of the recovered provinces Dec. 8-10, and delivered a series of eloquent speeches in the various cities, notably in Metz and Strasbourg. The enthusiasm and emotion with which he was greeted by the population everywhere made the episode memorable in the annals of France. Of the many eloquent descriptions of the popular outpouring of gratitude in those days there is space here to give only that of Mr. Sharp, the American Ambassador, who accompanied President Poincaré on this tour, and who said on his return:

"The popular demonstration offered an unforgettable spectacle in its fervent emotion. If any doubt as to the sentiments of these people toward France, after half a century of forced separation, had survived in the minds of those who have just visited these recently liberated cities, the spontaneous and almost frantic enthusiasm of the human masses that filled the streets and public squares has swept away the last vestige of that doubt. Words can scarcely describe the depth of the emotions experienced. The feelings manifested by these people can be compared to nothing more aptly than to the mutual joy felt by members of a family that is reunited after long separation. When M. Poincaré, in one of his speeches, said: 'The plebiscite has been taken,' he expressed a truth amply demonstrated in every incident of these historic scenes. The President and M. Clemenceau were both the objects of great ovations. The tens of thousands of handkerchiefs waved in the narrow streets, as well as from every window and housetop, seemed so many winged messengers bearing to France their love and loyalty."

Conditions in Liberated Regions

Mr. Hoover's Stupendous Task of Feeding Millions of War Victims in Belgium, France, and the Balkans

IMMEDIATELY after the Germans had been driven out of France and Belgium the American Government sent Herbert C. Hoover to Europe to make a general survey of conditions among the liberated populations and to arrange for relief work throughout Europe. The Allies, under the leadership of the United States, were undertaking the enormous task of saving the war's victims from starving until the harvest of 1919. The regions affected were scattered from Belgium to Palestine, from the Balkans to the Baltic; the destitute numbered 125,000,000. The United States alone of all the belligerent nations still had food to spare, and its people were called upon to save and ship to hungry Europe millions of tons of foodstuffs.

When President Wilson arrived in Paris the results of the investigations in the war-wasted countries, neutral, allied, and enemy, were laid before him. The allied Governments had advised the President that in behalf of unified action they desired the United States to take the lead in the relief work. It was arranged that each Government should appoint two representatives to co-operate in the matter of food, finances, and shipping for relief work.

DIRECTOR GENERAL OF RELIEF

On Jan. 3, 1919, President Wilson appointed Mr. Hoover as Director General of the International Relief Organization, with Norman Davis as the other American representative. The French Government named Etienne Clementel, Minister of Commerce, and M. Vilgrain, Minister of Food, as its representatives, and the British and Italian representatives were announced a few days later.

Mr. Hoover summarized the European food situation in a brief statement on Jan. 7, 1919. The investigation of conditions in Germany was not yet complete enough to warrant definite conclusions, but it had been decided that the German population had enough food to carry on for a while, with the exception of fat supplies, which were very short, and were undoubtedly developing some conditions of disease and a great deal of social discontent. Regarding the other countries Mr. Hoover cabled that the reports showed the following specific conditions:

Finland—The food is practically exhausted in the cities. While many of the peasants have some bread, other sections are mixing large amounts of straw. They are exhausted of fats, meats, and sugar, and need help to prevent renewed rise of Bolshevism.

Baltic States—The food may last one or two months on a much reduced scale. They sent a deputation to our Minister at Stockholm imploring food.

Serbia—The town bread ration is down to three ounces daily in the north not accessible from Saloniki. In the south, where accessible, the British are furnishing food to the civil population. We are trying to get food in from the Adriatic.

Jugoslavia—The bread ration in many towns is three or four ounces. All classes are short of fats, milk, and meat.

Vienna—Except for supplies furnished by the Italians and Swiss, their present bread ration of six ounces per diem would disappear. There is much illness from the shortage of fats, the ration being one-and-one-half ounces per week. There are no coffee, sugar, or eggs, and practically no meat.

Tyrol—The people are being fed by Swiss charity.

Poland—The peasants probably have enough to get through. The mortality in cities, particularly among children, is appalling for lack of fats, milk, meat, and bread. The situation in bread will be worse in two months.

Rumania—The bread supply for the entire people is estimated to last another thirty days. They are short of fats and milk. The last harvest was 60 per cent. a failure.

Bulgaria—The harvest was also a failure here. There are supplies available for probably two or three months.

Armenia is already starving.

Czechoslovakia—There is large suffering on account of lack of fats and milk.

They have bread for two or three months and sugar for six months.

"We have each country under investigation," added Mr. Hoover, "as to the total amounts required to barely sustain life and their resources to pay. The preliminary investigation by Dr. Alonzo Taylor and his staff in connection with allied staffs shows the total of the above areas will require about 1,400,000 tons of imported food to get through until next harvest, costing, say, $350,000,000 delivered."

EMERGENCY MEASURES

In an earlier report, Jan. 3, Mr. Hoover had thus stated the situation:

"The determination of measures necessary to relieve the liberated territories must be our first concern. These territories comprise Belgium, Northern France, Trentino, Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Poland and Finland and the Baltic States, besides Russia, and Armenia and Syria, comprising altogether populations aggregating probably 125,000,000 persons.

"In order that there should be no delay in providing food during the period of investigation and the creation of an organization by co-operation between our War Department and the Food Administration, we have dispatched to date approximately 150,000 tons of food to various ports in Europe. Some of this food is now being issued, and in addition, the steady stream of 10,000 tons per month is being maintained into Belgium and Northern France.

"In the meantime we have, in co-operation with the Allies, sent commissions into these various countries to study transportation and to endeavor to set up financial arrangements. The transportation problem is one of extreme difficulty, because of the general demoralization of railways and rolling stock all over this area. Rumania, for instance, has under 100 locomotives, and Poland has probably not over 250 locomotives. So that even after landing of foodstuffs at seaports we are in further difficulties as to inland distribution.

"In numerous places we have had to make provisions for distribution with motor trucks, as in the case of Belgium and Northern France, and we will probably need to put in motor truck services in other localities.

PROBLEM OF FINANCE

"One of the most difficult problems involved in the whole matter is that of finance. Our farmers and manufacturers must be paid for their food supplies. Those liberated regions which have been engaged in war against Germany, such as Belgium, Serbia, and Rumania, have been given from time to time loans by the United States Government with which to purchase food, and as a military measure it is vitally necessary that these populations should be continuously fed in order to save the necessity of further military action by the United States. These loans are being continued in some special instances, and, in fact, amount to selling our food on credit.

"On the other hand, large areas exist, such as liberated Poland and some of the former States, where our Governments are unable, under present legislation, to make any loans. Furthermore, in some of these areas the Governments have so disintegrated that it is difficult to set up any financial circle for lack of Government. These people are all looking with hope to the United States for salvation from starvation. It is a matter beyond private charity; yet, if they are to be saved, and if there is any hope of their building up for themselves freedom and stability of government, it becomes either a matter of practical charity or long-time credits from the United States.

"At the present moment we are in the extremely difficult position of having foodstuffs in the neighborhood of certain peoples who rely on America, but we are unable to deliver this food, except such as we can allow from the $5,000,000 placed at our disposal from present private funds and such other food as the Allies can advance from their own stocks."

On the same day Mr. Hoover told an Associated Press representative at Paris that food worth $1,500,000,000 must be imported into Europe to meet actual needs between Jan. 1 and July 1, and that many of the liberated communities

had not enough money to pay for the food needed to keep them from starving. "The financing of the project," he said, "is a stupendous task, and most of the necessary food must come from the United States."

Acting on Mr. Hoover's presentation of facts President Wilson on Jan. 4 cabled an appeal to the United States Congress—through the Secretary of the Treasury—for an immediate appropriation of $100,000,000 for use in supplying food to destitute people outside of Germany during the current Winter, as "a remedy for starvation and absolute anarchy." Meanwhile special commissions named by Mr. Hoover in co-operation with the allied Governments were at work appraising the situation at Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Warsaw, and various central points in the Balkan region, as well as in such parts of the new Baltic States as were accessible.

DEVASTATION IN BELGIUM

Assisted by William B. Poland, European Director of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, Mr. Hoover first made a survey of the physical damage done in Belgium by the Germans, and on Dec. 24 sent a report to Washington. He said that while the enemy had destroyed a zone twenty miles wide before the evacuation, little damage had been done to the transportation systems after the armistice was signed, so that the movement of food in Belgium was not as difficult as might have been expected. He continued:

"The Germans in their final retreat removed but little of the relief supplies. Their action toward the native harvests and cattle in their withdrawal differs widely in different areas. They started to take all remaining hogs from the western part of Belgium, except those hidden by the peasants in underground caves. After the armistice, however, and with the demoralization of the German Army in its final retreat many of these beasts were abandoned or sold by soldiers to the peasants further back, and in practical results there appears to have been no widespread cattle stealing in the retreat, although during the four years of occupation there has been a great diminution—probably more than one-half—in the total number of cattle and hogs. It can be said almost literally that horses have disappeared out of Belgium, there probably not being 15 per cent. of the original animals left.

"Investigation proves that industrial and residential destruction in Belgium varies greatly in different localities, and with different industries. For instance, out of the steel furnaces in Belgium thirty-five or forty have been deliberately destroyed by the Germans in their determination to end the Belgian steel industry. Many of the textile mills have been put out of commission, either through deliberate destruction and removal of machinery or by removal of the copper and brass parts and electric motors. Some of the textile mills of the more antiquated type of equipment apparently did not appeal to the Germans, and they can be gotten into action at an early date. The Germans seem to have focused themselves on the modern equipments.

COAL INDUSTRY SAVED

"The glass industry has been but little interfered with, and the stern promise of retribution by President Wilson seems to have saved the coal industry except for very few mines, although actual explosives and wires were laid in place for the destruction of a large number of the mines. The President's warning seems to have created a sudden change of heart.

"There are some three hundred thousand French refugees in Belgium, driven out of Northern France by the Germans. They have been cared for out of the meagre stores of the Belgians and by the Commission for Relief in Belgium. They are, however, like homing pigeons in their resolve to return to their native villages. As there is no transportation, the roads southward into France are a continuous stream of these pitiful groups of men, women, and children, pulling their carts and trudging through the cold and wind toward their destroyed homes. Everything is being done that is humanly possible, but in the present state of demoralization, with moving

armies, the necessity of using every truck and horse with which to feed the population—their plight is heartbreaking. They refuse all persuasion to wait in the crowded Belgian villages until their affairs can be organized.

"The Americans of the Relief Commission are working night and day providing shelter stations, clothing, and food for them, but like many other human migrations in Europe today, there is no solution to the suffering that must go on.

"One of the great difficulties of the Belgians lies in the enforced currency circulation imposed upon them by the Germans. This currency runs into millions of paper money and presents an extremely difficult financial problem to the Government.

"The Belgian Government is rapidly taking hold, the Belgian manufacturers are engaged everywhere in the rehabilitation of their works so far as materials are available, and the spirit of Belgium was never better than today. The Belgians are resolved to find a solution of their manifold difficulties with as little assistance as possible from the outside. They are, of course, dependent upon continued Government financial advances for the provision of imports pending German indemnity and the reconstruction of their export business."

FAMINE PRICES IN BELGIUM

The following details regarding conditions in Belgium had been cabled by Mr. Hoover on Dec. 28:

"During the German occupation there was an effective control not only of distribution by the Commission for Relief in Belgium, but also of the native food supply. With the retreat and demoralization before the re-establishment of the Belgian Government, there ensued a period when there was but little control over foodstuffs. This breaking down of the rationing control in such commodities as meats, butter, &c., has resulted on the whole in the very limited supply of such foodstuffs gravitating toward the rich through the fearful rise in prices.

"The Belgian Government has established a food administration, and these problems are being taken in hand just as rapidly as possible under the conditions. In the meantime it is possible with sufficient money to buy almost any kind of food in Belgium. For instance, meat is $2 a pound, eggs $1 each, and butter $2.50 a pound. Supplies are, of course, available to any one who can pay these prices.

"This gives an appearance to the casual observer of sufficiency of food, but the fact is that over one-half the population of Belgium today has an income under $4 a week per family, and they, of course, are not participating in these kinds of food, but are practically dependent upon the distribution of controlled imports by the Commission for Relief in Belgium.

"An examination of the population proves that the shipments of food by the Commission for Relief in Belgium during the last four years have brought this people through their ordeal without irreparable damage to the national health. There exists among certain classes undernutrition, but continued supplies of food will rapidly rectify this.

"There has been a considerable spread of tuberculosis as a result of this undernutrition, but the Belgian authorities believe that this can be stamped out without great loss provided adequate supplies of food arrive.

SAVED BY AMERICA

"The most cheering factor in the situation is the condition of the two million Belgian children who have been the object of the utmost solicitude of the whole world during the four years of occupation. Because of the supplementary meals furnished by the Relief Commission and the many children's institutions which have been largely supported by the magnificent outpouring of the world's charity these children have come through this period in a state of health perhaps even better than could be expected.

"This will be a cause of great satisfaction to the hundreds of thousands of people who have given liberally to save the child life of Belgium. Because of America's ready response to the appeal of the Relief Commission to save the future generation of Belgium we may be duly proud of this result.

"Prior to the evacuation something like 3,500,000 people were destitute, and were dependent, not only on the ration of imported commodities from the Relief Commission, but on further supplemental rations through the soup kitchens throughout Belgium. The energy of the Belgian people in getting back to work is rapidly diminishing the number of people in the soup lines, until today they probably do not exceed two million people, and it is hoped that within another month this will be diminished to not more than a million.

"It is a point of fact that there has been no loss of life by starvation among the 10,000,000 people of Belgium and Northern France. Poland and Serbia, also under German occupation, have lost one-fourth of their people. The difference was the Commission for Relief in Belgium, which has shipped to these stricken people in the last four years more than four and a quarter million tons of food, costing $600,000,000."

FRENCH OFFICIAL FIGURES

Edward de Billy, Deputy High Commissioner of the French Republic, in an address at Baltimore on Dec. 28, stated that, while France had not been "bled white," 2,500,000 of her ablest men had been killed or maimed, and she had lost upward of half of her industries and shipping through the war. Though France had regained Alsace and Lorraine, even this was outweighed by the losses.

Resorting to figures, he declared that 26,000 factories in the French districts occupied by the Germans were destroyed or stripped of their machinery; that almost 12,000,000 head of cattle were lost by France during the war; that thousands of miles of farm land, devastated by shells, was made unfit for cultivation; that the net loss in ship tonnage, through sinkings and enforced curtailment in production, was 670,000 tons, and that the money cost of the conflict, in appropriations and public debt, aggregated 158,000,000,000 francs, or $31,600,000,000.

"Our army had to stand," he said, "the first rush of the invasion, while the other armies were being prepared. And, however wonderful was the effort of the British, some months later, and afterward that of the American Army, the front held by the French has never been less than two-thirds of the total line from the North Sea to the Swiss border. Thus our losses were greater than those of any other army. A part of our country has been invaded, its population treated as slaves, their houses looted, their factories destroyed; while on the fighting line the soil of France has been plowed so deep by shells that no agriculture is possible. Some sentimental people have been lamenting over France as bled white. Nonsense! France is not bled white. She has men filled with renewed and splendid energy. But here she stands, facing the problem of recuperating her place on the economic markets of the world, with a part of her industrial and agricultural power destroyed, and with her men killed and maimed to a number that exceeds imagination. May I give you some figures on these subjects?

1,400,000 MEN KILLED

"Besides 1,400,000 of our young men who were killed or died of wounds or illness in this war, we have a great number whose physical ability has been seriously impaired. Add to these the number of our prisoners who came back in such a terrible physical condition as to render them unfit for any sustained effort, and we come to a total loss, for the work to be started in France, of about 2,500,000 men, who were mostly among the youngest, ablest, and strongest, as well as the most spirited, of our people—a terrible loss for a country of less than 40,000,000 inhabitants.

"Our agriculture has perhaps suffered more heavily if possible than any other branch of our economic activity. The number of cattle, which in England increased by 4 per cent., has in France decreased by 18 per cent. The production of milk has decreased by 63 per cent. The number of sheep has decreased in France by 38 per cent. The number of pigs has decreased by 40 per cent. The soil of France is also in an impoverished condition, having been, for four years, mostly tilled by very young and elderly men, below or above the age of

military service, and by women, whose physical strength was not equal to the splendid spirit they have shown in this war."

MILLS DELIBERATELY DESTROYED

He then referred to the heavy losses through the destruction of mills and factories.

"The part of France occupied by the Germans," he said, "produced four-fifths of our woolens and included 80 per cent. of our weaving industry. During the four years of their occupation the Germans willfully and methodically destroyed all that was in their power to destroy. They not only requisitioned as at Roubaix and Tourcoing, where they commandeered stocks of wool worth 300,000,000 francs—requisition is one of the rights of war, and of that we cannot complain. But what is against all right, and against all international law and agreement, is the destruction and stealing of property; and this is what the Germans did.

"As to our cotton industry in the north, the German invasion has cost us 2,100,000 spindles and 13,200 looms, and in the east, 125,000 spindles and 6,905 looms. This robbery was not carried on in cotton and wool factories alone. Iron works, machine works also, were looted, the useful equipment, engines, rolling mills, machine tools, even structural steel, having been methodically taken away and set to work again in the iron works in Germany. Mines were flooded, the surface plants dynamited, the workmen's dwellings destroyed.

"Taxes have been raised to an unprecedented level. While in 1914 the total of our national budget was slightly above 4,000,000,000 francs, the taxes will have given in 1918, without the invaded regions, which were, as you know, by far the richest, over 9,000,000,000 francs. In 1917 the civilian population in France paid in taxes $38 per capita, as compared with $9 paid in 1916 by Americans.

"France, before the war, had a public debt of 34,000,000,000 francs. The interior debt has increased, during the war, by over 100,000,000,000, the last public loan having produced 27,000,000,000. We have received from Great Britain and the United States loans amounting to 25,000,000,000 francs.

"So that France starts on this new period of her history with a burden of public debt increased, on account of the war, by more than 125,000,000,000 francs, a figure which will certainly be further increased in order to liquidate the war expenses.

"I had to give you these figures in order to make you realize the seriousness of the situation in which France stands. We are all ready to face our problems with the utmost confidence and will to succeed, but we are aware that they are grave problems.

"First, while the whole world jumps into peace work and resumes trade, we have a part of our territory which is unable to produce. We cannot maintain our place in the markets of the world. We cannot get our own supply of coal. We are obliged to maintain restrictions in order to protect our industry while in course of rehabilitation, and as long as a normal order of things is not re-established.

"Secondly, in order to get from outside markets the raw materials and finished products we need, we depend largely upon foreign ships.

SHIPS THE BIG ITEM

"Thirdly, trade and shipping are closely connected. We have to rebuild our foreign trade, which has been stopped during the war on account of lack of tonnage and lack of industrial production.

"Fourthly, one of our best assets is our colonial empire. We have pacified and established our rule in vast countries, whose natural supplies are enormous, and whose populations are willing to work, and are loyal, as they have shown by giving us a total contribution of 918,000 men during the war, of which 680,000 were fighters, and 238,000 workmen in our war factories. With her possessions, France is actually the fourth of the great countries of the world as regards territory, the fifth as regards population. But we must develop these possessions. In order to perform that

duty, we want ships. And again, our merchant fleet has fallen to almost nothing. So, in order to fulfill her duties, France has two great objects to achieve —to rehabilitate her devastated regions and to build ships."

THE DEVASTATED ZONE

In a cablegram received in Washington on the first day of 1919 Mr. Hoover told of the wanton destruction wrought by the German armies in Northern France. He stated that the work of rehabilitation had been made so diffucult by enemy outrages that the whole region would have to remain for a time under the care of the Commission for Relief in Belgium.

"The entire industrial life of the region," he said, "has been destroyed by the Germans. There is scarcely a single factory that can be operated without a very large portion of new equipment. The coal mines are totally destroyed, and the network of railways in this region has been rendered almost hopeless of reconstruction for many months.

"The German method of destruction was to bend every single rail by exploding a hand grenade under it, rendering it useless for all time. The Grand Canal du Nord, which connects this section of France with the Belgium canal system and is the natural entrepôt for goods for Antwerp or Rotterdam, was itself practically the fighting line for months, and is so badly damaged that it will take fully a year for its complete reconstruction."

Discussing the general conditions, Mr. Hoover stated that the relief was based upon the allowance of food to the value of about 35 cents a day to the destitute, those having any resources or employment being required to pay. The whole extent of destitution was not yet known, but appeared to include fully 60 per cent. of the people. His cable added these details:

"The population of this area at the moment of the retreat was about 1,500,000, there being also about 300,000 refugees in Belgium who are returning and some 500,000 refugees in France, all of whom are anxious to return to their native soil.

"The destruction of some twenty principal towns and literally hundreds of villages renders the return of these refugees a stupendous problem. Every effort is being made to restrain them from going back until some systematic provision for shelter can be completed, but they evade all official urgings and the roads are a continuous procession of these pitiable bodies. Thousands of them reach their villages to find every vestige of shelter destroyed, and finally wander into the villages further back from the acute battle area, which are themselves already overcrowded to a heart-breaking degree."

"In order to remedy this situation to some extent the Commission for Relief in Belgium has obtained the services of 150 volunteers from the American Navy, and is taking over a large amount of second-hand barrack material from the navy and army. Those barracks are in course of erection adjacent to the destroyed villages under the superintendence of the navy volunteers."

REBUILDING THE RAILWAYS

Train service between Paris and Brussels, which had been stopped by the beginning of the war in 1914, was resumed on Sunday, Dec. 29, 1918. The task of restoring the railway lines in the direction of Berlin, however, was a much more difficult matter. Officials of the Compagnie du Nord sent the following statement to the Paris Temps on Dec. 8:

"The section of railway from Namur to Liége is restored, it is true, because it was only slightly damaged. But it is different with the sections on this side, and it will be a long time before the service can be fully restored. It is on this side of Namur and even of Charleroi that one finds the beginning of the systematic destruction adopted by the enemy and executed in such style that the re-establishment of traffic is extremely laborious. In the whole zone of their retreat—speaking only of the one line from Paris to Berlin beyond Compiègne—the Germans blew up all the bridges with vast quantities of explosives, which destroyed not only the arches and metal flooring, but the piles and abutments to their very foundations; they blew up the switches and even the tracks for dozens of kilometers at a stretch, either by putting a

bomb under every other joint, thus making every rail useless, or by tearing the rails from the ties with a sort of plow dragged by a locomotive, which put the road into such a state that nothing can be done but clear the ground completely and replace the wreckage with entirely new construction.

"While they were in the very act of negotiating the armistice, that is, up to Nov. 10, the Germans continued this work, and—still speaking only of the line from Paris to Berlin—it was in these very last days that they blew up, among other works, three of the large bridges by which the line crosses the curves of the Sambre, between the French frontier and Charleroi.

DESTROYED 1,731 BRIDGES

"This systematic destruction extended to 1,731 bridges, of which 371 exceeded ten yards in length; it included 338 railway stations, almost all the telegraph and telephone lines, waterworks, warehouses, etc. It may be said that, by means of slow mines, this destruction still continues. Recently there was an explosion in our station at Seclin that cut our road with a chasm twenty-five feet in diameter and ten feet deep. In this regard Belgium has suffered less, or at least has suffered in a much less extensive region, corresponding to the much smaller distance over which the enemy was driven back by force before the armistice.

"Thousands of French and English railway builders, thousands of employes from all over the system, are rivaling each other in eager activities to repair these damages. Thanks to their stubborn industry we have been able to carry travelers to Lille since Oct. 27, 1918, to Laon since Nov. 28, to St. Quentin since Dec. 5, and we are hoping soon to carry them as far as Douai, Valenciennes, and Cambrai. Months of work, however, are still necessary before the Nord system can offer anything resembling the complete service it furnished before the war."

George Ford, head of construction work for the Red Cross in France, after a long and careful study of the facts began a series of articles in the European edition of The New York Herald with these statements on Jan. 3:

"The devastated area in France covers approximately 6,000 square miles, in all about 2 per cent. of France, with a total population in normal times of about two million persons. This is about equal in area to Rhode Island and Connecticut.

"Along the route of the German retreat during the last four months in the Somme, the Aisne and the Oise region the devastation is complete. The area southwest of Ham, which before this time had been only partly destroyed, was wholly laid waste. Cities like Ham, Noyon, Nesle, Roye, Soissons, Dormans, and Fismes are almost completely destroyed.

"In the Marne region 258 communes are damaged, including a total of 3,500 buildings entirely destroyed and 12,000 destroyed in part. In the Meuse region 59 communes are damaged, with about 1,800 buildings completely destroyed and nearly 700 destroyed in part. In the Vosges 53 communes were damaged, with a total of 1,256 buildings completely destroyed and nearly 2,000 partially destroyed.

"In the Marne and Meuse regions nearly all the destruction occurred during the battle of the Marne along both sides of the line, where the fighting was heaviest. It began at Meux and did not really get serious until near Sezanne and the farming villages south of Chalon-sur-Marne and west of Vitry-le-François, running past Revigny, Bar-le-Duc, Verdun, and down to St. Mihiel and Commercy. The destruction by shell fire was intense. This makes a belt about 150 miles long, wherein the destroyed area is anywhere from five to ten miles wide.

"North and east of Nancy it again is very serious, almost all of it done by shell fire. In this area are included cities like Lunéville, Gerbéviller—which was systematically burned—and a part of St. Dié. Thence the line runs down to the border of Alsace, where buildings, and especially those in the town of Thann, were destroyed."

German Maltreatment of Women

Story of French Hostages

A NARRATIVE contributed by Mme. V. to the Revue des Deux Mondes of Nov. 1, 1918, reveals anew the baser side of the German character. Mme. V. was one of six women who were told to leave Laon at a moment's notice and go to Germany, "as a reprisal for the unjust retention of women of Alsace and Lorraine by the French Government." These were of all classes—the wife of the Divisional Chief of the Prefecture, an officer's wife, wives of shop people and of common laborers.

On Jan. 12, 1918, the "hostages" were taken away. They traveled in third-class carriages, without any toilet accommodations, to an unknown destination. At Lille were added about a hundred others, coming from Roubaix, Valenciennes, St. Amand, Orchies. The journey lasted seventy hours, during which they were strictly guarded, and only once were allowed to get on the railway track, and even then they were supervised by sentinels.

On their arrival at Holzminden they were received with curses and blows from the population, which had come to see them although it was in the middle of the night. They were also heavily stoned, the officers in charge of the guards doing nothing to prevent this inhumane treatment. When the luggage they were allowed to take in the van was handed over it was found to have been opened and pillaged. After a walk of two miles to the internment camp, they found the fires had been purposely put out and the windows opened by the Germans. In the camp they were packed together so closely that Mme. V. had to reach her bed by climbing over several others. Only one bucket and one jug were allowed to twenty-five people for toilet purposes. The mattresses were teeming with fleas and often with bugs, and the sanitary arrangements were primitive and indecent. "They enjoy offending our modesty as much as possible," writes Mme. V. "Every fortnight we were submitted to a douche, which we received in groups of 25."

The food was insufficient. Without the receipt of food from the French "Comité de Secours" all would have died of hunger. One woman who died of bronchitis was so thin that her "bones literally pierced her skin." Mme. V. adds:

"The day after our arrival they made us pass by entirely naked before the Germans, who examined us with curiosity, while they proceeded to inspect our shoes, underlinen, and dresses. They went so far as to look under the ribbon in our hats to see if some seditious paper were concealed there."

They took away all banknotes and coin, in exchange for which they were given paper vouchers for use within the camp. Each woman was given an identity disc to be worn ostensibly on the chest, and every one was warned that its loss meant imprisonment. At every moment these wretched women had to undergo inspections. Everything was done to vex them. When their huts were inspected they had to wait out for an hour and a half or two hours in beating rain, or under the hottest of suns, during the process. No one was allowed to write home. The husband of Mme. V. had no news of her before she actually returned. They were not allowed to speak to the members of the neutral delegations who visited them, except the last, and this was discovered to consist of Germans and not of Swiss, as they pretended to be.

The Last Battles in Italy

Lord Cavan's Official Dispatches Describing Britain's Share in the Austrian Defeat

TWO dispatches from General the Earl of Cavan, commanding the British forces in Italy, tell of the part played by these forces in crushing the Austro-Hungarian offensive of June 15, 1918, and in assisting in the great Italian victory which put Austria-Hungary out of the war. The first report, dated Sept. 14, 1918, deals with the operations from March 10 to that date. After noting the transfer of the British forces to the mountain sector between Asiago and Canove, (completed by March 29,) Lord Cavan describes the main engagement in these words:

Early on the morning of June 15, after a short but violent bombardment, in which smoke and gas were freely employed, the Austrian attack was launched. The fronts of attack extended from S. Dona di Piave to the Montello on the plains, and from Grappa to Canove in the mountains, fronts of twenty-five and eighteen miles respectively. The whole of the British sector was involved.

The British front was attacked by four Austrian divisions. It was held by the 23d Division on the right and the 48th Division on the left. On the front of the 23d Division the attack was completely repulsed. On the front of the 48th Division the enemy succeeded in occupying our front trench for a length of some 3,000 yards, and subsequently penetrated to a depth of about 1,000 yards. Here he was contained by a series of switches, which had been constructed to meet this eventuality. On the morning of June 16 the 48th Division launched a counterattack to clear the enemy from the pocket he had gained; this attack was completely successful, and the entire line was re-established by 9 A. M.

Acting with great vigor during the 16th, both divisions took advantage of the disorder in the enemy's ranks and temporarily occupied certain posts in the Asiago Plateau without much opposition. Several hundred prisoners and many machine guns and two mountain howitzers were brought back in broad daylight without interference. As soon as No Man's Land had been fully cleared of the enemy we withdrew to our original line.

The enemy suffered very heavy losses in their unsuccessful attack. In addition, we captured 1,060 prisoners, seven mountain guns, seventy-two machine guns, twenty flammenwerfer, and one trench mortar.

I wish here to place on record the prompt and generous assistance in both artillery and infantry given to me by General Monesi, commanding the 12th Italian Division. As soon as it was discovered that the enemy had penetrated the front of the 48th Division General Monesi placed all his available reserves at my disposal, and thus appreciably improved the situation.

Elsewhere the enemy had made progress at a number of points, but in no single instance up to his expectations. Everywhere he found himself faced with the most determined resistance. The Italian High Command had ample reserves available and handled the situation with coolness and decision. Steps were at once taken to deprive the enemy of the gains which he had made.

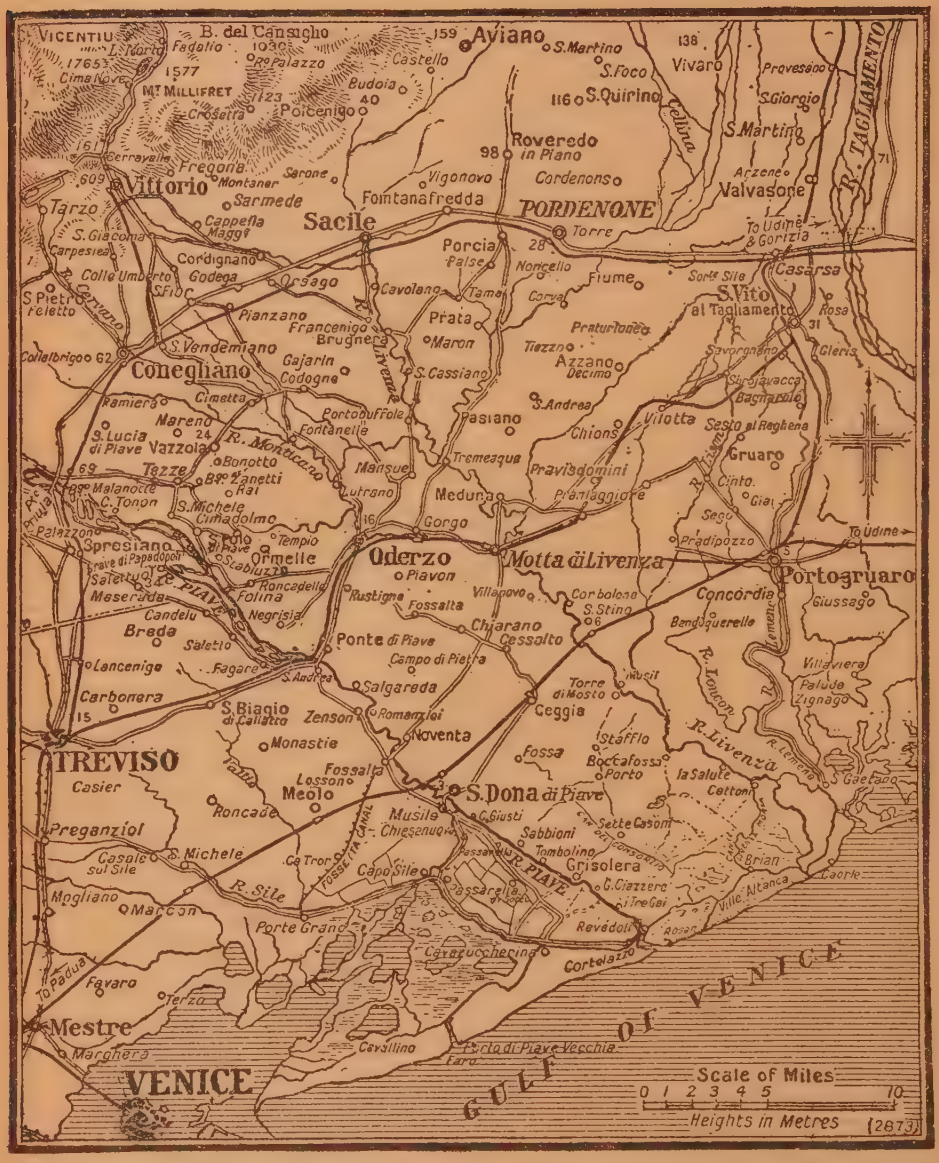
Torrential rains brought the Piave down in flood and added to the embarrassments of the enemy. Many of his bridges were washed away, and those which remained were constantly bombed by British and Italian aviators. By means of a succession of vigorous counterattacks the enemy was gradually pressed back again both on the Piave and the mountain fronts. As a result, not only was the original front line entirely re-established, but that portion of the right bank of the Piave between the Piave and the Sile Rivers which had been in Austrian hands since November, 1917, was cleared of the enemy.

Captured orders and documents proved beyond doubt that the enemy's plans were extremely ambitious, and aimed in fact at the final defeat of the allied forces in Italy. The result was a complete and disastrous defeat for Austria.

THE FINAL CAMPAIGN

Lord Cavan's later dispatch, dated Nov. 15, 1918, covers the operations of the British forces in Italy from Sept. 15 to the final defeat of the Austrian Army and the armistice of Nov. 4. The Earl of Cavan was at that time commander of the 10th Italian Army, which included two Italian corps as well as the British divisions under his direction. He describes the organization and plan of the final offensive as follows:

On Oct. 6 I went to Comando Supremo at General Diaz's request. General Diaz at this interview offered me the command of a mixed



SCENE OF ITALY'S VICTORY AND THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN DEBACLE

Italian-British Army with the view of undertaking offensive operations at an early date. I expressed my high appreciation of the honor conferred on me, and the pleasure it would give me to accept this new command.

General Diaz impressed on me the vital importance of secrecy. In order to make as little apparent change as possible, he suggested that the 48th Division should remain in position on the Asiago Plateau and pass temporarily under the command of General Pennella, commanding the 12th Italian Corps. To this I agreed, with the stipulation that the 48th Division should rejoin my command at the earliest opportunity.

On Oct. 13 General Diaz held a conference of army commanders at Comando Supremo, at which he explained his plans for the forthcoming offensive. The general plan for the main attack was to advance across the Piave with the Tenth, Eighth, and Twelfth Italian Armies—to drive a wedge between the Fifth and Sixth Austrian Armies—forcing the Fifth Army eastward and threatening the communications of the Sixth Army running through the Valmarino Valley. The Fourth

Army was simultaneously to take the offensive in the Grappa sector.

The task allotted to the Tenth Army was to reach the Livenza between Portobuffole and Sacile, and thus protect the flank of the Eighth and Twelfth Armies in their move northward. The co-ordination of the attacks of the Tenth, Eighth, and Twelfth Armies was intrusted to General Caviglia, the commander of the Eighth Italian Army.

On Oct. 11 the headquarters of the Tenth Army, the army which had been placed under my command, were established near Treviso. The Tenth Army, in the first instance, was to consist of the 11th Italian and 14th British Corps. The 11th Italian Corps was already holding a sector on the Piave extending from Ponte di Piave to Palazzon. The 14th British Corps was concentrated in the Treviso area on the 16th of October.

The problem that faced the Tenth Army was not an easy one. The breadth of the Piave on the front of attack was approximately one and a half miles, and consisted of numerous channels dotted with islands. The main island was the Grave di Papadopoli, which was some three miles long by one mile broad. The current varied according to the channels. In the main channel it ran at a rate exceeding ten miles an hour in time of flood, and never dropped below three and a half miles an hour at Summer level. The enemy held the Grave di Papadopoli as an advanced post.

On Oct. 21 the 14th British Corps took over the northern portion of the 11th Italian Corps front from Sallotuol to Palazzon. Orders were issued that all troops visible to the enemy should wear Italian uniform, and that no British gun should fire a single shot previous to the general bombardment. By these means it was hoped to conceal the presence of British troops from the Austrians.

CROSSING THE PIAVE

The Piave River was in full flood, adding to Lord Cavan's anxieties regarding bridging requirements. At the suggestion of Lieut. Gen. Babington he decided to occupy the island of Grave di Papadopoli previous to the general advance, and on the night of Oct. 25-26 an artillery battalion and a battalion of Fusiliers crossed the main channel in small boats, surprised the Austrian garrison, and occupied the northern half of the island. On the night of the 25th-26th the conquest of the island was completed by the combined movement of the 7th British Division from the north and the 37th Italian Division from the south. This put the main channel of the Piave behind the allied forces and enabled them to begin their bridge building with no interference except for shellfire. Lor Cavan continues:

At 11:30 on the night of Oct. 26 the bom bardment of the hostile positions opene along the whole front. The fact that n single British gun had opened previous t this hour deserves special mention. Bot heavy and field artillery were registered b the 6th Field Survey Company, R. E., an the fact that the bombardment and the sub sequent barrage were excellent in every wa reflects the greatest credit on all ranks o this company.

At 6:45 A. M. on Oct. 27 the attack of th Tenth Army against the enemy defenses eas of the Piave opened. On the right the 11t Italian Corps, under General Paolini, attacke with the 23d Bersagliere Division under Gen eral Fara on its right, and the 37th Italia Division under General Castagnola on it left.

On the left the 14th British Corps attacke with the 7th British Division, under Majo Gen. T. H. Shoubridge, C. B., C. M. G., D S. O., on its right and the 23d British Divi sion, under Major Gen. H. F. Thuillier, C. B. C. M. G., on its left.

The enemy offered considerable resistanc in his front line, but the defenders were overwhelmed after a hard fight, and the ad vance was pushed forward by all units with the utmost determination. I would espe cially commend the action of the 22d Bat talion Manchester Regiment and the 11th Battalion Northumberland Fusiliers in this assault. Unfortunately we lost a number of gallant men by drowning, the difficulty of keeping a footing in a strong current being very great when loaded with rifle and am munition.

By the night of Oct. 27 a large bridgehead had been gained and firmly held, and Sta biuzzo, S. Polo di Piave, Borgo Zanetti, Tezze, Borgo Malanotte, C. Tonon were all in our hands.

The bridging of the Piave was proceeding rapidly, though much interfered with by hos tile airmen. The strength of the current was such that if a break occurred there was a great danger of the whole structure being washed away. Both bridges were frequently broken.

On the front of the Eighth Italian Army, but at an interval of ten kilometers to our left, a landing had also been effected, but difficulties in throwing bridges had been en countered, especially at the point of junction with my army. Comando Supremo therefore allotted me the 18th Corps, under the com mand of General Basso, with a view to pass ing it across by our bridges and attacking northward, and so clearing the front of the Eighth Army.

During the night of Oct. 27-28 portions of the 56th Italian Division under the command of General Vigliani, and the 33d Italian Di vision, under the command of General Sanna, both of the 18th Corps, crossed the Piave by

various bridges in the 14th Corps area, and took over the front from Borgo Malanotte to C. Tonon.

At 9 A. M. on Oct. 28 the attack was renewed. During the night of the 27th-28th many of the bridges had been broken, and as a result the 18th Italian Corps had been unable to deploy all the troops required. General Basso, with soldierly instinct, did not hesitate to continue the advance, which was resumed with splendid dash. By dark the Tenth Army had reached the line Roncadelle-Ormele-Tempio-Rai-C. Bonotto-C, Milanese-S. Lucia di Piave-Ponte-Priula. Patrols had been pushed in advance of this line toward and up to the River Monticano.

ENEMY'S GRIP LOOSENED

The success of these operations at once brought about the desired effect. The enemy's hold of the high ground about Susegana weakened, and the passage of the right of the Eighth Army about Nervesa was accomplished during the night of Oct. 28-29. Having accomplished the rôle assigned to it, the 18th Italian Corps reverted to the Eighth Army on the morning of Oct. 29.

On the morning of Oct. 29 the attack was again renewed, and during the day the advance was carried up to the River Monticano from the neighborhood of Fontanelle to Ramiera. The 14th Corps Mounted Troops, under Lieut. Col. Sir C. B. Lowther, D. S. O., Bart., acting vigorously in advance of the infantry, secured the bridge over the Monticano between Vazzola and Cimetta intact, although it had been prepared for demolition. This resolute action undoubtedly saved us many hours of delay in the pursuit. By this date the enemy's defense showed manifest signs of weakening, and numerous fires in the rear of his lines suggested that a far-reaching withdrawal was contemplated. On Oct. 29 the 23d Bersagliere Division passed to the Third Army, with a view to clearing the front of that army by an attack southward. Its place in the 11th Italian Corps, was taken by the 10th Italian Division under General Gagliani. The 31st Italian Division, which included the 332d American Regiment, under General de Angelis, had meanwhile joined the 14th British Corps.

The enemy had rapidly occupied the line of the River Monticano, and on this line he offered his last serious resistance. During the evening of Oct. 29 and the morning of Oct. 30 passages were forced, and the enemy skillfully manoeuvred out of the remainder of his defenses, chiefly by very gallant work on the part of the 8th Battalion Yorkshire Regiment.

AUSTRIANS IN FLIGHT

From this moment the defeat became a rout. By the evening of Oct. 30 the Livenza was reached, at Francenigo and Sacile. On Oct. 31 this river was reached and crossed between Motta di Livenza and Sacile. On this date the 18th Italian Corps was again placed under the command of the Tenth Army.

The advance had on the 30th already caused the enemy to weaken on the front of the Third Army, and crossings of the Lower Piave were effected at a number of points on this date. On the 31st the Third Army was advancing rapidly to the Livenza. Nov. 1 was mainly devoted to bridging the Livenza, the pursuit of the enemy being intrusted to the Italian Cavalry Corps.

On Nov. 2 the advance was resumed, and on that date the Tenth Army reached the line Villotto-Praturlone-River Meduna (east of Pordenone)-S. Quirino-Aviano.

On Nov. 3 the Tagliamento was reached from S. Vito, to the north of Spilimbergo, a little opposition being met with. On Nov. 4 the 332d American Regiment had their baptism of fire when forcing the passage of the Tagliamento. They took over 100 prisoners and suffered a few casualties when attacking the enemy rearguards, an operation which they carried out with the same dash as has always been shown by American troops.

At 3 P. M. on Nov. 4, when the armistice came into effect, the line of the Tenth Army was Basagliapenta-Meretto di Tomba-Coseano-S. Daniele-Pinzano.

It is difficult to say with certainty the number of prisoners captured by the Tenth Army, as, after Nov. 1, the cavalry passed back many prisoners through our cages, which had already proved inadequate to hold such vast numbers. The share of the 14th British Corps amounted to over 28,000 prisoners and 219 guns.

ON THE PLATEAU

Meanwhile, as stated above, the 18th Division, under Major Gen. Sir H. B. Walker, K. C. B., D. S. O., had remained on the Asiago Plateau, forming part of the Sixth Italian Army. Successful raids were carried out on Oct. 4, 11, and 23, which resulted in the capture of 445 prisoners and 12 machine guns. A further raid carried out on the night of Oct. 29-30 found the trenches facing Ave unoccupied. This pointed to a withdrawal in the mountains, and on Oct. 30 patrols pushed beyond Asiago found the enemy rearguards in position on the line M. Catz-Bosco-Camporovere. At 5:45 A. M. on Nov. 1 an attack was launched against this line. M. Catz was captured by the Royal Berkshire Regiment by 6:30 A. M., but no progress could be made on M. Interrotto.

On the morning of Nov. 2 the success gained on M. Catz by the 145th Infantry Brigade was wisely exploited. M. Mosciagh was in the hands of the 48th Division by 7:30 A. M., and the Interrotto position thus outflanked. The advance then became more rapid, and by dark the advanced guards had reached Vezzena, and thus set foot on Austrian soil. This division was therefore the first British

division to enter enemy territory on the western front. On the morning of Nov. 3 the advance was again resumed, and by dark both Caldonazzo and Levico had been occupied. At 3 P. M. on Nov. 4, when the armistice came into force, the leading troops were on the line Miola-eastern outskirts of Trent.

The captures in prisoners and guns made by the 48th Division cannot be accurately ascertained; they amounted to at least 20,000 prisoners and 500 guns. Included among the prisoners were the commander of the 3d Corps and three divisional commanders.

It must be remembered that this division was attacking very formidable mountain positions with only a fifth part of the artillery that would have been at its disposal had the initial attack started on the Altipiano. Its performance, therefore, in driving in the enemy's rearguards so resolutely, while climbing up to heights of 5,000 feet, is all the more praiseworthy. * * *

During the battle I was in constant touch with his Excellency General Caviglia, under whose general direction my army was operating. He was always most kind and prompt in assistance and advice, and I owe him very warm thanks for his generous encouragement.

The action of the 11th and 18th Italian Corps has been only briefly referred to, but they bore a very noble and conspicuous part in the victory. My cordial thanks are due to their commanders for their most loyal cooperation.

My thanks are also due to his Royal Highness the Duke of Aosta and the staff of the Third Army. The 11th Italian Corps had previously formed part of the Third Army. Careful and detailed arrangements for an attack had long been made, and owing to the advanced state of these preparations little in this direction remained for me to do.

General Lord Cavan ends his dispatch with praise for the various services under his command.

Fixing Germany's New Frontiers

A Survey of the Problems of Nationality That Must Be Solved by the Peace Congress

SUBJECT to two qualifications concerning freedom of the seas and the meaning of "restoration," the allied Governments have "declared "their willingness to make peace with "the Government of Germany on the "terms laid down in President Wilson's "address to Congress in January, 1918, "and the principles of settlement enunci-"ated in his subsequent addresses." That pledge was made before the armistice with Germany, and it distinguishes that armistice from those for which Bulgaria, Turkey, and Austria-Hungary sued unconditionally. There has been no indication, however, that the Allies hold to this distinction; it is their purpose to conclude a "world peace" on the larger principles enunciated by President Wilson.

From this viewpoint a correspondent of The London Times, formerly stationed in Berlin, made an illuminating analysis (Dec. 18, 1918) of the German territorial problems confronting the Peace Congress at Versailles. He pointed out that Germany would have to face the complete demolition of the Bismarckian system, and that the test of her sincerity would be avoidance of attempts to save portions of that system. The test of the Allies' sincerity, on the other hand, would be avoidance of attempts to destroy German national unity. The real obscurity of the future of Germany, he added, lies in the obscurity of the future of Russia, the greatest secret of the next century.

To all appearances, says this observer, we have witnessed the end of the system of 1864-1914. The new Germany can control neither Slavs nor Italians, nor Turks, nor any Balkan people; she is losing her French (1871) and Danish (1864) annexations; she has lost all her hold on Belgium and Luxemburg, and finds her relations with Holland fundamentally changed; she has come to the end of her great naval adventure, (1884-1899,) of her territorial establishment in the Far East, (1897,) and of the fiscal domination of Europe by tariff and commercial treaty founded upon the Peace of Frankfurt (1871) and built up by the policy of 1879.

The main territorial questions which

directly concern Germany are four—the French frontier, the Polish frontier, the Danish frontier, and the future of German Austria. The Belgian Government has also indicated pretty plainly that it will claim certain small frontier rectifications in the neighborhood of Malmédy.

There are two other western questions which concern Germany very closely—

MAP OF ALSACE-LORRAINE SHOWING OLD BOUNDARIES

Luxemburg and the control of the mouth of the Scheldt, involving access to Antwerp. There should be no real difficulty in putting an end to the still persistent German efforts to poison relations between Belgium and Holland as regards either the Scheldt, where it is unlikely that any cession of Dutch territory will be necessary, or as regards Limburg. As for the question of Luxemburg, it is clear that the German invasion and occupation have smashed to atoms the artificial arrangements which existed, to the sole advantage of Germany, before the war. To say nothing of the German dynasty, Luxemburg must be liberated from the unarmed "neutrality" of 1867, from the enforced membership of the German Customs Union, and from the railway control which Prussia seized in 1871; a natural adjustment would be the reunion of Luxemburg with Belgium.

There can now be no serious doubt that the "righting of the wrong done to "France in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-"Lorraine" will mean at least the restitution of the whole of Alsace and Lorraine as then annexed, whether or not the Peace Conference concerns itself with the future of the German population. But it cannot be taken for granted that the frontier of 1815-1871 will be regarded as definitive.

As indicated on the accompanying map, the First Peace of Paris (May 30, 1814) generally confirmed the French frontiers as they had stood in 1792, but, in return for the renunciation of any further French pretensions, advanced the northern frontier beyond Saarbrücken and Landau. But after the Hundred Days—Napoleon's interruption of the Congress of Vienna—the Second Peace of Paris transferred the fortresses of Landau and Saarbrücken, and also the fortress of Saarlouis, from France to Germany. Whatever may be the strategic importance of Landau, the Saar district has acquired an enormous value through the exploitation of its coalfields. In no direction have the Germans displayed more greed during the war than in their hope of annexing the whole of French Lorraine with its wealth of iron ores; their authoritative literature on the subject is stupendous. Little wonder if, in addition to the great mining deposits between Metz and Luxemburg, which were hardly known in 1871, they are now threatened with the loss of the Saar coal. The question is closely connected with the whole problem of the German indemnity. A somewhat similar issue may well arise in regard to the Silesian coalfields and the Polish frontier.

THE DANISH FRONTIER

Since it is the fundamental object of the Peace Conference to establish national States as the necessary foundation of a League of Nations, it will be necessary to face squarely the problem of national minorities, since no mere redrawing of frontiers can create entirely

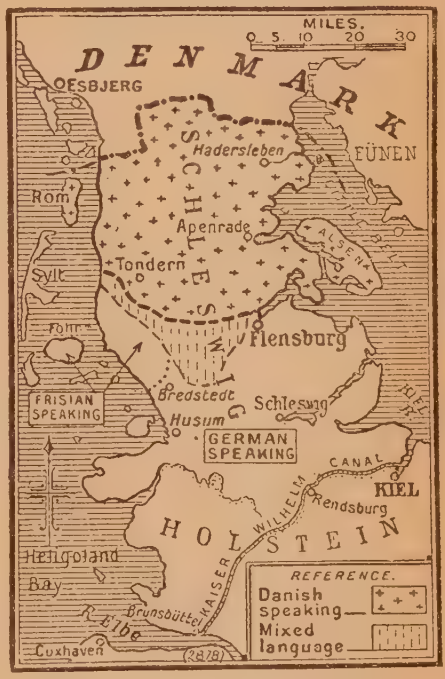
homogeneous, or naturally and historically cohesive, State units. It seems extremely probable that, in the end, there will prove to be no real solution without a certain measure of compulsory migration, at least as a last resort in cases where "option," or the determination of nationality by free choice, promises no final settlement.

As regards German minorities, the Polish and Bohemian problems are the most difficult; the Danish problem is the least difficult. Palmerston said that only three persons had ever understood the Schleswig-Holstein question—the Prince Consort, who was dead, a German Professor, who was in a lunatic asylum, and himself, who had forgotten the facts. But the delegations at Paris need not attempt to master the subject, for a Schleswig-Holstein question no longer exists. The method of Bismarck's annexation of Holstein and Lauenburg—to Prussia, not to Germany—was monstrous, and the use made of Kiel was aggressive. But Holstein and Lauenburg are purely German, and it is now as clear as may be that Denmark desires nothing but the redemption of the Danish parts of Schleswig, and that a line of nationality and sympathy, which would also be a practical frontier, can be drawn without any great difficulty. The future of the Kiel Canal is a problem entirely separate from any problem of nationality.

Schleswig has a population of about 430,000, of whom 160,000 or 170,000 are Danes, and all but some 15,000 of the Danes live north of the line drawn on the map from west of Tondern to north of Flensburg. That line forms a natural boundary, and its acceptance by Denmark would avoid the inclusion of Frisia. A natural frontier of Central Schleswig would run approximately from Flensburg to the coast north of Husum.

INDEPENDENT POLAND

So far as can be judged from the maze of contradictory—and often deliberately falsified — statistics, about 3,500,000 Poles have to be liberated from German rule. A glance at the map shows their scattered distribution. To fix a practical frontier is difficult—though the obstacles raised by the Germans are economic rather than racial—without including 1,000,000 or more Germans in Poland. But still more serious is the problem of giving Poland the necessary "free and secure access to the sea." That access



MAP SHOWING PORTION OF SCHLESWIG THAT DEMANDS SEPARATION FROM GERMANY

must be down the Vistula. But Danzig, at the mouth of the Vistula, is a German town, with less than 10 per cent. of Poles among its 150,000 inhabitants, and no settlement of the problem would be permanent which would cut all territorial communication between East Prussia and West Prussia.

It is, however, useless to examine such problems except in connection with the larger problem to which President Wilson referred as follows on Jan. 22, 1917:

> So far as practicable, every great people now struggling toward a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea. Where this cannot be done by the cession of territory, it can no doubt be done by the neutralization of direct rights of way under the general guarantee which will assure the peace itself.

TERRITORY CLAIMED BY INDEPENDENT POLAND

It seems obvious that much of the coming settlement will depend upon the success or failure of the lineal descendant at Paris of the "Committee on the Navigation of Rivers" which formed part of the Congress of Vienna. Internationalization of waterways is at least as old as the League of Nations ideal. If a League of Nations is now established, it is likely to find no more fruitful field of action than in the international regulation of rivers, canals, and railways. These questions are among the most important factors that will determine the future of Germany in Europe.

GERMAN UNITY

Such are the plainest issues. But behind them lies the great question whether Germany, whose policy and its failure have led to the present attempt to reconstruct Europe on the basis of the principle of nationality, will herself emerge united. There can be no doubt about the ultimate answer if the Allies remain true to their own creed, but reactionary forces both inside and outside Germany are already showing themselves, or rather inspiring sections of opinion, which in their haste to weaken Germany legitimately, have failed to explore the true sources of Germany's illegitimate strength.

The unification of Germany might have been the most beneficent achievement of the nineteenth century. But by deliberate and calculated choice Bismarck accomplished it by "blood and iron." Why? Because he was determined to destroy German liberalism, to re-establish the whole doctrine of might

in Prussia, and to unify Germany only under Prussian domination. So he wrecked all the Liberal hopes of unity that were slowly coming to fruition in spite of the failures of 1848, deliberately defied the Prussian Parliament for a number of years, and proceeded, by three wars of his own making, to throw Austria out of Germany, and to force the rest of Germany into his Prussian mold.

We shall not undo Bismarck's work merely by restoring the non-German territory which he annexed, says The London Times writer; we shall undo it finally only if we remove every obstacle to the true unification and liberation of the German Nation which it was the life-work of Bismarck to prevent.

Could Bismarck attend the conference in Paris that would be his object still. He would encourage the belief that the inclusion of German Austria in Germany would be an intolerable increase of Germany's strength; he would encourage Czech diplomacy to insist upon the retention of the whole German population of Bohemia; he would endeavor to suggest fresh territorial ambitions to France just as he suggested them to Napoleon III. while he was preparing to destroy him, and he would make every attempt to employ the Vatican in a division of Germany, and so of Europe, on religious instead of on national lines. In fact, it is the interest of a Bismarckian Prussia to prevent at all costs a unification of the whole German people, which would leave no German territory to redeem, a Germany in which Prussia would have to find and keep her proper level. In a divided Germany Prussia would but need to bide her time, and to store up, this time as a just grievance, all evidence of the violation of the principle of nationality in the process of her disruption.

Marshal Foch to the Victorious Armies

At the time of the final allied victory and armistice Marshal Foch, Commander in Chief of the Allied Armies, issued this proclamation:

General Headquarters, Nov. 12, 1918.

Officers, Sub-Officers, Soldiers of the Allied Armies: After having resolutely arrested the enemy, you attacked him without respite for three months with tireless energy and faith. You have won the greatest battle in history and saved the most sacred cause—the liberty of the world. Well may you be proud. With immortal glory you have adorned your banners. Posterity cherishes for you its gratitude.

Last Days of the Hapsburg Dynasty

By A. BEAUMONT

During a visit to Vienna in the first week of December, 1918, Mr. Beaumont of The London Telegraph wrote the following dramatic account of how the Emperor Charles lost his throne:

PEACE came to Austria-Hungary, not in the shape of a white dove with an olive branch, but like a withering blast from some destroying angel, which swept away names once dear and things once sacred. As by a single breath were demolished old institutions that seemed built upon foundations of adamant and destined to last forever. The imperial house is no more; its Emperor and Empress, its Court, and its insignia have vanished like shadows. The monarchy, both single and dual, is extinct; the Archdukes and Archduchesses have been withdrawn from the public Courts, the Hofburgs have become common palaces, and the imperial eagles have left the public buildings. The republic has replaced all the ancient armorials by one single emblem—the red and white colors of republican, democratic, and socialistic simplicity. How strange to see the old Kaiserliche and Königliche (imperial and royal) eagles removed and their places taken by simple badges of red and white!

The first hoisting of the red and white flag in Vienna caused the only bloodshed of the revolution in a conflict at the Parliament building. The extreme Socialists wanted an all-red flag; the moderates insisted on hoisting the red and white flag, and shooting began, which ended in the loss of eight or ten lives. The new colors were thus baptized in blood, like the flags of every revolution. But here Vienna stopped and suddenly became herself again. The bloodshed went no further, and today all the soldiers and officers wear without ostentation a little red and white badge over their caps in the place where the imperial eagles used to be.

Vienna is not celebrating its revolution, Paris would celebrate it, by hanging out bunting from every balcony and window. On the contrary, the only places where the new flag is floating are the Parliament building and the Town Hall. Elsewhere people have not yet welcomed the revolution with sufficient enthusiasm to hang out a flag. In the Parliament House officials move about in simple democratic vesture, where once only gorgeous uniforms, white-plumed helmets, and embroidered coats were seen. To see a Minister of State today one simply walks up to an office, hands in a card, and is received at once. It is only when one has to pay a bill that a certain aristocracy remains. There is something noble in having to pay 100 crowns (nominally nearly $20) for a lunch that formerly cost only 2 crowns, and in buying a pair of boots for 500 crowns. "Upon my word, it is flattering to my name," says a Viennese to me, "when I have to pay 2,000 crowns ($400) for a suit of clothes." This morning I saw in the shop windows simple little white blouses with a price ticket of 500 crowns. They certainly were not worth more than 50 before the war. The climax was reached when at lunch for two apples I saw myself charged 20 crowns, ($4.)

FEARS OF FAMINE

The political situation in Austria is quiet but uncertain. Government affairs are managed without ostentation or flutter by Herren Seitz, Renner, and Bauer, who constitute a republican triumvirate of excellent intentions. Only their means are limited. Regarding the maintenance of public order, they must depend first on the good-will of the Viennese themselves, and, secondly, on the cooperation of such elements of the police and military force as lend themselves good-naturedly to their task. The pro-

visioning of the inhabitants of Vienna is the most serious problem of all, and wherever one goes one hears complaints of the present want and apprehension of future famine. Pathetic appeals are made in all the papers for urgent aid from the Entente. Morning, noon, and night the editions of every Vienna paper contain columns with big headlines on the one subject uppermost in every mind. Food, food, food, is the refrain in the street and in private.

The Government looks upon this as a grave matter for its own existence. The Viennese live in a state of excited apprehension. Peace is almost worse for them than war. Shut out from the sea by the Southern Slavs, from the east by the Hungarians, on the north by the Poles and Czechs, and to the west by the Entente, German-Austria is more of a besieged land than ever. President Wilson has been their hero, but now they also invoke Lloyd George, M. Clemenceau, and Baron Sonnino to come to their aid. One million men, women, and children are put out of work by the cessation of war industries, and another million, or more, of disheartened, weary, suffering soldiers have returned to their homes and find little to do.

THE EMPEROR'S FLIGHT

Schönbrunn Castle, the last residence of the imperial family, three weeks ago was a scene of terror and excitement that can be only compared to the memorable scenes in the Tuileries in 1870, when the Empress Eugénie stood in the midst of panic-stricken courtiers and ultimately issued by a side door to seek refuge in flight under the protection of an American dentist. Equally tragic was the flight of the Austrian Emperor and Empress, with their children, to the remote castle of Eckartsau, where, in the solitude of the mountains and amid an almost primeval forest, far from any village or habitation, the imperial and royal family now live in exile.

Schönbrunn has been closed, and is buried in deathlike silence. As one wanders around the old castle one cannot help thinking of Francis Joseph, who lived and died there, and whose ghost still seems to hover over it. The gates leading to the big, broad stairs are closed, as on the day Francis Joseph died, but with this difference, that now no successor is expected. The Hapsburgs have left its halls forever. The big glass doors are closed. Soldiers with their rifles slung over their shoulders pace up and down, on the watch. They have taken the place of the Imperial Guards, and their democratic temper is evinced but too clearly by the cigarettes between their lips.

Only three weeks ago the now deserted corridors were alive and bustling with servants and courtiers. Near the old castle linger still a few old, faithful servants whose hearts are broken. They cannot realize that new times have come and the imperial family is gone forever. One hundred domestics, former guards, caretakers, and gardeners, wander about, wondering how they are going to live. Only fifty out of their numerous staff were taken by the imperial pair to Eckartsau, and out of these more than half have already been dismissed, as the refugees can no longer find provisions.

THE FINAL COLLAPSE

By an irony of fate the apartments of the young imperial pair had been entirely restored only last Spring. Charles and Zita had not yet formally taken up their quarters. Orders had been given after the death of Francis Joseph to modernize the funiture and furnishings. The traditional Schönbrunn style was ignored. The walls were covered with modern leather fittings and a dark wall-coating, which covered the ancient red, white, and gold decorations. Furniture in the English style was introduced, and every modern comfort was provided. The rooms were just finished before Charles went to Gödöllö, in Hungary, and it was after his hasty flight thence that he and his family for the first time went to settle in Schönbrunn Castle. Their occupation had hardly lasted two weeks when they again had to take flight, and this time never to return.

They were dark days that preceded this last removal. After his return from Hungary the reins of Government had completely fallen from the Emperor's hands. He daily received his

Ministers, who no longer knew whether they were Ministers or not, and none of them could advise him. The Minister of War and the Minister of Provisions under the defunct Lammasch Ministry were the last he so received. For some days delegates of the new State had come to visit him. Their power and influence imperiously demanded that he should see them. Then came the disastrous smashing up of the army at the front, and that once splendid military host of the Hapsburgs melted away. Hourly the extent and greatness of the disaster were magnified in the reports from his Generals. Count Andrassy no longer even consulted him. Everything was in confusion, and then the popular delegates first uttered the words "retirement" and "abdication." Their suggestion gradually became imperative.

Charles bore it all with remarkable outward composure. He had not created the terrible situation from which he was the principal sufferer. He spent more time with his family. He deliberately overstepped the bounds of old traditions. He extended his walks outside the limits of the castle garden. For the first time the Viennese could salute the Emperor walking unaccompanied. They did so kindly and gently, as the Viennese do; no insult or offense came from them. The Empress and her children, who likewise walked outside the boundaries, were similarly treated with respect. There was something pathetic in this last effort, as it were, of the last Hapsburg Emperor to conciliate the goodwill of his own people, over whom his authority was fast waning.

On the eve of the proclamation of a republic the Emperor realized that the end of the monarchy had come, and himself gave orders to prepare his departure for the same day, [Nov. 11, 1918.] He remained in his rooms nearly all day, and was hardly seen by the domestics. He intended to leave in quietude, but gradually it was whispered about among the household, who got into great excitement. Many of the old and faithful servants went. They gathered toward 7 o'clock in rooms near the principal door, and stood waiting in silence. Charles appeared and walked with his head somewhat bent, contrary to his custom. Zita followed with the children and the nurse. An automobile stood waiting at the foot of the stairs, the imperial family entered, and the car started away for its destination just as dusk was falling.

Hungary's Freedom Won in a Night

Details of the Successful Revolution Under the National Council, Headed by Count Michael Karolyi

FULL accounts of the almost bloodless revolution in Hungary in the last week of October, 1918, which resulted in the formal proclamation on Nov. 17 of the Hungarian Republic, appeared in the Budapest newspapers of that period. They show the origin of the power wielded by the Hungarian National Council and seem to prove the strength and popularity of Count Michael Karolyi, President of the Council and for many years recognized leader of the Hungarian Independence Party. In the Pester Lloyd of Oct. 31 the events of the previous day were summarized as follows:

"A revolutionary transformation has been completed over night in Budapest. The revolution broke out late in the evening, it rapidly and smoothly overcame all opposition during the course of the night, and by the break of day had triumphed without the shedding of blood.

"The National Council, originally a society in which the Karolyi Party—the Social Democrats and the bourgeois, radicals organically united for common action—has developed, through the peculiar course of events, into the only organized power in the State, and under its direction the popular movement constantly became more impetuous, spread

in all directions, and, finally breaking through all the barriers in its way, won the adherence of the masses and took possession of the Governmental powers.

SOLDIERS TURNED THE SCALES

"The scales were turned by the attitude of the troops of the Budapest garrison. Some days before, a Soldiers' Council had been formed by the officers and men and had joined the National Council. Nothing in the actions of this Soldiers' Council indicated that it was planning to help in bringing about a violent revolt. It only made propaganda for things that in Prague and Agram were not only tolerated by the military authorities, but were actually being done by the leading army officials themselves. In the streets its members invited officers and men to remove the rosettes from their headdress and replace them with tricolored cockades. They also induced the officers and men to gather before the meeting place of the National Council and there to swear loyalty to the National Council in groups.

"Under the direction of members of the National Council the troops occupied the Central Post Office and the Telephone Central late in the evening. The entire body of officers declared itself at one with the troops. Only a few Generals, referring to their duty, declined to join. They were arrested and turned over to the National Council.

"This was the bloodless course of the whole revolution. Early in the morning the entire capital had already placed itself under the control of the National Council. The houses were beflagged, motor cars loaded with officers and soldiers proceeded through the streets, announcing to the people the triumph of the popular movement. The officers and soldiers were loudly acclaimed by the passersby and by persons at the windows. Otherwise absolute quiet reigned during the morning hours in the limits of Budapest. The only changes from the normal appearance of the capital consisted in the fact that most of the business places remained closed, and that small groups of persons singing patriotic songs marched through the streets.

"At 10 o'clock in the morning it was already made known that Count Johann Hadik had given up the task of forming a Cabinet, and that the King had named Count Michael Karolyi as Premier.

"The appointment of Count Karolyi as Premier was hailed with the greatest enthusiasm everywhere."

THE COUNCIL'S APPEALS

In the same issue the Pester Lloyd gave an account of the measures taken by the National Council to maintain order and restrain the enthusiasm of the troops and to see that the city was supplied with food and coal, and also told in great detail how the Budapest City Council solemnly assembled under the Chairmanship of Mayor Dr. Theodor Body and proclaimed its allegiance to the National Council. Among the various appeals issued that day by the National Council were the following:

THE THANKS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL TO THE TROOPS

The Hungarian National Council expresses its patriotic thanks to all members of the Soldiers' Council and to all the officers and men who have taken part in the national movement and thus helped bring about such a brilliant victory in the struggle for freedom waged by independent Hungary. The success of our revolution, this revolution with flowers and without blood, will obligate the nation to eternal gratitude to those who have so unselfishly labored toward bringing about this new creation. We also ask the Hungarian officers to allow the unifying force of freedom, the feeling of brotherly love, to triumph in their souls and to allow the men who took part in the movement to feel the guiding principles of the National Council—Equality and Fraternity.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL TO THE SOLDIERS AND THE PEOPLE

Soldiers! Hungarian People! The time for action has come! The Hungarian soldiers, who were thrown into the jaws of death five years ago, have taken the fate of the fatherland, the salvation of our existence, into their hands. The soldiers of the Hungarian people have made a prisoner of General Emil Albert von Bakony, the garrison commander, they have occupied the main office of the city guards, the railroad stations and the telephone centrals, without spilling even one drop of precious Hungarian blood.

Let the soldiers, citizens, workers, and everybody in general follow the directions of the Hungarian National Council.

Soldiers! Adhere to the National Coun-

cil, which is striving for the salvation of the country, for the rule of the people, and for peace.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL TO THE GENDARMES

Gendarmes: Our Hungarian brethren! We wish to save Hungary, which has been thrust into deadly peril through the criminal and ignorant leadership of its rulers.

We wish to create a new Hungary, an independent Hungary, a Hungary of the working people. Therefore, the men who tremble before the rule of people because it means the end of their power turn against us with armed violence. They will send you against us. You are in existence to hunt down evildoers, not to murder those who are fighting for the salvation of the land, the rule of the people, and independence.

The Hungarian soldiers will no longer fire upon the Hungarian people, which demands its rights. The Budapest police has adhered to the people's representatives, the National Council. You gendarmes are the last support and hope of arbitrary power.

Hungarian gendarmes, do not fire upon the Hungarian people! You, too, are not the sons of magnates, but sons of the people. The people's interests are your interests, the people's sorrows your sorrows. Your brothers do not make up aristocratic society, but the Hungarian people.

Gendarmes, do not fire upon your brothers! Be the guardians of quiet and right, not the bailiffs of despotism. Be first of all Hungarians and then gendarmes. The God of nations will bless you in proportion as you heed these words!

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL TO THE HUNGARIAN FARMERS

To Hungary's Farmers: Bohemia has become an independent State. Croatia has become an independent State. Only the free and independent existence of Hungary is not yet insured, only Hungary has as yet no army at its disposal, only the Hungarian people can exercise no influence upon the guidance of its own destiny.

We wish to see the country independent! We wish to assist the Hungarian agricultural people in getting land, we wish to erect that free and happy Hungary for which the heroes of the struggle for liberty fought in 1848. Now the work of our forefathers must be completed, now the continued existence of the country must be assured. Now must all servitude and oppression be ended forever.

People of Louis Kossuth, awake! Hungary is menaced by fearful perils, help save it! Let us all unite to create an independent, free and happy Hungary. Join us, and even the gates of hell will not prevail against us.

With fraternal greetings.

STATEMENT TO THE NATION

Under the Presidency of Count Michael Karolyi, the new Hungarian Cabinet organized by the Count and formally approved by Charles, then King of Hungary, held a meeting the night of Oct. 31 and sent out this appeal to the people:

Fellow-Citizens: Glory and honor to the victorious people of Budapest! The people's revolution has triumphed. The first people's Government of Hungary has been formed and has taken over the management of the nation's affairs.

Its first and most pressing duty will be the conclusion of peace. Everything will at once be done to see that the armistice is effected within a few days and that the soldiers are able to return to their homes. We are confident that in a very short time we shall lead the people out of the torments of war, and we hope that we shall be able to preserve our territory in its entirety.

The complete political independence of Hungary is assured. A special Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs will be named.

We are free. As a free nation we stretch out a fraternal hand to the other nations that live in our fatherland.

We shall take all steps necessary to secure and organize the power which we have fought for and won. We at once restore to the nation the rights of which it has been robbed—freedom of the press, trial by jury, the right of assemblage and organization. We announce a military and civilian amnesty. We allow all interned prisoners to return to their native lands.

We shall speedily present a measure providing for universal, equal and secret suffrage and election by communities to the Chamber of Deputies and municipal and local bodies; a suffrage that includes the women. Furthermore, we shall submit a law rearranging the election districts on a just basis.

We shall care in every possible way for our returning soldiers and for unhappy victims of the war. We began work at once in the field of social legislation and protection for the workers and for the realization of a vigorous agrarian policy that will aid the great masses of the people in obtaining possession of land.

If the present Chamber of Deputies fails to accept any of the points in our program we shall dissolve it at once and appeal to the nation.

Fellow-Citizens: We are of the opinion that, although the country today, as the result of the sins of the former Governments, finds itself in the most desperate condition since the battle of Mohacs, [referring to the annihilation of the Hungarian Army by the Turks on Aug. 29, 1526,] the liberated vital forces of the

people will nevertheless bring a brighter, better, and happier future to our poor, tortured fatherland.

It depends first of all upon the population of Budapest to see that this becomes true, for the principal preliminary condition that must be brought about is the rapid restoration of law and order in the capital, and also in the province.

Fellow-Citizens! Workers! Soldiers! We have won, and have attained what we wished to attain; we have no reason now for continuing the struggle. For four and a half years we were forced to keep up the evil work of death; let us hope that now will come the creative work of life. Quiet, patience, and confidence are demanded of the people of Hungary by the first Hungarian people's Government.

MAKEUP OF THE CABINET

This appeal was signed by the following members of the Cabinet: Premier and Finance Minister, Count Michael Karolyi; Minister of the Interior, Count Theodor Batthyany; Minister of Cults and Instruction, Martin Lovaszy; Minister of War, Colonel Bela Linder; Minister of Commerce, Ernst Garami; Minister of Agriculture, Barna Buza; Minister of Food Supplies, Franz Nagy; Minister of Public Welfare, Sigmund Kunfi; Minister without portfolio, Oskar Jaszi.

Karolyi, Batthyany, Lovaszy, and Buza belong to the old 1848 Independence Party; Kunfi and Garami to the Social Democracy; Jaszi to the Radicals, while Nagy and Linder belong to no party. On Nov. 28 a dispatch from Berlin said that Count Batthyany had resigned as the result of conflicts with the Socialist members of the Cabinet.

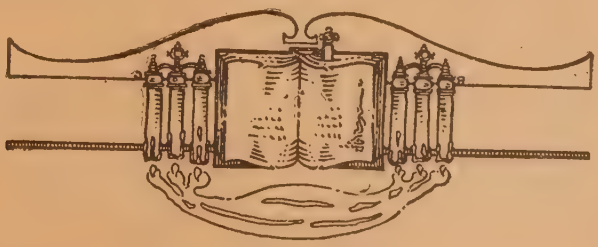
In its issue of Nov. 1 The Pester Lloyd summed up the casualties resulting from clashes between the forces of the new Government and would-be plunderers of stores and similar irresponsible elements as 20 killed and 108 wounded, which was regarded as trifling when compared with the size of the city and the tremendous change that had come so suddenly. The National Council announced that, as the officers had worked hand in hand with the men, there had been no violent encounters between them and everything was functioning smoothly.

In an effort to avoid racial and national troubles from assuming serious aspects under the new Government Minister Jaszi met with representatives of the National Council and of the Rumanians and Saxons living in Hungary on Nov. 2, and as a result the following proclamation, signed by Johann Hock, Acting President of the Hungarian National Council; Deputy Dr. Theodor Mihali, representing the Rumanian National Council, and Deputy Wilhelm Melzer, representing the Saxon Deputies, was put out:

In the midst of the bloody tempest of the world war our most serious efforts are devoted to sparing our people from further suffering and destruction, and to preventing the useless shedding of blood and the useless destruction of property, no matter what may occur in the near or distant future.

Therefore, we call upon all the sons of the Hungarian, Rumanian, and Saxon Nations to get in touch with each other and to guarantee internal peace through mutual agreement and mutual confidence, and to this end to agree to establish conditions and guarantees which are most likely to insure the joint protection of life and property during the events which may happen.

The Pester Lloyd of Nov. 3 contained an appeal addressed to the Hungarian intellectuals by about 100 prominent artists and writers urging them to support the new Government and to work for the organization of a free union of States. Practically all the Budapest newspapers welcomed the Karolyi régime with enthusiasm.



Creating the Kingdom of Jugoslavia

Prince Alexander of Serbia Its Ruler

THE movement for a union of the Southern Slavs of Austria-Hungary in an independent State first took definite form at a general convention called by the National Jugoslav Council and held on Aug. 16, 1918, at Laibach, in the Province of Kraina. The convention was attended by delegates from all the Austrian Jugoslav provinces, and also by Czech and Polish representatives. It adopted the statutes of the council and was declared a permanent part of the organization of the Jugoslav countries.

The next important step in the realization of Jugoslav aspirations was Italy's official recognition of the movement, an act noted with satisfaction by the Allies. On Sept. 9, 1918, the Italian Government addressed to its allies the following note:

> The Council of Ministers has decided to inform the allied Governments that the Italian Government considers the movement of the Jugoslav peoples for the achievement of their independence and the establishment of a free State as corresponding with the principles for which the Entente is fighting, as well as the aims of a just and lasting peace.

About a month later the National Council of Slovenes, Serbians, and Croatians elected a Central Executive Committee, which proclaimed its intention to assume the task of governing those peoples and ultimately of establishing a sovereign Jugoslav State. The committee adopted the following program:

> First—To bring about a reunion of all the Slovenes, Croatians, and Serbians on a racial basis without reference to their present political frontiers.
>
> Second—to create a sovereign State on a democratic basis.
>
> Third—To see that the nationalities represented by the council have a delegate at the Peace Conference.

About the same time King Nicholas of Montenegro declared that his country "must become a constituent part of Jugoslavia." He also expressed himself in favor of a federation of independent Jugoslav States, which should retain their rights, institutions, and religion. On Oct. 29 demonstrations for the declaration of the independence of the Jugoslav State took place at Laibach and in other cities, and the day was declared a national holiday. Simultaneously the Croatian Diet adopted unanimously the following resolution:

> The constitutional relation between the Kingdom of Dalmatia, Slovenia, Fiume on one hand, and the Kingdom of Hungary on the other, exists no longer. The ties between Croatia and Austria are also abolished. In particular, the compromise regulating the relations between Croatia and Hungary is pronounced null and void.

The statement of motives accompanying this resolution contained the following passage:

> The people of Croatia, Slovenia, and Serbia wish to have nothing in common with Austria and Hungary. They aspire to a union of all the Jugoslavs within the limits extending from Isonzo to the Vardar. They desire to constitute a free State, sovereign and independent.

FIGHTING AT FIUME

In October insurrections broke out in the Jugoslav provinces of the Dual Monarchy. In the latter part of the month Croatian and Hungarian troops clashed at Fiume, and the Croatian tricolor was hoisted on the public buildings. Four hundred persons were reported killed at Fiume. Collisions occurred also elsewhere. At the same time Jugoslav units crossed the Herzegovina frontier and joined the allied forces in Montenegro.

At the order of the Hungarian Government the Governor of Fiume, because of the small number of troops at his disposition, handed over the city to the Croatians and dissolved the Municipal Council. On Nov. 1 the world learned that under an imperial proclamation the Austro-Hungarian Navy had been handed over to the Jugoslav National Council at Agram. This proclamation, however, had merely sanctioned an ac-

complished fact. The crews of the Austrian Navy, consisting mostly of Dalmatian Jugoslavs, had revolted and turned over the fleet to the Jugoslav National Council.

Under the terms of the armistice the Austrian Navy was surrendered to an allied naval force commanded by Italians. Fiume, when abandoned by the Hungarian authorities, was occupied by a Jugoslav force estimated at 18,000. The Italian population was disarmed and a civil guard recruited from among the Slavic population of the city. Upon the conclusion of the armistice, the Italians occupied Fiume and also Cattaro. The carrying out of the allied terms caused much friction between the Jugoslav population and the Italians.

In the early part of November, at Geneva, there was held a convention of delegates representing the Serbian Government, the National Council of Agram, the bloc of Serbian opposition, and the Jugoslav Committee of London. The convention proclaimed, unanimously and amidst great enthusiasm, the establishment of a common Ministry of the State of Serbians, Croatians, and Slovenes. It also declared that political or customs frontiers existed no longer within the territory of the new State. The conference decided for the time being to maintain the Governmental and administrative organization created in the various Jugoslav provinces and countries.

ALEXANDER MADE REGENT

Shortly afterward, at the suggestion of the Provisional Government of Dalmatia, the National Council of Agram, (Zagreb,) which is the supreme authority in all the Jugoslav provinces formerly of Austrian allegiance, unanimously voted the union of all these provinces with Serbia and Montenegro, forming one State, and decided upon the immediate appointment of Crown Prince Alexander as Regent of the new State. It was also decided to summon, at Serajevo, a State Convention, consisting of all the members of the Agram Council, fifty Serbian and five Montenegrin delegates.

On Dec. 1 the Great National Assembly (Skupshtina) of Montenegro, elected on the basis of universal suffrage, adopted the following resolution:

> Taking into consideration the historical tendencies as well as political and economic interests of Montenegro, the Great Skupshtina, elected by the people of Montenegro and assembled at Podgoritza, has decided:
>
> 1. To depose the King, Nicholas Petrovich Niegush;
>
> 2. To effect the union of Montenegro with Serbia under the Karageorgevich dynasty and its entrance into the common fatherland of Serbians, Croatians, and Slovenes;
>
> 3. To elect a national committee specifically charged with the conduct of the affairs of Montenegro united with Serbia, and
>
> 4. To communicate this decision to former King Nicholas and to the Government of the Kingdom of Serbia, as well as to the Governments of the allied and neutral powers.

King Nicholas later issued a formal protest denying the power of the Skupshtina to depose him.

ADDRESS TO THE REGENT

A delegation of twenty-four members of the Jugoslav National Council at Agram went to Belgrade on Dec. 1 to present an address to the Prince Regent of Serbia. The address called for the creation of a union of the Serbians, Croatians, and Slovenes. The text was as follows:

> The National Council desires that a national representation should be established by agreement with the National Council and the popular representatives of the Kingdom of Serbia, and that the Government should be made responsible, according to modern parliamentary principles, to this representation, which would sit en permanence until the Constituent. * * * For the same reasons the former administrative and autonomous institutions would remain in vigor. In this period of transition it is in our opinion necessary to create the conditions for a definite organization of one unitary State. With this end in view, the Government should prepare the Constituent, which, according to the proposal of the National Council, would be elected on the basis of secret, universal, and proportional suffrage, and convoked at latest six months after the conclusion of peace.
>
> At this historic moment, when we appear before your Royal Highness as representatives of all the Jugoslav territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, we are profoundly grieved to observe that large portions of our national

BOUNDARIES CLAIMED BY THE NEW KINGDOM OF JUGOSLAVIA

soil are occupied by the troops of the Kingdom of Italy, which is allied with the Entente Powers, with whom we desire to live in friendly relations. But we cannot recognize any contract, not even that of London, [the Treaty of April, 1915,] by virtue of which, in violation of the principle of nationalities, we should be obliged to surrender part of our nation to other States.

We draw your Royal Highness's attention to the fact that the Italian occupation far exceeds the limits and regions provided even by the clauses of the armistice, which was concluded with the Commander in Chief of the former Austro-Hungarian Army long after these territories had been declared an independent and integral portion of the State of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Of this we will furnish proofs to the Government of your Royal Highness.

In full conscience we express our hope that your Royal Highness, with our whole nation, will endeavor to secure that the final frontiers of our State shall be drawn in conformity with our ethnographic frontiers and with the principles put forward by President Wilson and the other Entente Powers. Long live his Majesty King Peter! Long live your Royal Highness! Long live the nation of Serbs, Croats, and Slovens! Long live free and united Jugoslavia!

PRINCE ALEXANDER'S REPLY.

Prince Alexander in his reply greeted "the historic decision" of Nov. 24, by which Jugoslav unity was proclaimed at Agram, and continued:

It is only by this act that we realize finally what was begun by the best sons of our race of three religions and three names on either side of the Danube, Save, and Drina, under the reigns of my grandfather, Prince Alexander, and of Prince Michael. We thus realize what corresponds to the wishes and desires of my people, and in the name of King Peter I proclaim the unity of Serbia with the

provinces of the independent State of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, in the Unitary Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. May this great historic act be the best reward of all your efforts and of all who have shaken off the yoke of the foreigner by your bold revolution. * * *

I assure you that I and my Government and all who represent Serbia will always be guided solely by brotherly love toward all that is most sacred in the souls of those whom you represent, and in the sense of the wishes which you have just expressed—wishes which we accept in their entirety—the Government will at once take steps to realize all you have said for the period of transition until the Constituent and for the elections. Faithful to my father's example, I shall only be the King of free citizens of the State of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and I shall always remain loyal to the great constitutional, parliamentary, and democratic principles resting upon universal law. I shall therefore ask your collaboration in forming the Government which is to represent our united country, and this Government will always be in contact with you all at first, and eventually with the national representation. It will work with it and be responsible to it.

With the National Assembly and the whole nation, the Government's first duty will be to endeavor to secure respect for our nation's ethnographic frontiers. Together with you all, I have the right to hope that our great allies will form a just appreciation of our standpoint; for it corresponds to the principles which they themselves have proclaimed and for which they have shed so much blood, and I am sure that the world's hour of liberty will not be stained by placing under a fresh yoke so many of your valiant brothers. I hope also that this standpoint will be admitted by the Government of Italy, which also owes its birth to the same principles that have been so brilliantly interpreted by the pen and acts of its great sons of the last century.

I venture to say that in the respect for these principles and traditions, and in the consciousness of our friendship, the Italian people will find greater well-being and security than in the realization of the Treaty of London, which was signed without you, never recognized on our part, and drawn up in circumstances when the fall of Austria-Hungary was not foreseen.

In this work and in all other respects I hope that our people will remain united and powerful to the end. It will enter the new life, proud and worthy of the greatness and happiness that await it. I beg you to give my royal greeting to all my dear brothers throughout free and united Jugoslavia. Long live the whole people of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes! May our kingdom be ever happy and glorious!

As soon as Serbia and the Austrian Jugoslavs had reached a satisfactory agreement, a new Jugoslav Ministry was formed under the Presidency of the Serbian Premier Pashich. Its composition was as follows: Vice Premier, Dr. Anthony Koroshetz, President of the Agram Council, a Slovene; Foreign Minister, Dr. A. Trumbich, formerly President of the Jugoslav Committee in London, a Dalmatian; Minister of the Interior, Svetozar Pribichevich, a Croatian, and Minister of National Defense, General Raich, a Serbian.

According to a Paris dispatch of Jan. 5, a new all-Jugoslav Government had been formed at Belgrade by representatives of all the Jugoslav lands, and the allied and neutral Governments had been informed by the new State that the Kingdom of Serbia had become the United Serbian-Croatian-Slovene Kingdom.

DISPUTE OVER TERRITORY

Upon submitting the proposal for union, the delegation sent by the Jugoslav Council called the attention of the Serbian Crown Prince to the fact that a large part of the Jugoslav territory was occupied by Italian troops, who had gone beyond the zone of occupation set by the armistice. The delegation also protested against the London Treaty of 1915 as violating the principle of nationality. Similar protests against the Italian occupation and administration of occupied regions east of the Adriatic were made repeatedly in the succeeding weeks. A protest issued by the Agram Council was received in Washington on Dec. 13. It read in part as follows:

> On Nov. 17 Italian troops arrived and occupied Fiume, although Fiume was not included for occupation in the armistice terms. From the first moment the behavior of the Italian troops assumed a degree of hostility toward the population usual only in enemy's lands. They seized all the public buildings, dissolved the branch of the National Council, dismissed all Jugoslav local authorities, and seized all the warships and merchant ships which happened to be in the harbor, and which did not come under the terms of the armistice. All these acts are contrary to the treaty of armistice and to public law.

More than this, the Italians closed indefinitely all the Jugoslav schools, and seized the railways and telegraph, declining their use to the Jugoslavs. Starvation is on the threshold because the Italians make imports and distribution of food impossible.

In Dalmatia things are, if possible, worse. On Nov. 2 a National Council was established for Dalmatia, being subject to the Central Council at Agram. The temporary Italian occupation disregards and violates all the terms of public and private right. The Italian Governor dissolves schools en masse, the whole merchant marine in Dalmatian harbors was seized and sent to Italy, being declared Italian property on the ground of seizure during a war.

The exasperation of the Jugoslavs in all parts occupied by Italian troops has reached a state of acute danger, and if there is no quick interference by the Allies, especially by America, deplorable bloodshed will be the result.

JUGOSLAVIA'S CLAIMS

The territorial claims of the Jugoslavs were set forth in a statement issued by them on Dec. 25. They include "all "those territories where Jugoslavs live "in compact masses and where they have "formed since time immemorial an un- "disputed territorial continuity. These "territories are Serbia and Montenegro, "Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and "Slavonia, Dalmatia, Carniola, Istria, "and Trieste, Gorizia, parts of Southern "Styria, parts of Corinthia, Baoska, and "parts of Banat and Megjumurje." Regarding the disputed regions of Trieste and Istria, the statement has this to say:

Trieste and the western part of Istria have a majority of Italians, but Trieste is a component and indivisible part of the whole Jugoslav hinterland, whereas the proportion of the population in the whole of Istria shows 224,000 Jugoslavs, as against 145,516 Italians. But Italy claims besides Istria and Trieste the whole of Gorizia and the greater part of Dalmatia, where the Italian population is negligible, being 108,147, as against 767,708 Jugoslavs.

In conclusion, the note asserts that "between Italian imperialistic and Jugo- "slav national claims there cannot be "any compromise whatever. Only force "can impose upon the Jugoslavs ac- "ceptance, for the moment, of a decision "contrary to their rights. Any unjust "settlement would unavoidably result in "far-reaching future trouble."

The same day the Italian Deputies of the redeemed provinces on the Adriatic coast presented a memorandum to President Wilson. The document points out that the districts they represent have been Italian for two thousand years, and that the people of these districts participated in the wars for Italian independence and fought in the present war. No question can be raised, says the memorandum, regarding Italy's right to annex the Trentino, Trieste, and Istria. As for Fiume, it is a free city, and, therefore, free to dispose of its allegiance. The city has, however, shown already, the document adds, its determination to join Italy. The memorandum further states that Italy lays claim to less than 100 miles of the 310 miles of Dalmatian coast, and that Italy is ready to make Trieste and Fiume free ports.

The political leaders of Italy, however, are by no means unanimous regarding the Adriatic question. The absence of unanimity was emphasized by the resignation of Leonida Bissolati, Minister of Military Aid and War Pensions, which took place at the end of December. The Minister explained his step, in part, by his inability to persuade Baron Sonnino that Dalmatia should be turned over to the new Jugoslav State, and declared that in general Italy should renounce the territorial rights promised to her by the secret London Treaty of 1915.

On Jan. 4, 1919, Dr. M. R. Vesnich, the Serbian Minister to France, made the following statement:

Should the treaty secretly signed by England, France, Russia, and Italy in 1915, whereby Italy was to come into possession of the eastern coast of the Adriatic after the war, be confirmed by the coming Peace Conference, then Serbia would fight again, and fight to the finish. Serbia did not enter this war to become the vassal of any nation. She cannot agree to have Italy control the territory in question.

He further stated that Serbia counted on America's aid in putting an end to the exploitation of the Balkan peoples under secret treaties. The conflicting claims of Italy and the Jugoslavs remained one of the most urgent matters calling for adjustment at the beginning of the Peace Conference.

Events in the Czechoslovak Republic

President Masaryk in Prague

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 15, 1919.]

OCT. 1, 1918, may justly be regarded as the birthday of the republic of Czechoslovakia. It was on that day that the deputies of the Czech Parliamentary Club, jointly with the rest of their Slavic colleagues of the Vienna Reichsrat, dared to send a telegram of congratulation to the Bosnian Hungarian Premier, Count Stephen Tisza, during his visit to Serajevo. The birth certificate was issued on Oct. 19 by the Czechoslovak Provisional Government in the shape of a declaration of independence. The young Commonwealth was duly baptized on Nov. 15, four days after the last Hapsburg ruler, Charles I., through his abdication, had expiated the sins of his ancestors, from Ferdinand II. (1619-1637) to Francis Joseph I., (1848-1916.)

The new Czech State, under the leadership of President Thomas G. Masaryk and Premier Karl Kramarz, embraces the former Austrian crownlands of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and a section of the upper part of Hungary, an area more than four times as large as Belgium, making it the eighth in size among the European powers. Over 62 per cent. of Austrian taxation was borne by the Czech provinces, which, agriculturally and industrially, are numbered among the richest parts of Western Europe; 83 per cent. of the Austrian coal and 60 per cent. of the Austrian iron are mined in Bohemia; 90 per cent. of the sugar factories of the former empire of the Hapsburgs are to be found in Czechoslovakia.

The most dramatic event of the month under review was the arrival of Professor Thomas G. Masaryk at Prague on Dec. 20, 1918, to assume the duties of President of the new republic. The man who, with his family, had been an exile under sentence of death throughout the war, and who more than any other had led the movement for independence, had come back to take the highest office in the gift of the people. He arrived in what is now known as the Wilson Station at 1:15 P. M., and the artillery fired a salute of thirty rounds as the engines of his train, decorated with white and red, approached from the tunnel. A slight snow was falling, but a large crowd had waited from early morning, and they cheered wildly as the train stopped. The scene was described by a newspaper correspondent, A. R. Decker, as follows:

"From the station came Miss Alice Masaryk, accompanied by Mayor Samal. John Masaryk, who had gone from Prague to meet his father at Budweiser, got down from the train, took his sister by the hand, and led her to her father and Olga, her other sister. Then the President passed between the rows of Sokol students to the former imperial waiting room in the station, first standing with hat in hand as a regimental band played the Czechoslovak and allied hymns. The enthusiasm of the crowd was unlimited when it recognized the President, in the same style overcoat and soft hat that he had worn before the war.

"In the former imperial special train with the President were, besides his daughter and son, the Czech poet Machar, Colonel Rusak, and General Piccioni. In the station a delegation of Slovak compatriots presented bread and salt to the President, according to the old custom. In the waiting room the President was greeted by Acting President Kramarz. Both shed tears from the relaxation of the terrible strain endured for four long years when one was exiled and the other condemned to death. Mr. Kramarz addressed the French, Italian, and English high officers who were present. There were no Americans above the rank of Lieutenant. President Masaryk said to the members of the Government:

> I am too moved to speak. This is the first time in four years that I have been so deeply touched. We know how much worked against us and how many difficulties we had to overcome, but we will find a friendly way out. Dr. Kramarz said that you were impatiently waiting my coming. I also was impatiently await-

TENTATIVE BOUNDARIES OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC

ing the moment when I should come here to continue your work. How many sleepless nights I have passed during these four years.! I knew you were oppressed and how hard was your task. You are all heroic and strong with a strength which showed that you were unitedly back of your leaders, though they were exiled. My heart speaks its thanks. I promise that my efforts will continue without wavering.

"From the Wilson station the President passed through a frenzied crowd to the Parliament Building, where he took the oath of office with the simple words, 'I promise,' and joined the people in the work of constructing the Czechoslovak democracy.

"People from all the surrounding regions had flocked to the city. The girls were dressed in national costumes of all colors, and hundreds of them were on the museum steps, which looked like a tropical flower garden. The houses were trimmed with streamers of bunting from roof to ground. Lieutenant Ruditzky Voska of New York and Lieutenant T. Tordy of Washington, attached to the American mission of Mr. Hunt Cook of Philadelphia, were in the Presidential procession, and received almost as much applause as the President himself. American flags predominated in the decorations."

The first weeks of independence had brought boundary disputes on the Hungarian and Austrian borders. The Czechoslovaks alone had an effective army, and under Premier Kramarz they had taken the initiative in forcing a settlement. On Dec. 14 it was announced that Czech troops had occupied the towns of Tetschen and Bodenbach in German Bohemia, and on Dec. 21 the further occupation of Eger and Reichenberg cut off German Bohemia completely from German Austria. The reasons given for this action by Premier Kramarz were that the Czech minority in German Bohemia was living in fear of being terrorized by the German majority, that smuggling had been going on, and that the region had been about to be occupied by troops from Vienna.

The boundary dispute with Hungary, which had also led to armed clashes early in December, was settled temporarily on Dec. 27 by Colonel Vix, Chief of the Allied Military Mission, who fixed the boundary of the new State as follows: Beginning along the northern boundary of Hungary to the western Hungarian boundary to the Danube, along the Danube to Exzel, to the city of Rimaszembat, thence in a straight line to the River Ung. The permanent settlement of all boundary questions awaits the action of the Peace Congress.

The Political Situation in Poland

By E. H. LEWINSKI-CORWIN, PH. D.
[AUTHOR OF "THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF POLAND"]

WITH the collapse of the Central Powers and the dissolution of Russia in anarchy, the importance of Poland rises high on the political horizon of Europe. The Polish question ceases to be a quantité négligeable and assumes a pivotal position in the world of international politics. Poland is now the only extant strong rampart guarding civilization against the spread of Bolshevism and a union of the nefarious forces of the Muscovite and Teuton worlds. As of yore she is assuming her position as the balance wheel of Europe. "The Polish question is the key to the European vault," said Napoleon, and without the existence of a strong independent Poland a permanent peace is not feasible in Europe. The birth of this independence has been bloody and painful, and although the new State is beset with difficulties on all sides its present direction lies in the hands of honest and responsible men, who know how to grapple with them, pending the establishment of a permanent Government elected on the basis of a democratic suffrage franchise. With wise and sympathetic cooperation on the part of the allied Governments and the United States, based upon a clear understanding of the needs and social forces of the country, a peaceful and fruitful development of Poland may be anticipated.

The friends of Poland as well as the world at large, eager to see the realization of the great ideals enunciated by President Wilson, are watching the acts of the allied leaders with intense interest and bated breath. An erroneous movement on the chessboard of political values may precipitate a débâcle in Poland similar to the one which befell Russia when a lack of proper support made possible the Bolshevist pandemonium.

Although Poland's national character and her economic structure, similar to that of France and based on the conservative small peasant landowner, under normal conditions preclude the possibility of a social catastrophe, yet an ill-advised kind of interference in times of high tension like these may upset the delicate political structure that has been reared with care and devotion amid most trying conditions, and call forth an internecine civil strife with the resultant chaos and injury to the cause of peace and free democratic evolution.

POLAND IN THE WAR

A brief review of the salient features of the war history in relation to Poland may throw some light on the present day alignment of political forces in this war-tossed country, which, in spite of impediments and discouragements, exhibits a powerful integrating force such as perhaps no other nation has exhibited under similar trying circumstances.

When the war broke out the world knew very little of Poland beyond her former romantic martial glory and the horrible oppression which the people suffered under the yoke of Russia and Prussia. Few had heard of the scientific, literary, and cultural achievements of the nation, which the great nineteenth century found already in bonds, but striving still in spite of all handicaps to keep pace with the onward march of the western nations.

By reason of the fact that the Poles were under three foreign autocratic Governments, two of which were particularly ferocious in the suppression of nationality and civil liberty, under three different economic, social and educational systems, the natural differentiation into political groupings became complicated by the prevailing local conditions. Each section had its peculiar problems and its own political difficulties. Each had its Tories, its Liberals and its Radicals. The adherents of the latter two parties were forced to pursue their political aims under the most unpropitious conditions, oftentimes surreptitiously. And yet, in spite of distortion of normal public life,

the alignment of political thought in Poland has not been different from that in other countries. Only because the social and economic questions in Poland were coupled with the national problem, have the party platforms been somewhat more intricate than in countries enjoying national independence.

In Poland, as elsewhere in Europe, the clericals fought the rationalists, the conservatives balked at liberal doctrines, the socialists raved against the capitalists, the fervent advocates of national independence gave sleepless nights to the opportunistic tories, and the vociferous jingoes antagonized the various racial elements of the Polish population.

CAUSES OF STRIFE

The occasional bitterness of political strife in Poland was due to the fact that certain elements among the Poles abetted, for selfish or class reasons, the acts o fthe hostile Governments aimed at the suppression of national interests. The strife then assumed the aspect of national self-preservation. In Prussian Poland such was the fight against Polish landowners who would sell out their estates to the Prussian Colonization Commission; the acrimonious struggle of the Galician democratic elements against the ultra-conservatives among the landed gentry who stuck through thick and thin to Austria, had something of that same intensity. In the part of Poland under Russian domination all the truly patriotic elements and all the liberals and radicals were in a life and death grapple with the so-called National Democrats, (a double misnomer,) whose leaders, like Roman Dmowski and others, supported whole-heartedly the Russian autocratic Government.

It would be impossible to trace minutely within the compass of a short article the meandering course of Polish political life since the opening of the war. During the first act of the great historic drama General Pilsudski's Polish Legions were the dominant outward expression of the collective political will of Poland, directed against rapacious Russia. From the day the Russian autocracy with all its corrupting influences was swept away, Polish political policy took a sharp and decided turn in the opposite direction. Although Polish sentiment was always rabidly anti-German, it became still more intensified during the course of the war, which revealed the brutality and treachery of Germany in all their naked monstrosity.

"INDEPENDENCE" UNDER GERMANY

The relations of Poland with Germany were a chain of bitter suffering and humiliation. The manifesto of Nov. 5, 1916, creating an independent Polish State, was a mockery. The German Governor General interfered in all matters; he divested the impoverished country of all food supplies, introduced an obnoxious police control, forcibly removed to Germany hundreds of thousands of workers, and demanded the raising of an army of which he would be Commander in Chief. All these iniquities were strongly and loudly resented by the Poles, and the bulk of the legions, following the leadership of Pilsudski, refused to submit to the insulting oath of fraternity of arms with the Teuton armies, demanded by the German authorities, and were interned. Only a small opportunist minority of the Legionaries took the loathsome oath. Many months later they discovered their mistake and rectified it, but their ill-advised action only enfeebled the effect of Pilsudski's determined action against Germany.

The Polish Marshal of the Crown appointed by the occupation authorities and the Provisional Council of State from which Pilsudski was among the earliest to resign, after a stubborn struggle against the outrageous behavior of the Germans, gave way to a Regency Council of Three appointed on Sept. 12, 1917, and composed of the Archbishop of Warsaw and two conservative and wealthy landowners.

Pilsudski's open hostility to Germany and his activities in connection with the wide-ribbed secret military organization which came into existence at his behest in 1915, caused his arrest and imprisonment in a German fortress. Demostrations of a violent character took place in Warsaw and elsewhere, and the Council of State resigned.

NEW HOPE FROM AMERICA

Meanwhile the United States joined the war and all Poland at once recognized that a new, powerful, and entirely disinterested ally had come to deal a final blow to the Teuton juggernaut, and that the just principle of self-determination of nations would be enforced. Jubilation prevailed throughout the country. Even before the formal declaration of war, when on Jan. 22, 1917, President Wilson spoke in favor of a united independent Poland, immense throngs gathered before the American Consulate at Warsaw and cheered for the United States and President Wilson. Numberless societies and organizations passed resolutions, and delegations from all the political, social, commercial, scientific, and educational institutions called at the Consulate and presented addresses of thanks and appreciation.

Emboldened by President Wilson's pronouncements, the Polish representatives in the Austrian Reichsrat passed on motion of the Socialist Deputy Daszynski, a resolution demanding the inclusion into the new independent Polish State of all Polish lands with an outlet to the sea. By their demands upon and opposition to the Austrian Government the Polish liberal and radical forces contributed a great deal toward weakening the Austro-Hungarian effort in the war.

The Poles in the Russian Army, numbering 700,000 and anxious to be of utmost service to their own country and to the cause of democracy, became restive under the disintegrating tendencies which took possession of the Russian forces. They wished, moreover, to be recognized as Poles fighting for the liberation of their own country, which the Russian Revolutionary Government had pronounced free to shape its destinies in whatever way it willed. The same feeling was shared by the officers, and plans were under way to organize a large separate Polish fighting unit when, unfortunately, political strife marred the worthy effort. The National Democrats sought to make political capital of it, and immediately antagonized the liberal-minded Poles as well as the Kerensky Government, which, distrusting the adherents of Mr. Dmowski, feared that a large and well-disciplined Polish Army might, under such reactionary political leadership, be used for counter-revolutionary purposes, although assurances were given that the Polish Army would not interfere in Russian domestic concerns.

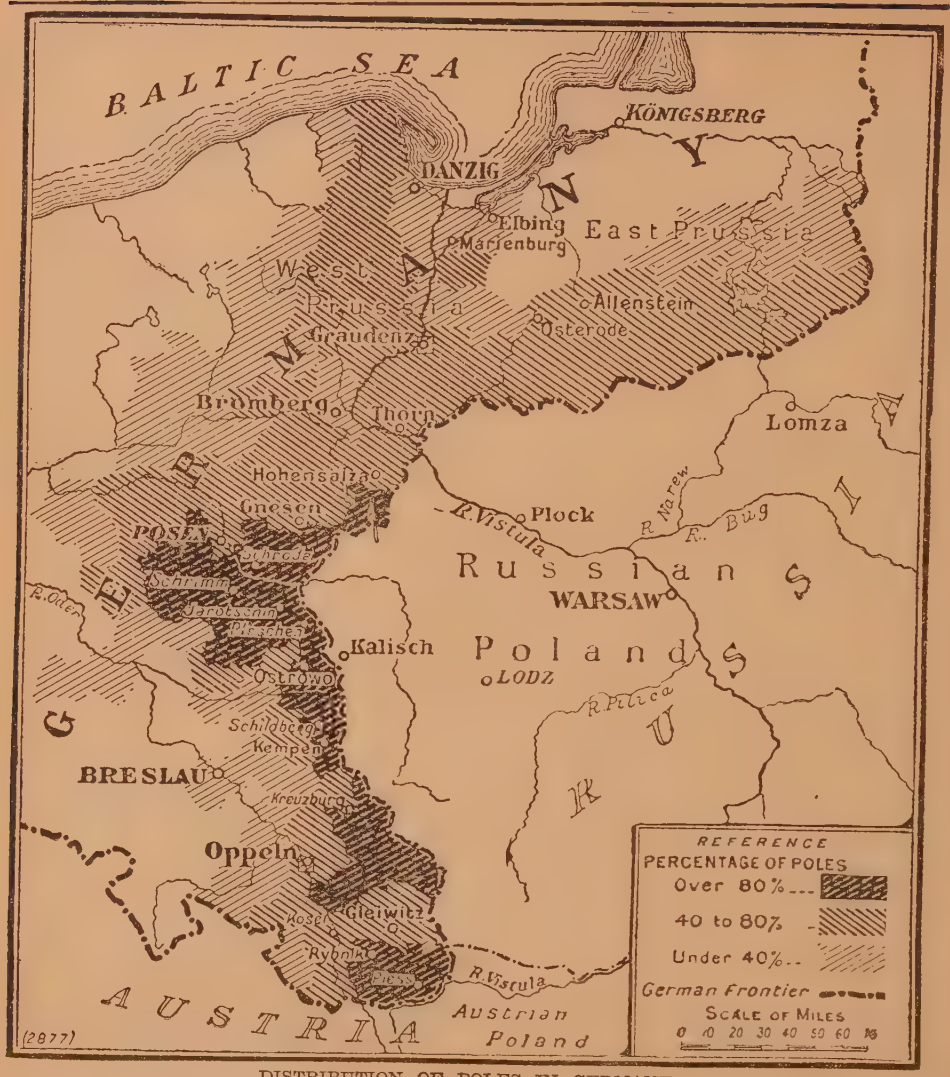
EFFECTS OF DISSENSION

As a result of this double-headed antagonism only a comparatively small part of the Polish forces was organized and put under the command of General Dowbor-Musnicki. It fought gallantly against the Germans and subsequently against the Bolsheviki, protecting many cities and towns from pillage and massacre. Prevented by the Germans from reaching Poland, it finally disbanded. Hundreds of thousands of splendid troops have thus become disorganized, scattered, and rendered useless for the cause of Poland and the world, because of the selfish ambitions of a political group.

The same striving for exclusive political control was, to a considerable extent, responsible for the failure of Mr. Paderewski and other representatives of Mr. Dmowski's Polish National Committee in Paris to raise an appreciably large Polish army in America. Here, however, conditions were different. A large number of Poles residing in America came under the provisions of the conscription law. Moreover, thousands of Poles outside of the draft requirements enlisted in recognition of America's attitude toward Poland. The Polish troops raised in America were sent to France, where the command over them was intrusted to General Joseph Haller, General Pilsudski's erstwhile companion in the work of Polish military preparedness and the commander of the "Iron Brigade" of the Polish Legions, which won its fame in the Carpathian campaigns against Russia.

THE BREST-LITOVSK TREATY

During the period intervening between the Russian revolution and the armistice of Nov. 11, 1918, a great deal of constructive political work has been accomplished in Poland in spite of the dif-



DISTRIBUTION OF POLES IN GERMANY

ficulties placed and the outrages continually perpetrated by the occupation authorities. The Brest-Litovsk treaty was one of the most flagrant violations of Polish sovereignty. A section of the Kingdom of Poland, as constituted by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, was, without the knowledge and consent of the Polish Government, ceded to Ukraine in compensation for the privileges which the Ukrainian Government was ready to accord to Germany. This wanton act of spoliation called forth such a vehement and spontaneous wave of protest that the Germans never dared to transfer the bartered Kholm district to Ukraine. On Feb. 14, 1918, the Regency Council said to the Polish Nation:

> We are excluded (from the Conference) in order that peace might be made at our cost; and in order that the desired safety in the east might be obtained at the price of our nation's living body, a section of Polish land was carved out and given to the Ukraine. * * * We have taken the oath before God to guard Poland's happiness, liberty, and strength, and today, remembering our oath, we raise our voices before God and the world, before the face of men and the judgment of history * * * in protest against the partition, refusing it our acknowledgment, branding it as an act of brute force.

The Polish Parliamentary Club over-

turned the Seydler Cabinet, and a resolution of protest was introduced in the German Parliament.

THE REGENCY COUNCIL

The Government under the Regency had the same thorny road to travel as the former State Council, and the situation was best described by the Minister of Labor, Mr. Staniszewski, who, when addressing the interned Legionaries and urging them to persevere, said: "Not only "you but the Regency Council as well as "the whole of Poland are in a prison "surrounded by barbed wires." The first Cabinet, that of Mr. Kucharzewski, resigned after the provisions of the Brest-Litovsk treaty became known, and was followed by that of Mr. Steczkowski. The Government under the Regency Council consisted of representatives of the middle-class liberal interests, known as Activists, and neither the Left, with the followers of Pilsudski, nor the parties of the Right took part in it.

Presumably because the allied Governments favored the Paris Committee, in the latter part of October, 1918, the Regency Council requested the Inter-Party Club to form a Cabinet. This club consists of the National Democrats, the Party of Real Politik, the Christian-Democrats, and the National Union, or the parties of the Right, whom alone the Paris Committee represents. Accordingly, a Ministry was formed from the most prominent men of that political constellation under the Presidency of Mr. Swiezynski, and on Oct. 22 they took an oath of allegiance to the Regency Council, whose right to represent the Polish Government they had never before recognized either at home or abroad.

The news of a reactionary Government created a storm of protest throughout the country. In the words of L'Echo Polonais of Paris, (Dec. 7, 1918,) "It "seems that the overweening majority of "the people whom this party claimed to "have had behind them disappeared "camphorlike somewhere, leaving behind "an awe-inspiring void."

The Ministry realized that its days were numbered, and in an effort to avert the impending catastrophe resolved to enlarge the Cabinet by inviting several of the leaders of the parties of the Left. When these refused to serve, the Cabinet, seeing its complete isolation, endeavored a coup d'état and issued an appeal to the people urging the establishment of a National Government and the abolition of the Regency Council. On the following day, Nov. 4, thirteen days after the formation of the new Cabinet, the Regency Council published the following peremptory rescript:

> We, the Regency Council, have decided, and do herewith decree: To dismiss the Ministry of Mr. Swiezynski in its complete composition, to suspend immediately the functions and activities of the President of the Cabinet, and to instruct the chiefs of staff of each of the several Ministries to continue the discharge of their daily duties until further notice.

The humorous part of the affair was that the rescript was countersigned by Mr. Swiezynski, the dismissed Premier. He explained that by affixing his signature to this humiliating document he gave public expression to his personal protest against the action of the majority of his Cabinet. Realizing the ignominious fiasco of their party representatives, the Inter-Party Club issued a statement repudiating the appeal of the Cabinet as having been issued without their knowledge, an act for which the parties represented in the club could not assume responsibility.

PILSUDSKI'S LEADERSHIP

Soon after this incident came the German collapse and the signing of the armistice. Pilsudski was released from German imprisonment and was immediately acclaimed the Chief of the Polish Nation. The indefatigable devotion to the cause of Poland, the ardent patriotism and the value of his deeds, make him the outstanding figure in the life of the nation. By all reports he is the idol of the people and of the army, a living incarnation of all that is beautiful and manly in the Polish character. Speaking of him editorially, THE NEW YORK TIMES of April 18, 1918, truly said:

> What John Brown was to the men who followed Lincoln, what the Americans in the Foreign Legion and the Lafayette Escadrille were to awakening American sentiment in the early years of this war, what Colonel Christodoulos, resisting the

German-Bulgarian advance to the Aegean was to Greek Liberalism, this Pilsudski and the legionaries are coming to be in Poland.

With full knowledge of the quality of his leadership and popularity, on Nov. 11, 1918, the Regency Council issued the following message to the people:

In view of the threatening dangers from within and without, and in order to unify all military action and preserve order in the country, the Regency Council intrusts military authority over and the chief command of the Polish Armies to Brig. Gen. Joseph Pilsudski.

After the National Government has been organized, the Regency Council will, in accordance with its former declaration, transfer to it the sovereign power of the State, and by countersigning the manifesto, General Pilsudski binds himself likewise to surrender to it his military powers, which are a part of the sovereignty of the State.

PILSUDSKI DICTATOR

Under the stress of events, the Regency Council, three days after clothing Pilsudski with supreme military authority, turned over to him the civil powers of the Government as well. In their last official communication the Regency Council said, under date of Nov. 14:

To General Joseph Pilsudski, the Commander in Chief of the Polish Armies:

The temporary division of the sovereign power of the State created by the decree of Nov. 11, 1918, cannot last without harm to the nascent Polish State. This power should be indivisible. In view of that and in the best interest of the country, we decree to dissolve the Regency Council, and from this moment we place in your hands, Sir, all our duties and responsibilities before the Polish Nation for the transference of them to the National Government.

(Signed) ALEXANDER KAKOWSKI,
ZDZISLAV LUBOMIRSKI,
JOSEPH OSTROWSKI.

On the same day Dictator Pilsudski issued the following statement:

Upon my return from German imprisonment I found the country in a most chaotic state in the face of exceedingly difficult tasks, for the performance of which the nation must reveal its best organizing abilities. * * * In my conversations with the representatives of almost all political parties in Poland, I found to my delight that the great majority share my opinion that the new Government should not only rest on democratic foundations, but be composed in a considerable proportion of representatives of the rural and urban masses. * * * The difficult life conditions of the people have not allowed very many among them to attain professional expertness, which is in such great demand throughout the country. Realizing this, I have requested that in the interest of the highest efficiency the President of the Government appoint to the Cabinet recognized experts without any reference to their political affiliations.

By the nature of the situation, the character of the Government, pending the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, is purely provisional and precludes the enactment of any thoroughgoing social changes, which only the Representative Assembly can undertake.

Considering the peculiar legal position of the nation, I have requested the President of the Cabinet to submit to me the plan for the creation of the provisional supreme representative authority of the Polish Republic, embracing all three parts of Poland.

This message to the people, free from the slightest taint of demagogy, reveals the broad-mindedness and the conservative, constructive statesmanship of Pilsudski. He advises the formation of a Government of experts without reference to their political adherence, and is opposed to attempting any social reforms until the nation has elected its representatives on the basis of a broad suffrage, equal for men and women.

STAMPING OUT BOLSHEVISM

One of the first acts of Pilsudski was to arrest the ringleaders of the Bolshevist movement. Efforts were exerted by him to hold all external and internal foes at bay pending the election, which was set for Jan. 26, 1919, so that the people might have an opportunity to set up a Government which would represent their interests and desires. Meanwhile conflicting and biased reports were spread abroad, many of them intended to discredit the great Polish leader, or to misrepresent the whole Polish situation. Some of the stories describing occurrences even in detail proved to be utterly untrue. Such was the report of the landing of a Polish-French army in Danzig, which never took place, in spite of the minute descriptions of the reception it was accorded and the speech which the commanding General delivered in the Town Hall of Posen; and such also were the exaggerated and unsubstantiated stories of Jewish pogroms in

Poland, and of a Polish army "marching on Berlin."

One thing, however, seems unhappily to be true, and that is the political turmoil created by the National Democrats and Mr. Paderewski, the pianist. In the words of the editorial leader of the Journal de Genève, quoted in THE NEW YORK TIMES of Jan. 9, 1919, Pilsudski's constructive efforts "are hampered by a "committee of people who for four years "have not set foot in Poland." An unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the Pilsudski Government by force was reported early in January. The army refused to join the troublemakers. The Germans on one side, the Bolsheviki threatening with an invasion on the other, and ceaseless in their pernicious efforts, and the Ukrainians destroying cities by firebrands and pressing most unwarranted claims, present enough problems calling for a united effort; wrangling over a temporary advantage under such circumstances is fought with dangers not to Poland alone. A united and firmly established Poland will safeguard the peace and stability of Europe.

Poland's Thousand Years of Evolution

By BRONISLAW D. KULAKOWSKI

WE find in the rich political literature of the Polish Nation the following definition of Poland's position among the other nations:

> While other nations are defended by water and have embattled gateways, impassable mountains, we have nothing of the kind. * * * From all sides the plains and ways to Poland are open and broad to the enemy: advances, retreats, entrances, exits; he gets victuals and prisoners where he pleases and how he pleases. In our hands only, in our breasts and throats only, is our armory—these are our mountains, our waters, these the castles, walls, and ramparts of Poland.

Thus wrote Peter Grabowski in the middle of the sixteenth century, in his book, "The Five Attributes of the Polish Republic." It is sufficient to look at the physiographic map of Poland to realize the truth of this statement.

On the north and south Poland has clearly defined frontiers. In the south mountains separate her from the Hungarian plains, mountains that rise to an elevation of 8,000 feet. The Polish plain stretches north from these mountains in graduated slopes. There are no natural barriers in this entire country to separate or create differences among its inhabitants. The character of the plain dominates. With the exception of the comparatively high altitudes of these Polish mountains, only one-half per cent. of the country rises above the altitude of 3,200 feet. The next terrace, from 3,200 feet to 640 feet, represents 19½ per cent. of the country's surface; the remaining 80 per cent. being a plain varying from sea level to 640 feet above. In the midst of this territory flows the River Vistula, one of the longest in Europe, reaching a length of 630 miles. Moreover, it is the only river in Europe that, together with its tributaries, flows along a basin in which one race dwells throughout its course. Through this plain, unprotected from the east and west, run a few preglacial valleys in the same direction, insufficiently deep to divide Poland into regions of differing character, but making the approach easier from the east and west. This approach is made still easier by numerous contacts between the tributaries of the Oder and Danube from the west, and the Dvina and Dnieper on the east flowing toward the Vistula, which lies between them.

DAWN OF POLISH HISTORY

The drama of the Polish people has been played on this broad stage, which lies between the Carpathian Mountains and the Baltic Sea, so well characterized in the preceding paragraph of our Polish writer.

Very little is known of old Polish his-

POLAND AT THE TIME OF THE DEATH OF BOLESLAV THE BRAVE, 982-1025

tory until the curtain is raised on the scene in the first half of the tenth century by the mailed hands of German robbers under the leadership of Markgraf Gero.

As far back as the time of Charles the Great, whole Slavonic tribes, occupying themselves with agriculture, unarmed and unorganized, had fallen under the sword of the German invaders. It seemed as though nothing could restrain this Drang nach Osten. The armies of the Markgraf Gero, surging suddenly from forests above the Elbe, met an organized Polish State, with the strong authority of a Prince and a numerous and permanent army, good roads, and fortified cities, such as Wyszegrod, Santok, Wloclawek and others. German power here met a foe which for ten centuries—until the present day—was to serve as a rampart against German invasion. The predominance of Germany, which reached its culminating point in the recently ended war, became possible in world politics only at the end of the eighteenth

century, when Europe betrayed Poland to the devouring appetites of absolute monarchies. Until that time Poland served as a dam against the German flow for many centuries, and many millions of Poles perished in the struggle. By an irony of fate, a special point in the armistice signed on Nov. 11, 1918, by the Allies left the German armies in Poland to establish order.

The arrival of the Germans on Polish territory during the tenth century forced the concentration of all Polish forces. Mieczyslaw, understanding well that the Germans had used the spread of Christianity as an excuse for conquest, as culture is now used, accepted Christianity together with his people. Danger united the Polish principalities, which were joined by the other Slavonic nations. The power of Mieczyslaw's heir, Boleslav the First, was already so great that the Germans recognized him as an independent King.

EARLY CULTURE

The Polish Kingdom grew in wealth. Civilization came from Rome. Already in those early days the social character of the Polish culture was clearly defined, and expressed itself in tolerance and justice, even toward foreigners of different creed and race. In 1246 the Jews had complete legal protection. The death penalty threatened those who accused the Jews of ritual murders and did not prove this by three Christian and three Jewish witnesses. This law is of particular significance if we remember that, a few years before the war, the Government of the Czar tried the Jew Beillis for ritual murder in Kiev.

In 1241 Tartar hordes appeared for the first time in Poland. Having come from the Eastern Asiatic plains, the Tartar nomads proceeded to conquer the whole of present-day Siberia, almost all the Russian tribes, and remained there for 200 years. These 200 years resulted in the mixture of Slavonic with Tartar blood, and thus prepared the ground for the future empire of the Russian Czars, greatly different from the rest of Europe in its relationship between subject and ruler.

At Lignica, in Silesia, the Polish Knights barricaded the Tartar invasion. From that moment the Tartars ceased to terrify Western Europe; they settled in the Russian and Muscovite principalities and undertook robbing expeditions against Poland, where they fired towns and captured prisoners and loot.

GERMAN ROBBER KNIGHTS

Simultaneously with a thousand wounds opened in the east, there came from the west a no less terrible opponent, threatening the very vitals of Poland. It was the Teutonic Order.

Above the lower and middle stretches of the Niemen River, along the seacoast and toward the east of the estuary of this river, there lived small but heroic tribes—Lithuanians, Prussians, Samogetians, Lithuanians proper, Letts, and Yadzwing. They were the last pagans of the white race. Their national occupation was war. They conquered the Russian tribes in the east to Moscow, in the south to the estuary of the Dnieper. On the pretext of fighting these pagans and spreading Christianity among them in 1228, the German Order of Knights of the Cross settled at the estuary of the Vistula. Ruthlessly they destroyed the Lithuanian tribes and captured the Polish seacoast, Germanizing the old Polish ports of Danzig and Stettin by force.

FIGHTING AGAINST ODDS

Having thus separated Poland from the sea, the Knights attacked her, although Christianity had been established there for three centuries. On the theory of *divide et impera*, already tried out in the struggle with the Lithuanian tribes, the Knights incited one Polish Prince against another, and thus shattered national unity attained by three centuries of struggle. Simultaneously they incited the Lithuanians to make constant attacks on Poland. The Tartars and the Lithuanians thereupon destroyed the Polish population. In place of the killed or imprisoned citizens there flowed into Poland German immigrants to take possession of the destroyed towns and villages. Following the Germans came a mass movement of the Jews.

Poland again found in the breasts and

POLAND IN THE YEAR 1341, REIGN OF CASIMIR THE GREAT

thoughts of her own people a defense against the German and Lithuanian deluge. Torn to pieces and already perishing, the Polish Kingdom was resurrected suddenly on the battlefield by the military genius of King Wladislaw Lokietek, (1305-1335.) Twice completely defeated, forced to hide in peasant clothes, he never lost his energy, and finally leading those Knights who had remained faithful to him, he gave Teuton power the first mighty blow at the bloody battle of Plowce, suppressing the uprising of the German immigrants in Cracow, and leaving to his son Casimir a reunited and powerful Poland.

The constructive character of Polish civilization, proper to agricultural peoples, was the logical result of constant struggle against the poverty of Polish soil. The villages and the towns changed quickly under the new conditions. The German immigrants rapidly and definitely became Polish. Instead of a wooden plow, the iron plow became common.

A true revolution in material economy was ushered in by the introduction of the three-field system

in agriculture, which gives one-third of the soil under cultivation the opportunity to lie fallow. Instead of the archaic relationship between tenant and landlord, based on the system of tax in kind, there came the money rent. New conditions demand new laws. In 1347 one of the first legal codexes in Europe was passed at the Congress of Wislica, the foundation of the first agricultural "hypotheca," after that of Rome, granting the creditor rights on the real estate of the debtor.

Casimir the Great instituted complete governmental order, including right of way on the roads to make them safe to merchants. Once again all the transit trade of Asia and Constantinople began to pass through Poland. Industries developed, and Polish linens competed with those of Flanders, while Cracow and other cities became centres of European industry in leather, shoes, gloves, and even dictated fashions. Rich burgher families married the oldest of the nobility. The Cracow burgher Wierzynek entertained in his home five rulers of Europe who had come to a Congress in Cracow.

The power of Poland under the heirs of Casimir the Great increased, owing to the first known free union of two kingdoms, Poland and Lithuania. The Knights of the Cross, realizing that they would be unable to conquer Poland if Lithuania remained unconquered, instituted a policy of complete annihilation of the latter. Here occurred the rarest of incidents in politics. Two recent mortal enemies—Poland and Lithuania—united in the first federated State, on the basis of the treaty signed by both Governments and by representatives of both nations: "Equal with equals, the free with the free."

TEUTON ORDER DEFEATED

The results of this treaty soon became apparent. In 1410 the Polish-Lithuanian armies at Grünwald (Tannenberg) dealt a blow to the Teuton Order, and 100,000 dead were left upon the battlefield. In 1466 Poland again recaptured from the Germans the coast lost one hundred years before, and the Teuton Order swore allegiance to Poland. The possession of the seacoast, including the important port of Danzig, coincided with another historic factor, which totally changed the subsequent fate of Poland: The fall of Constantinople, with the conquest of the Balkan Peninsula and the Black Sea by the Turks, stopped the trade development of Poland because the Eastern caravans could no longer travel over land, since they were attacked by the Turks. Trade took the route of the Mediterranean Sea. Polish towns began to lose their importance, whereupon the economic structure of the country changed radically. Poland became an agricultural country and provided Europe with wheat and rye during many centuries. The land owners of the Polish territory were the Polish nobility.

THE POLISH NOBILITY

One of the gravest mistakes made by most Western European and American historians is the comparison between the nobilities of Poland and Western Europe. In Western Europe the nobility were almost all owners of big estates; they were few in number and belonged to the same economic and social type. In some of the western countries, although frequently rich, they had no political freedom, and depended entirely upon the King or Prince, an absolute ruler. In Poland, however, among the nobility were wealthy men with whom only the modern American millionaires can be compared—a numerous class of land owners of medium wealth, and a great number of landless but noble proletarians.

In other words, the Polish nobility was not an economic class, but a political one. All were politically equal; all, without exception, on their twenty-first birthday had the right to vote. In the sixteenth century they formed 13 per cent. of the population and all were voters. On the other hand, in France, even after the revolution of 1848, and in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century, only 2 per cent. of the population had the right to vote. Thus already Poland in the sixteenth century was a democracy.

The burghers lost their economic importance. Although in principle they had

the right to vote they did not exercise it, whereas the peasants, although they had always had personal freedom—i. e., they were not serfs as in France, Germany, and Russia—they were deprived of the right to dispose freely of their work and property. They were placed in the position of modern Frenchwomen, who are denied the right of making agreements without the consent of their husbands. The development of the nobility and of their rights finds a parallel in the development of English parliamentarism, with the difference that in Poland this movement spread over a much greater percentage of the population than in England.

RIGHTS WRUNG FROM KINGS

The struggle of the nobility for complete sovereignty occurred on the eve of battles against the Teuton Order. The object which America obtained at the end of the eighteenth century, "no taxation without representation," the Poles had already obtained in the fourteenth century. Almost all the acts for these privileges were named after the localities where Polish armies camped on the eve of battle against the Germans. The nobility refused to fight unless the King made concessions. Thus in 1386 the King had to make awards for all damages incurred during wartime. In 1422, 1423, 1430, and 1433 the King was deprived of the right of confiscating the property of the nobility without a trial, and, even more important, the inviolability of person, only obtained by the English 200 years later, was granted by law. No free man could be arrested without trial.

In 1496 the nobility obtained important rights; the products of their own estates were exempt from export duties; the same applying to import duties on products imported for personal consumption of the nobility. Poland became a conglomeration of independent centres of economic production—these centres being the estates of the nobility. The Polish owner himself became the producer of agricultural products, and personally or through agents sold these products in Danzig. Thousands of ships came from England and France. To render communication free with Danzig the Polish nobility passed one of the first laws of nationalization, a law which declared that all communicating rivers were the property of the people and not of private owners, and that nobody had the right to collect toll.

POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY

The royal privileges were almost lost. From 1454 the King did not have the right to declare war without the consent of the Diet; according to the Constitution of 1505 it was announced that all Government measures were illegal to which free citizens had not agreed. Finally, in 1609, a law freeing all citizens from obedience to the King was passed. If the King transgressed any law, and, after receiving warning three times by the Senate, continued to insist upon the illegal measures, then automatically he was outlawed.

From the fifteenth century Poland was governed by a Diet composed of two houses, the Senate and the House of Deputies. The King was a President elected for a life term. Consistently with this, from the sixteenth century the Polish Kingdom is officially called Serenissima Respublica, (Sovereign Republic.)

Meanwhile throughout Europe at that time the power of Kings had reached its zenith. Louis XIV. of France formulated clearly and briefly the social-political character of the existing Governments, "l'Etat c'est moi." Poland was surrounded by three absolute monarchies—Russia, Austria, and Prussia, with excellent and numerous permanent armies—while Poland, like the United States until the last war, had no permanent army, excepting a few thousand cavalry guarding the frontiers. Only in the case of war could the entire nobility be called to the defense of the country.

This rich, peaceful, and undefended country offered itself as a tasty morsel to its neighbors. A concentric attack by Russia, Prussia, and Austria began against Poland.

POLAND A LIBERAL CENTRE

Since the first half of the eighteenth century there had appeared in Poland tendencies toward helping the condition of the peasants. French ideas of the

prerevolutionary epoch had penetrated the country. After the papal abolition of the Jesuit Order in 1773, the ruling of the Polish Seym established that the confiscated properties of the Jesuits were to revert to State national education. In other European countries the property of the Jesuits was taken by the rulers for their own dynastic aims, whereas in Poland there was created the Commission of Education, the first national Ministry of Education in the world. Natural science, civics, and gymnastics were introduced in these schools for the first time in the world. A new generation was educated, which on May 3, 1791, adopted a new Polish Constitution, a constitution which J. J. Rousseau, the precursor of the entire revolutionary modern movement, declared to be the best in Europe. This revolution passed in Poland without bloodshed, at a time when the guillotine was working daily in France.

Thus in neutral Europe there was formed another centre besides France for contemporary social and political thought. The division of Poland, the complete annihilation of the Kingdom of Poland, became not only a matter of greed but also a necessity in surrounding kingdoms, because, after the Reform of 1791, peasants from Germany, Austria, and Russia began to escape to Poland.

STRUGGLES FOR FREEDOM

In 1795, after the heroic defense of the Polish Army under Kosciusko, a Brigadier General of the Revolutionary Army of the United States, Poland ceased to exist as a kingdom. Since then the problem of reconstructing Poland has become closely associated with that of the victory of democracy. Already in 1797 Polish Legions were organized under the flag of the French Republic, which entered the plains of Lombardy, carrying freedom to the Italians. On the pennants of these legions there was written: "Gli uomini liberi sono fratelli," (All free men are brothers.) Every fifteen years the Poles raised their arms against their oppressors. During 140 years, tens of thousands of Poles perished on the scaffolds of Russia, Austria, and Germany; hundreds of thousands perished during the risings, other hundreds in

prisons and in exile. The words of Pulaski to George Washington, "Where there is struggle for freedom, there is struggle for Poland," are the best characterization of the political activity of the Poles in the uprisings in Germany, Hungary, and Italy. There were many Poles among Garibaldi's "Thousand." During the war just ended, among the killed and wounded soldiers of the United States 10 per cent. had Polish names, although the percentage of the Polish immigration in relation to the general population is 3½.

Despite the fact that the Poles were deprived not only of self-government, but even of their language and of all personal liberty, they remained a people of strong internal self-consciousness, of special culture and infinite moral force. The words quoted at the beginning of this article from the Polish writer of the sixteenth century are a prophecy of contemporary events.

Modern Poland is a democratic country of highly developed industry and agriculture. Political freedom will give her a new impetus for development, and she will soon become the centre of economic and cultural life in Europe.

For 140 years the Poles had no social or political institutions, because the power was in the hands of Russia, Austria, and Germany. But they have now reconstructed their Government. This has been accomplished by magic under the leadership of a man of the same high patriotism, clearness of soul, and social depth as Kosciusko. Under General Pilsudski Poland today is struggling for her frontiers, for her right to live.

To any foreign intervention in her internal affairs Poles say resolutely, "Hands off."

Ruthenians Versus Poles in Galicia

By B. FALK

WITH Austria-Hungary's dissolution, and half a dozen nationalities seeking separate independence, the contest between the Ruthenians and the Poles in Eastern Galicia presents a difficult problem in the crazy quilt of Middle Europe. The Ruthenians compose 62 per cent. of the population in Eastern Galicia, the former palatinate of Halicz adjoining the recently formed Government of the Ukraine. During the turmoil that followed the Austrian collapse they declared themselves a separate State, joined the Ukrainians, and called in the Government military forces against Polish resistance. The Poles, who for centuries dominated Galicia and form the majority of the population in the western part of the province, formed the Polish Republic, joined the Polish Nation on the north of them, and undertook to prevent the Ruthenians' secession by force of arms. Thus a small region of 20,000 square miles has become a battleground, with neighbor arrayed against neighbor, each seeking independence by acts of violence, without a restraining hand to stop the mutual destruction.

The Ruthenians of Eastern Galicia have commonly been classed as Poles, but there is as great a difference between the two nationalities as if they were living on different hemispheres. The Ruthenians have always been pacific, meek, and humble, whereas the Poles have been aggressive and domineering. In the 400 years that the Ruthenians were under the rule of the Poles the latter made themselves masters of the land, and, at the partition of Poland by Germany, Russia, and Austria, the Poles in Eastern Galicia formed the nobility and the more privileged peasant class, while the Ruthenians were serfs and laborers. Austria's emancipation of the serfs in 1848 gave the Ruthenians more freedom and put them in possession of the land which they had held nominally before the abolition of serfdom, but it did not narrow the gulf between the two classes. Church, lan-

guage, and caste remained the true line of cleavage.

FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES

The Poles are Roman Catholics and the Ruthenians are Greek Catholics; the Poles speak Polish and the Ruthenians speak Ruthenian, the same language as that of the Ukraine. From the beginning the Poles were the masters, the Ruthenians the peasants. The language of the province was Polish, and the Poles were also the more literate, so that they filled all the official and clerical positions. Prior to 1869 the Austrian school system was in the hands of the clergy. The priests conducted schools, but the peasants were mostly illiterate. The compulsory education law was passed that year requiring all established communities to build and maintain schoolhouses for elementary education. The Constitution of 1867 also gave them direct representation in the Reichsrat and Provincial Diet and in the selection of local officers. The average Ruthenian had no thirst for learning in those days, and, after attending four grades in the village school, the youth put away his books and soon forgot the little he had learned. The father, who had never attended school himself, considered going to school a loss of time. He could not imagine the son ever rising to be a teacher or a pesar, (town scribe,) and if there were no material advantage, why should a peasant want to know how to write? It was common in the late seventies to find a village Rada composed of Ruthenians, and all those Solons would affix their signatures by an X mark.

RUTHENIAN ASPIRATIONS

Lack of self-confidence contributed much toward the peasants' peonage. In 1874, however, the Ruthenian intellectuals, led by their Bishop, Jachymowicz, who represented them in the National Council, petitioned the Emperor to create the territory east of Lemberg in Galicia and the adjoining territory in Bukowina—inhabited by Ruthenians—into a Ruthenian State. Smalko, the Polish member, opposed them vigorously and used, it is charged, unfair means to defeat the measure. Count Goluchowski, an Eastern Galicia magnate, then Governor of Galicia, disapproved of the measure on the ground that the Ruthenians, formed into a separate province, would join their neghbors on the east, the Ukrainians, who speak the same language and have the same customs, and, with slight variations, have suffered the same injustices. The bill was defeated, but it had given the Ruthenians food for thought.

The abolition of serfdom in Russia in 1861 gave the Ukrainians larger land grants, and their economic condition was better than that of the Galicians. They also had a larger intellectual class, which tended to create closer ties between the people of the same nationality.

Simultaneously with the Austro-German alliance an impetus to revive Ruthenian nationalism became noticeable. At the same time the thirst for knowledge among the Ruthenians became more pronounced. Instead of spending Sunday after church in the tavern the peasants congregated in the reading room to hear the latest news read by those who were able to read. These libraries gradually increased in volume, and history, novels, and even poetry were read. It was surprising to hear an old peasant who could neither read nor write recite a poem he had learned by heart, and discuss history or the political questions of the day. Ruthenian was a prescribed language in the elementary schools where Ruthenians predominated, but secondary education was not provided for. Agitation for Ruthenian gymnasiums and an academy, which have since been built, began at that time.

The majority of the Ruthenians worked toward the creating of a Ruthenian State in Austria, but there were some secret associations in sympathy with joining the Ukrainians under the Russian Government. To offset this tendency the Austro-Hungarian Government adopted a conciliatory policy. During a visit of Austria's heir apparent, Prince Rudolf, to Galicia in 1887, all his guard of honor in Eastern Galicia wore peasant dress. All villages turned out to honor the Prince. It was quite

a sight to see troops of peasants mounted bareback or on straw sacks for saddles, led by peasantized Polish nobles on fine steeds and saddles.

For miles the roads were lined by peasants or their imitators, and for a time it became a fashionable fad to parade in peasant costume.

Notwithstanding their former backwardness the Ruthenians in Galicia have made great political strides in the last thirty years, and by 1891 had a considerable representation in the Legislatures. In 1895 only Ruthenians were elected to the Reichsrat, where they predominated. There were several Ukrainian parties in Galicia before the great war, but the Ruthenian Party and the Russian National Party were predominant.

GERMAN PROMISES

Pursuant with the Austrian and German policy of playing both ends against the middle, when war was declared it was made known that if Austria and Germany won the war against Russia, Ukrainia would be made an autonomous State, and Austrian Ruthenia might become part of it. Thus, on Aug. 3, 1914, all the Ukrainian parties in Galicia hailed the war against Russia as a war of freedom for the Ukrainians.

Austria had adopted the same policy toward the Poles a half century earlier. While her neighbors were carrying out a policy which meant to Russianize and Prussianize their Polish subjects, Austria used her Poles to her own advantage and made them serve as the very pillars of her monarchy. After Austria was defeated by Prussia in 1866, and after the formation of the German Empire in 1871 had excluded her as a German power, she started an attempt to make all her Slavs props of her empire. But with the exception of the Poles the Slavs were more or less under the influence of the Pan-Slavic idea, with Russia as their leader. They were also agitating for the reorganization of the empire into autonomous States on national lines.

The Austrian Government feared and opposed those movements, and the Poles, fearing Pan-Slavism under Russian influence, showed a readiness to support the Government in return for concessions to them. They asked for large rewards for their support—and received them. The new Constitution of 1867, establishing the so-called Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary, gave Galicia more liberal concessions than any of the other provinces. In course of a few years the Poles had complete administrative autonomy, and since then they have had the administration of Galicia in their own hands and have been able to govern it in their own interests. But this served only to advantage the nobility and near nobility.

Franz Ferdinand had his own reasons for trying to develop Ukrainian autonomy. He had married a Bohemian Countess morganatically, and their children were not eligible to Austrian succession. The Countess, later Duchess of Hohenberg, a brilliant and ambitious woman, wanted her son to succeed to a throne, either through the separation of Hungary from Austria or the Ukraine from Russia. The German Emperor encouraged the scheme, because he had designs on the throne of St. Stephan for one of his younger sons. During a visit of the German Emperor and his son to the Austrian Court, the Austrian Emperor was painfully surprised to learn that the young German Prince spoke Hungarian fluently, a fact which could have but one meaning.

With the opening of hostilities between Austria and Russia the line of demarkation between Poles and Ruthenians became very pronounced. Ruthenians were accused of treachery and disloyalty by patriotic Poles. With Russian occupation the case was reversed, and with Russia's evacuation the scenes shifted again. Whatever friendship existed between Ruthenian and Pole seems to have died during the conflict, and a reign of anarchy has taken its place.

COMPLICATED LAND PROBLEM

The one-sided land problem became more and more complicated with the gradual increase in population. At the abolition of serfdom about half of the arable land, with nearly all the timber land and water-power rights, had remained in possession of the few Polish nobles, and the remainder constituted what was commonly known as the peas-

ant's estate. The manorial estates remained practically entailed.

Agriculture is Galicia's principal industry, and her rural population before this war numbered 71 to the square kilometer, or about 200 to the square mile. This was more than twice the population of the next most thickly settled rural district in any country in Europe. The land was owned as follows: One per cent. of the population held 37 per cent. of the land, 1 per cent. held 17 per cent. of the land, 37 per cent held 22 per cent. of the land, and 42 per cent. of the population owned 6 per cent. of the land. The grain raised per capita was only about 30 per cent. of that raised in Russia, 46 per cent. of that in Germany, and 56 per cent. of that in France.

It is only within the last two decades that Ruthenains started to emigrate to other countries, or even to go to work for a season beyond their home lines, whereas immigration into Eastern Galicia had kept up at a steady pace all along. A failure in crops in Mazovia in the late sixties caused a large number of Poles from that district to seek homes in Podolia, the Panhandle of Eastern Galicia. They came in large groups. As they furnished steady and cheap labor, the landlords set aside parcels of land adjacent to the villages and built dwellings for their accommodation. These additions were commonly known as Mazovówka, (Mazovia towns.) The Mazur and his wife became the servants of the landlord, and so did their children as they grew up, one generation succeeding the other. When Germany decreed that all foreigners should leave her country, 3,600 Poles were affected. Austria's open-door policy brought nearly all of them to Galicia, and added to the population of the Mazovówka.

PRIMITIVE METHODS

Peasant farming is still very primitive, and the smaller the farm the more old fashioned are the implements used. The location of the land contributes to a great deal of lost motion. The peasants live in villages, and the near-by land is divided into several subdivisions, usually three to five. A farmer owning five acres has one acre each in every division, miles apart. To do a day's work on his land he has to rise hours before sunrise to reach his destination in time. The grain is transported to the village in the shock. The sickle and the scythe are still the harvesting tools, and the flail is used for thrashing. There is not much meadow land, but the land is only cultivated two years in succession and then left fallow for a year. The fields are not fenced, and the fallow year is for the whole division, the land being used for pasture collectively by the owners. This is the reason for the parcel plan. If a man's land were all in one area he would have to let it all lie fallow in certain years and would have nothing to cultivate that year. The numerous parcels have still more numerous boundaries. Each farmer tries to plow as close to the line as possible, till he finally gets on the other's land, or the other imagines he did. Disputes follow, resulting in fist fights and even in lawsuits.

The cheapness of labor is a much-mooted problem. Toward the end of the last century the top price in harvesting season was one krone (about 21 cents) a day for men and considerably less for women. Peasants started to organize and strike for higher pay.

The line, nevertheless, was not drawn between employer and laborer, but rather between the idle or leisure class and those who labored. The richer Ruthenian peasant works alongside of his hired help; he eats his bread with them during the dinner hour, and there is no class distinction. He owns more land, and that is all. The Pole or Jew similarly situated does not work in the field and holds himself aloof, trying to imitate the squire, who is still in the habit of calling every peasant "thou" and expects to be approached with hat in hand.

As long as the peasants accepted these conditions as a matter of course, things went smoothly; but when the awakening came there followed continued clashes with the Poles, and there was no love lost between the two nationalities. These conditions have survived the war and help to complicate the struggle of the rival nationalities for independent self-determination.

The Causes of Russia's Ruin

By CAPTAIN ALEXANDER TSCHEKALOFF

[The author of this article is a former officer of the Russian Artillery Guard and was in the trenches on the eastern front from the beginning of the war until the outbreak of the Russian revolution. He was in Russia until August, 1918, and was an eyewitness of events there up to that time.]

IN the beginning of March, 1917, after the abdication of Emperor Nicholas II., the Russian Army, which at that time consisted of about 12,000,000 men, was "re-formed" by the revolutionary groups then at the head of the Government. The changes included the following:

1. The existing titles of military chiefs were abolished.

2. The right of the chiefs to inflict disciplinary punishment in case of proved guilt was abrogated. There were instituted instead tribunals composed of elected privates who were to decide in each case on the punishment of the culprit.

3. The obligatory saluting of officers by the privates was canceled.

4. Special collegiate organs were established, such as committees of elected privates who were to control their chiefs in matters pertaining to service. The activity of these committees consisted later in taking upon themselves the administration of military units, completely ignoring the chiefs. The members of the committees were not elected for a certain definite period, but could be reelected as soon as the activity of the committee did not please the majority. This revolutionary change broke the two fundamental military laws governing all the armies of the world: First, that an army is governed by the uni-personal will of the chief within the authority incumbent upon him; second, that the control of the activity of the chief must emanate from above.

5. All military formations were abolished. The armies were to march in a crowd and not in units.

6. The points of the law punishing subordinates for insulting their chiefs were abolished.

7. Capital punishment for treason was abolished.

8. The soldiers were allowed to smoke in the presence of their officers.

9. The soldiers were allowed to sit in the presence of their officers.

10. The soldiers were allowed not to cede their places to officers in tram and railway cars where they enjoyed free transportation.

11. Lastly, the army, which was "reformed" on the above-mentioned lines, was dubbed "revolutionary."

THE DISASTROUS EFFECTS

It is not difficult to see that the "reforms" enumerated were for the purpose of discrediting the authority of commanding officers in the eyes of their subordinates, stripping them of all power conceded to them by law. Notwithstanding the nonexistence de facto of military chiefs, the revolutionary authorities demanded the presence among the revolutionary troops of persons who only bore the titles of chiefs and who were exposed to the most obnoxious derisions and insults and the danger of being murdered. Thus the Russian Army, deprived of guidance, was transformed into a mob of millions of armed men. This condition prevailed through the months of May and June, 1917, at the time when Minister of War Kerensky, originator of the above-mentioned revolutionary "reforms" in the army, decided upon an advance in Galicia. Kerensky for this purpose rode along the front, exhorting the soldiers to attack in the name of the revolution; Kerensky could not fathom that armies had to be commanded and that troops which had to be exhorted to advance constituted no army.

On July 18, a date that will be remembered in Russia, the revolutionary troops were to begin the advance in the name of

the revolution, to the glory of the red flag, for the triumph of the great revolutionary ideas. Such, at least, was the gist of Kerensky's appeals to the revolutionary troops. Eyewitnesses on this day report the following:

The intensive artillery preparation of the Russian advance movement had been completed. The artillery fire, thanks to considerable technical resources developed in Russia at that time, reached the maximum, silencing the German guns and forcing the Germans to abandon their trenches. The revolutionary army had only to begin the attack, having in front of it the abandoned German intrenchments. It was possible to see from the artillery observation posts how the Russian infantry advanced to attack, and occupied without one shot from the enemy the first and second lines of German intrenchments. Nowhere was the enemy to be seen.

A SHAMEFUL RETREAT

It seemed at this moment that the Russian revolutionary troops, commanded by their committees, guided by the appeals and exhortation of Kerensky, could advance and vanquish the power of German militarism. This hope, however, lasted only until an unusual and exceptional picture was unfolded before the eyes of the observers: The revolutionary troops, disobeying their committees and chiefs, who were exhorting them to advance and occupy the neighboring villages, convoked a big meeting in the German intrenchments they had occupied for the purpose of ascertaining if the majority desired to advance further or if they were satisfied with the occupation of the conquered German trenches. Opinions differed and the meeting did not reach any definite end.

The stormy discussions of the soldiers were interrupted by the fire of approaching groups of Germans. Panic developed rapidly among the revolutionary troops, which hastened to save themselves by flight. From this moment started the most shameful retreat of all the revolutionary forces, degenerating into terrific panic and disorganization, accompanied by looting and murdering of peaceful inhabitants. The Quartermaster's supply train at the rear was likewise robbed by the revolutionary troops. Everybody saw clearly that these mobs of millions of armed men were far more dangerous to the Russians themselves than to the Germans.

By July 23 the retreat had spread over a 150-mile front, and then in rapid succession followed the fall of Stanislau, Tarnopol, and Czernowicz, and somewhat later Riga; by July 24, however, the Russian military collapse was complete and irreparable.

THE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN

The German advance was checked only by the immensity of the Russian territory, which demanded a considerable force of troops of occupation. The Germans ultimately decided to arrest their pursuit and to carry their activity to Petrograd and other centres of Russia. This activity took the shape of a crowd of German agents whose duty was to institute a forceful propaganda in Russia against the war. These agents were instructed also to observe the Russian revolutionary troops, especially the units in which, by some chance, remnants of the former military discipline existed, and to see that the soldiers were exhorted to ignore all chiefs. The greatest aid to this propaganda lay in the complete ignorance of the Russian soldiers, the great majority of whom were illiterate and undeveloped.

The German agents were, lastly, to organize an armed force in Petrograd for the purpose of deposing Kerensky's Government, which had come into power on July 21 and which favored war against Germany. The organizing of such an armed force could be observed in Petrograd as early as June, 1917. The drilling of unknown persons took place daily, systematically, on the outskirts of the city. Those curious to find out what it all meant received evasive answers about the formation of an army of workers or of a special revolutionary army for the struggle against the counter-revolution. Thus were formed, trained, and armed the cadres of what was later called the " Red Guard," which was to be the stay of the German dictatorship in Russia.

An intensive agitation by German agents sought to persuade the people that the war was advantageous and indispensable only for the capitalists and representatives of the "bourgeoisie," and that it was in the interests of the Russian proletariat to end the war as soon as possible; they screamed that the land belonged to the peasants alone, that it should be taken away from the gentlemen owners. It was also asserted that the end of the war would give much bread to everybody. Everywhere could be seen placards: "All Power Should Belong to the Proletariat," "Hail to Peace!" "Land to the Peasants!" "Bread!" The radical wing of the Socialist Party, calling themselves Bolsheviki, espoused these ideas. Bolshevism was the tool which Germany used for the establishment of her dictatorship in Russia. Bolshevism spread rapidly, contaminating the dark masses of the Russian people by its enticing declarations.

KERENSKY'S WEAKNESS

Being a witness of the Bolshevist propaganda in Russia, a witness of the formation of a Bolshevist army in Petrograd itself, observing how the masses of the people were more and more contaminated by Bolshevism, and being informed as to the persons at the head of the Bolshevist movement, Kerensky's Government nevertheless did not undertake any measures for the struggle against it or for the arrest of its leaders. The revolutionary chiefs, with Kerensky at their head, after having annihilated the Russian Army by their "reforms," could find no means to fight Bolshevism.

The inactivity of the revolutionary government continued until July 3, 1917, when the organized forces of the Bolsheviki undertook their first armed movement in Petrograd for the purpose of seizing the Government. By a lucky chance there were at that time in Petrograd a few units of troops into which Bolshevism had not yet penetrated, and these crushed the armed movement on July 5. The leaders of the Bolsheviki were arrested, and, at that time, Kerensky's Government had the opportunity of crushing the evil and destroying its leaders. The majority of the arrested persons were later found to be German agents receiving subsidies from Germany. Kerensky failed to act. It is easy to understand the profound indignation of intelligent circles of Russia at the refusal of the Government to pass judgment on the arrested leaders of the Bolsheviki.

The Kerensky Government, on the contrary, revoked the arrest of the Bolshevist leaders, giving them full liberty to spread their poisonous propaganda throughout the country. Representatives of Bolshevism, indeed, were admitted into Kerensky's Government. Bolshevism, having been crushed in the streets of Petrograd on July 3-5, could gloat over its victory when it entered into the composition of the governing groups.

THE ALL-RUSSIAN ASSEMBLY

The occupation of Riga by the Germans, as well as of the Aland Islands and their descents in Finland, their approach to Pskov, the panicky flight of the Russian revolutionary troops and, lastly, the threatening of Petrograd itself, were facts which made Kerensky's Government remember that the war with Germany was still going on, and that at the head of the most important national problems loomed the military problem. For the solution of the latter, there was convoked in Moscow on Aug. 26, 1917, the so-called "All-Russian Assembly" of representatives from all revolutionary parties, including the Bolshevist.

General Korniloff, then Commander in Chief of the Russian Army, and other military authorities, expressed their opinion at this assembly as to what should be done to save the Russian arms. In general the measures recommended called for the abolition of all the military "reforms" established by the Kerensky Government during the first two months of the revolution. Kerensky indicated, at this assembly, that he would not stand for any counter-revolution, whether it sprang from the right or the left, from the conservatives or the radicals. His words were an answer to the Commander in Chief of the army and the military authorities. Their measures for

the saving of the Russian Army were considered a "counter-revolution" by Kerensky, a "counter-revolution from the right." The All-Russian Assembly in Moscow, which attained no results, showed that the Russian Army could not be reborn as long as there was a revolutionary government and as long as revolutionary ideas dominated Russia.

The army officers and educated class, with Generals Alexeieff, Korniloff, and others at their head, recognized this fact and organized a special officers' armed unit, which counted, in the beginning, 5,000 men. The point of rally of General Alexeieff's army was in the vicinity of Novocherkask, in the Don district. This army was obliged later to wage a difficult war against the Bolshevist bands, which were always numerically the stronger, and not a few of Russia's best sons found their death in the ranks of this army. Lacking in a regular supply of military equipment, ammunition, technical means of warfare, and, lastly, provisions, this army was often under great stress. Nevertheless, the spiritual advantage belonged to this small handful of the best Russian men, giving them strength to hold their own in the unequal struggle. Later this army moved to Siberia to join the Russian and allied forces operating there against the Bolsheviki.

BOLSHEVIST COUP D'ETAT

One month after the All-Russian Assembly, rumors began to circulate tenaciously in Petrograd about the intended armed seizure of the Governmental power by the Bolsheviki. At the same time the news from the front was of the worst. The Germans were near Helsingfors in Finland, before Pskov on the northern front, and before Kiev on the south. The fall of these cities was expected from day to day. Kerensky's Government, recognizing its own weakness, did not have the courage to face the truth. Finally, in the last days of October, the Bolshevist Red Guard, fully equipped with arms and trained by German instructors, arrested most of the members of Kerensky's Government, took possession of all the banks and Government institutions in Petrograd, and usurped the Governmental power. Kerensky succeeded in fleeing from Petrograd, thus avoiding arrest, but his words, pronounced at the All-Russian Assembly, that he would not tolerate any counter-revolution from the Bolsheviki, had become empty and futile.

With the coup d'état of the Bolsheviki, consummated Nov. 7, 1917, (New Style,) Germany's plans were realized, and the German agents, Lenine and Trotzky, found themselves at the head of Russia's Government, with the destinies of the nation in their power. Their first move was to sign the Brest-Litovsk peace agreement, which gave the Germans an opportunity to transfer hundreds of thousands of troops from the Russian front to the western front. After this there was sent to Moscow the German Ambassador, Count Mirbach, to keep in closer touch with the activities of German agents in Russia. There began the export from Russia of all that was lacking in Germany. Arms and equipment of the former Russian Army, an enormous number of guns and explosives, cereals and provisions, coal and coal products, all were shipped to Germany.

And Russia, shorn of her armed strength, suffering under the lack of food, condemned by the entire world, was living through the most difficult period of her history. Every Russian who did not accept the Bolshevist doctrines was subjected to the most noxious insults and to robbery at the hands of the Lenine-Trotzky Government. But this was only the beginning of the Bolshevist régime. Later, in 1918, there came the reign of terror. Arrests and executions followed by wholesale, and if there was no guillotine there were other less humane instruments for the destruction of men. At the beginning of 1919 famine and bloody despotism, worse than Czarism had ever produced, reigned in the region controlled by the Bolsheviki. Such were the fruits of Kerensky's socialistic "reforms" in the Russian Army.

Bolshevism Against Civilization

Lenine's Address to the Moscow Soviet Reveals His Plans for a Worldwide Revolution

Addressing a joint meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet and of other labor organizations held in Moscow on Oct. 22, 1918, about two weeks before the breaking out of the revolt in Germany which forced the abdication of the Kaiser and hastened the practical surrender of the German armies on Nov. 11, Nikolai Lenine, the Bolshevist Premier, as reported Nov. 7 in the Berner Tagwacht, a Swiss Socialist newspaper, spoke as follows:

COMRADES, I believe our present situation, despite all the contradictions it contains, can be characterized by two theses: First, that we never before stood so near to the international proletarian revolution as at present; second, that we on the other hand never found ourselves in a more dangerous position than now.

And the most serious part of our situation consists in the fact that the broad masses of the people are hardly aware of the danger that menaces us. Therefore, it must be one of the principal tasks of the Soviet representatives to make the present situation entirely clear to the broad masses—no matter how difficult this task may sometimes be. The weightiest objection that was raised against the Soviet Government, not only by the bourgeoisie, but also from the ranks of the lower middle class that had lost faith in socialism, was that we allegedly had begun the socialist revolution in Russia in a reckless manner, as the revolution in Western Europe was not yet due.

BOASTS OF BOLSHEVIST WORK

Comrades, now in the fifth year of the world war the general collapse of imperialism is an evident fact; now it is clear that the revolution in all the belligerent countries is unavoidable. We, however, whose existence at the beginning was counted by days or weeks, at the most have done more in this year of the revolution than ever has been done by any other proletarian party in the world. The bourgeoisie no longer denies that Bolshevism is now an international phenomenon. Of course, you know that the revolution has broken out in Bulgaria and that the Bulgarian soldiers are organizing councils, or Soviets, after the Russian model. Now comes the news that similar Soviets are in the process of being organized also in Serbia. The national bourgeoisie of the various small States of Austria will not be able to hold out. In Austria, too, the revolution of the workers and peasants is knocking at the door everywhere.

In Germany the press already talks openly of the abdication of the Kaiser and the Independent Social Democratic Party now dares to speak of the German republic. This certainly means something! The German revolution is already a fact. The military party talks about it openly. In East Prussia revolutionary committees have been formed; revolutionary slogans are being uttered. The Scheidemann gang will not remain at the helm very long, it does not represent the broad masses of the people, and the proletarian revolution in Germany is inevitable.

So far as Italy is concerned, the revolutionary sentiment of the proletariat of that country is evident to us. When Gompers, the social patriot who has handed himself over to the bourgeoisie, visited the cities of Italy and preached patriotism to the workers he was hissed out everywhere. During the war the Italian Socialist Party has taken a big step toward the Left.

In France at the beginning of the war the number of patriots among the workers was only too great, for it was declared that the soil of France and Paris were menaced. But there, too, the attitude of the proletariat is changing. When a letter was read to the last convention telling what mischief the Entente was up

to in Russia there were shouts of "Long live the Russian Socialist Republic!" and "Long live the Soviets!" Yesterday we got word that at a meeting held in Paris 2,000 metal workers greeted the Soviet republic.

SEES SYMPATHY IN ENGLAND

And in England it is true that the so-called Independent Socialist [Labor?] Party has not openly entered into an alliance with the Bolsheviki, but its sympathies for us are constantly on the increase. The Socialist Labor Parties of Scotland have even come out openly for the Bolsheviki.

This fact looms up before us entirely on its own initiative: Bolshevism has become a world theory and the tactics of the international proletariat. And the workingmen of all countries, who formerly read only the lying and calumnious articles and news reports of the bourgeois press, are now beginning to take stock of what is happening in Russia. And when last Wednesday a demonstration took place in Berlin, and the workers—in order to show their ill-will toward the Kaiser—wanted to march in front of his palace, they then went to the Russian Embassy in order thus to announce their solidarity with the acts of the Russian labor Government.

So, Europe has got thus far in the fifth year of the war. Therefore, we also declare that we never were so near to the worldwide revolution as we are today. Our allies are millions and millions of proletarians in all the countries of the world. But for all that, I repeat that our situation never before was so precarious as it is at present, because in Europe, as well as in America, Bolshevism is being reckoned with as a world power and a world danger.

Immediately following the conclusion of the peace of violence [Brest-Litovsk] we began the positive work of building up the republic. As soon as we gave an opportunity to the peasants actually to get along without the land owners, and a chance to the industrial workers to arrange their own life without the capitalists, as soon as the people understood that it could manage the State itself, without slavery and exploitation, then it became clear to every one, and also manifested itself in practice, that no power and no counter-revolution in the world would be able to overthrow the Soviet power, i. e., the government of the workers and peasants. It required many months for us to come to this conviction in Russia.

In the cities the revolution began to consolidate itself already in November, 1917, but in the country it did not do so until the Summer of 1918. In the Ukraine, on the Don, and in various other places, the peasants have had occasion to feel the power of the Constituants and the Czechoslovaks in their own affairs. This required many, many months, but our agricultural population comes out of the struggle hardened. The farmers finally became aware of the danger menacing them from the side of the capitalists and the land owners, but were not frightened, and merely said to themselves: "We have learned much in a single year, but we shall learn still more."

TALKS OF SCARED BOURGEOISIE

The West European bourgeoisie, that up to now has not taken the Bolsheviki seriously, is now becoming aware that in Russia a power has arisen and stands there alone which is able to arouse true heroism and a genuine spirit of self-sacrifice in the masses. When this proletarian power began to infect Europe the bourgeoisie of the world noted that it, too, must reckon with this enemy. And so the bourgeoisie began to unite more closely in proportion as we drew nearer to the proletarian world revolution which flared up, now here, now there.

Now the situation for us, for the Russia of the Soviets, has changed and events are following their course at a quickened pace. Before, we had to deal with two groups of imperialistic robber States that were striving to destroy each other. But now they have noticed, especially by the example of German imperialism, that their principal enemy is the revolutionary proletariat. By reason of this fact a new danger for us has now

arisen, a danger that as yet has not quite unfolded itself, and is not yet fully visible —the danger that the Anglo-French imperialists are quietly preparing for us. We must keep this danger clearly before our eyes so that we, with the aid of the leaders of the masses, with the help of the representatives of the workers and peasants, may make the broad masses of the people aware of this danger.

In German Government circles we may now observe two lines of thought, two plans for salvation, as it were, if there can be any talk at all of salvation. One group says: "We want to gain time and hold out until Spring; perhaps we may succeed in winning by arms!" The other says that it is of the greatest importance to arrive at an agreement with England and France at the expense of the Bolsheviki. In this connection one might believe that between the English and French on the one side and Germany on the other a tacit agreement something like this exists: "Don't you Germans leave the Ukraine so long as we have not arrived there. See to it that the Bolsheviki don't get in, then everything else will be adjusted." And the Germans take great pains to do so, for they know that for proved service they, too, will get some of the loot.

That is the judgment of the Anglo-French imperialists, for they very well understand that the bourgeoisie of the occupied districts—Finland, the Ukraine, or Poland—will not be able to hold its ground a single day after the withdrawal of the German garrisons. And the bourgeoisie of these countries, who only yesterday sold their territory to the Germans, are today offering their fatherland to the English and the French. This conspiracy of the bourgeoisie of all countries against the revolutionary workers and the Bolsheviki is constantly becoming more clearly outlined and becomes cynically apparent. So it is our direct duty to point out this danger to the workers and peasants of all the belligerent countries.

AID FROM GERMANY

But for us, comrades, the German revolution is favorable. Considering the power and the degree of organization of the German proletariat, we may believe that the German revolution will develop such power and will be so well organized that it will solve a hundred international problems. Only we must know how to march in line with the German revolution, not to run ahead of it and injure it, but to help it. And our comrades, the communists of the Ukraine, must bear this in mind. Our principal work must be carrying on propaganda, but a daring, persistent propaganda.

We must not forget that Germany forms the most important link in the revolutionary chain. The success of the world revolution depends to the greatest degree upon Germany. We must not fail to consider the changes and excrescences accompanying every revolution. In every country the revolution follows its particular ways, and these ways are so different and tortuous that in many countries the revolution can be delayed one or two years. Every country must pass through definite political stages in order to arrive at the very same point—the inevitable proletarian revolution. And although the international proletariat is now awakening and making important progress, we must confess that our position is particularly difficult because our enemies direct their attacks against us as their principal enemy. Now they are preparing to fight, not against the hostile armies, but against international Bolshevism.

CREATING THE RED ARMY

We must direct our entire attention at present to our southern front, where the fate, not only of Russia, but also of the international revolution, is to be decided. We have many prospects of victory. But what favors us most of all is the fact that a change has taken place in the popular feeling. The people has grasped the fact that in defending Soviet Russia it is not defending the interests of the capitalists, but its own interests, its own country and desires, its factories and shops, its life and liberty. The discipline of the Red Army is gaining, but it is not a discipline of the club, but the discipline of socialism, the discipline of a society of equals.

The army is turning out thousands of

officers who have gone through the course of study in the new proletarian military schools, and other thousands who have only gone through the hard school of war itself. Our southern front is the front against the whole Anglo-French imperialism, against the most important opponent we have in the world. But we do not fear this opponent, for we know that it will soon face the struggle with its "internal enemy." Three months ago it was said that only the half-crazy Bolsheviki could believe in the German revolution; but today we see how in the course of a few months Germany has changed from a mighty empire to a rotten tree trunk. The force that has overthrown Germany is also working in England. It is only weak today, but with every step that the English and French advance in Russia this force will steadily rise to power and will even become more terrible than the Spanish influenza.

The seriousness of the situation must be apparent to every worker who knows what he is aiming at, and he must make the masses see it, too. The people of workers and peasants is mature enough to be allowed to know the whole truth. The danger is great, but we must, and shall, overcome it, and for this purpose we must develop and solidify the Red Army without halting. We must make it ten times as strong and large as it is. Our forces must grow with every day, and this constant growth will give us the guarantee, as before, that international socialism will be the victor.

Slave and Emperor

By ALFRED NOYES

"Our cavalry have rescued Nazareth from the enemy whose supermen described Christianity as a creed for slaves."

The Emperor mocked at Nazareth
In his almighty hour.
The Slave that bowed himself to death
And walked with slaves in Nazareth,
What were His words but wasted breath
Before that "will to power."

Yet, in the darkest hour of all,
When black defeat began,
The Emperor heard the mountains quake,
He felt the graves beneath him shake,
He watched his legions rally and break,
And he whimpered as they ran.

"I hear a shout that moves the earth,
A cry that wakes the dead!
Will no one tell me whence they come,
For all my messengers are dumb?
What power is this that comes to birth
And breaks my power?" he said.

Then, all around his foundering guns,
Though dawn was now not far,
The darkness filled with a living fear
That whispered at the Emperor's ear,
"The armies of the dead draw near
Beneath an eastern star."

The trumpet blows in Nazareth.
The Slave is risen again!
Across the bitter wastes of death,
The horsemen ride from Nazareth,
And the Power they mocked as wasted breath
Returns, in power, to reign;
Rides on, in white, through Nazareth,
To save His world again.

How the Czar Was Doomed to Death

An Authentic Document Written by His Major-Domo Describes His Last Known Hours of Life

By CARL W. ACKERMAN

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Mr. Ackerman, the special correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES *in Siberia and Russia, went to Ekaterinburg at the close of 1918 to investigate the fate of the ex-Czar, Nicholas Romanoff, which still remained a mystery. He obtained and translated a unique document written by the former Emperor's major-domo, describing the Czar's last hours in Ekaterinburg. As the servant had not seen his master executed, however, the Bolshevist statement of his death remained unconfirmed. An Associated Press dispatch from Warsaw, Dec. 24, quoted Michael de Tschihatchef, a nephew of General Skoropadski, as authority for the statement that ex-Czar Nicholas and his whole family were still alive, and on Jan. 8 a London dispatch printed a like statement from Grand Duke Cyril. Though this part of the mystery of the Czar's fate remains unexplained at the present writing, (Jan. 15, 1919,) the old major-domo's narrative clears up other points, and is here presented as a historical document of permanent value.*

EKATERINBURG, (via Vladivostok,) Dec. 22, 1918.—I have obtained the first eyewitness account of the Czar's last days under the Bolsheviki and of his trial and brief farewell to his family, which shows that until his very last hour Nicholas Romanoff was intriguing with his military leaders for the restoration of the monarchy, and that it was the discovery of this plot by the Ural District Soviet which caused the order to be given for his execution; but whether he was actually shot is a mooted question in Ekaterinburg which will never be definitely solved until the Czar or his body is found. Meanwhile, he is considered dead, although probably all the members of his family are still alive.

For twenty-two years Parfen Alexelevitch Dominin served the Czar as major-domo, accompanying him into exile, and remained with his imperial master until the early hours of the morning of July 17, when the Czar was led away by Bolshevist soldiers. In his manuscript report, in simple Russian, filled with the devotion of a lifelong servant, is presented, as far as I am able to learn, the only single, complete, and authentic account of the Czar's life at Ekaterinburg. Dominin describes the Romanoffs' family life, tells of the illness of the Czarevitch, of the Empress's tragic pleas for mercy on her knees before the Soviet guard, and gives details of the evidence presented at the secret midnight trial, where the Czar appeared, undefended and alone, dressed in his soldier's garb.

CHARGES IN THE INDICTMENT

Dominin states that the indictment presented against Nicholas charged him with being a party to the counter-revolutionary plot to overthrow the Bolsheviki and with secretly corresponding with Generals Denekine, Dutoff, and Dogert, who were endeavoring to liberate him and who had sent him word to be prepared to be freed.

When the Czar was taken away his family was removed, according to Dominin, which corroborates the testimony of Sister Maria, from Ekaterinburg's famous old monastery, founded by the Czar's ancestors. Maria, who brought milk and eggs for the Czarevitch, told me when I saw her in a little room of the monastery that word had been received from the interior of Russia by a reliable courier stating:

"Dear friends, all is well." She believes this refers only to the family.

Dominin's manuscript, in Russian, which is here given in verbatim translation, contains a supplement with the Czar's abdication manifesto written in October, 1905, during the Russo-Japanese war, which was printed but never promulgated.

Parfen Dominin, who is 60 years of age, now lives in seclusion. He was born in a village in the Costroma Government and began serving the Czar in 1896. His manuscript reads:

"Beginning with the first days of July airplanes began to appear nearly every day over Ekaterinburg, flying very low and dropping bombs, but little damage was done. Rumors spread about the city that the Czechoslovaks were making reconnoissances and would shortly occupy the city.

"One day the former Czar returned to the house from his walk in the garden. He was unusually excited, and after fervent prayers before an ikon of Holy Nicholas the Thaumaturgist he lay down on a little bed without undressing. This he never did before.

[During the Czar's imprisonment here the house was surrounded by a twenty-foot board fence. Part of the garden around the house was in this inclosure, where the imperial family was permitted to exercise, seeing nothing outside.]

"'Please allow me to undress you and make the bed,' I said to the Czar.

FELT DEATH WAS NEAR

"'Don't trouble, old man,' the Czar said, 'I feel in my heart I shall live only a short time. Perhaps today—already'—but the Czar did not end the sentence.

"'God bless you, what are you saying?' I asked, and the Czar began to explain that during his evening walk he had received news that a special council of the Ural District Soviet of Workingmen, Cossacks, and Red Army Deputies was being held which was to decide the Czar's fate.

"It was said that the Czar was suspected of planning to escape to the Czech Army, which was advancing toward Ekaterinburg and had promised to tear him away from the Soviet power. He ended his story by saying resignedly:

"'I don't know anything.'

"The Czar's daily life was very strict. He was not permitted to buy newspapers, and was not allowed to walk beyond the limited time.

"All the servants were thoroughly searched before leaving and upon returning. Once I was forced to take off all my clothing because the Commissary of the Guard thought I was transmitting letters from the Czar.

"Food was very scarce. Generally only herring, potatoes, and bread were given, at the rate of half a pound daily to each person.

"The former heir to the imperial throne, Alexis Nikolaievitch, was ill all the time. Once he was coughing and spitting blood.

"One evening Alexis came running into the room of the Czar, breathless and crying loudly, and, falling into the arms of his father, said, with tears in his eyes: 'Dear papa, they want to shoot you.'

"The Czar whispered: 'It's the will of God in everything. Be quiet, my sufferer, my son, be quiet. Where is mamma?'

"'Mamma weeps,' said the boy.

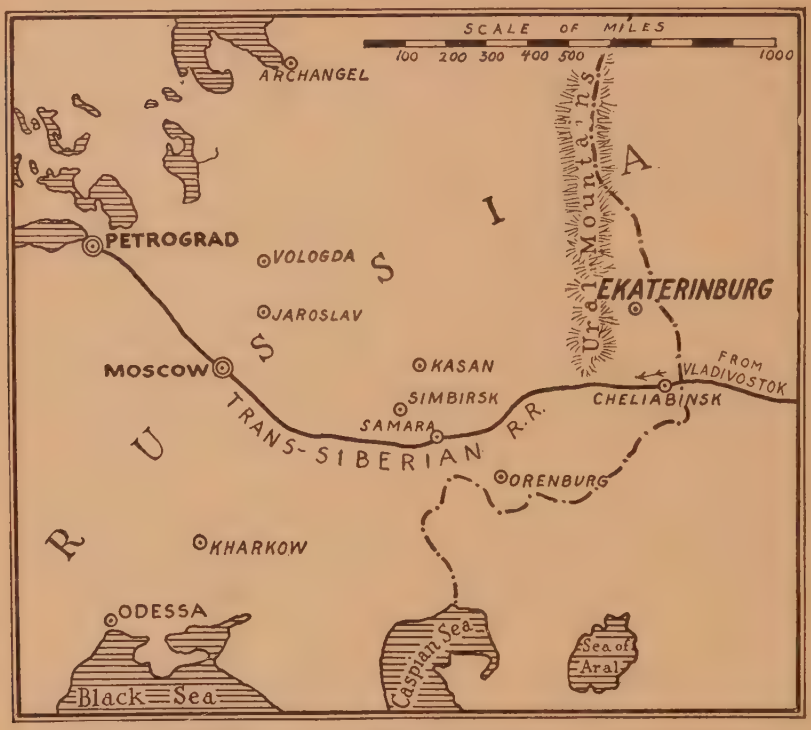
"'Ask mamma to calm herself; one cannot help by weeping. It is God's will in everything,' the Czar replied.

"With ardor Alexis pleaded: 'Papa, dear papa, you have suffered enough already. Why do they want to kill you? That is not just.'

"The Czar replied: 'Alexis, I ask you for only one thing. Go and comfort mamma.'

"Alexis left. The Czar knelt before the ikon of holy Nicholas, praying for a long time. During these days Nicholas became very devout. Often he would awaken during the night because of some nightmare. He would not sleep any more, but spent the rest of the night in prayers.

"From time to time the Czar was permitted to meet his wife, Alexandra, or, as he called her, Alice, but his son he could meet whenever he desired. Once Alexandra Feodorovna came weeping



LOCATION OF EKATERINBURG, WHERE THE EX-CZAR WAS CONDEMNED TO DEATH BY THE BOLSHEVIKI

into the Czar's room, saying: 'It is necessary in any case that you should put all your papers and documents in order.' After this Nicholas wrote all night.

"The Czar wrote many letters, among them those to all his daughters, to his brother Michael; to his uncle, Nicholas Nicholaievitch; General Dogert, Duke Gendrikoff, Count Olssufieff, the Prince of Oldenburg, Count Shumarokoff Elston, and many others. He did not seal his letters, as all his correspondence was controlled by the Soviet censors. Often it happened that his letters were returned by the Commissary of the Guard, with the penciled remark: 'Are not to be forwarded.'

"For many days Nicholas Alexandrovitch would not eat. He would fall down and only pray. Even for a man who had not the gift of observation it was evident that the former Czar was greatly troubled and feeling heartsick.

TAKEN TO BE SENTENCED

"On July 15, late in the evening, there appeared suddenly in the Czar's room the Commissary of the Guard, who announced:

"'Citizen Nicholas Alexandrovitch Romanoff, you will follow me to the Ural District Soviet of Workmen, Cossacks, and Red Army Deputies.'

"The Czar asked in a pleading tone:

"'Tell me frankly, are you leading me to be shot?'

"'You must not be afraid, nothing will happen until your death. You are wanted at a meeting,' the Commissary said smiling.

"Nicholas Alexandrovitch got up from his bed, put on his gray soldier blouse and his boots, fastened his belt, and went away with the Commissary. Outside the door were standing two soldiers, Letts, with rifles. All three surrounded him, and for some reason began to search him all over. Then one of the Letts went ahead. The Czar was forced to go behind him, next to the Commissary, and the second soldier followed.

"Nicholas did not return for a very long while, about two hours and a half

at least. He was quite pale, his chin trembling.

"'Old man, give me some water,' he said.

"I brought him water at once. He emptied a large cup.

"'What happened?' I asked.

"'They have informed me that I shall be shot within three hours.'

BEFORE HIS JUDGES

"During the meeting of the Ural District Soviet a minute of the trial was read in the presence of the Czar. It was prepared by a secret organization named the Association for the Defense of Our Native Country and Freedom. It stated that a counter-revolutionary plot had been discovered, with the object of suppressing the workmen's and peasants' revolution by inciting the masses against the Soviet by accusing it of all the hard consequences resulting from imperialism all over the world—war and slaughter, famine, lack of work, the collapse of transportation, the advance of the Germans, &c.

"The indictment further stated that to attain this the counter-revolutionists were attempting to join all the non-Soviet political parties, Socialists as well as imperial parties. The evidence presented at the trial showed that the staff of this organization could not carry out its intentions fully because of a divergency of views regarding the tactics between the Left and Right Parties. The evidence presented showed that at the head of the plot stood the Czar's personal friend, General Dogert.

"The evidence presented against the Czar shows that in this organization were working also such representatives as the Duke of Krapotkine, Colonel of the General Staff Ekhart, Engineer Llinsky, and others. There are reasons for believing that Shavenpoff was also in direct connection with this organization and that he was supposed to be the head of the new Government as military dictator.

"All these leaders had established a very strong conspiracy. In the Moscow fighting group were 700 officers who afterward were transferred to Samara, where they were to await reinforcements from the Allies with the purpose of establishing a Ural front to separate Great Russia from Siberia. Later, according to the supposed plot, when results of the famine should show, all those sympathizing with the overthrow of the Soviet would be mobilized to advance against Germany.

"The evidence presented shows proofs that certain Socialist parties were taking part in the plot, including the Right Social Revolutionists and Mensheviki, working in full harmony with the Constitutional Democrats. The Chief of Staff of this organization was in direct communication with Dutoff and Denikine.

"The testimony stated that during the last few days a new plot had been discovered having for its object the rescue of the former Czar from the Soviet with the help of Dutoff.

"Besides this it was proved at the trial that the Czar conducted secret correspondence with his personal friend, General Dogert, who urged the Czar to be ready to be freed.

THE DEATH SENTENCE

"In view of this evidence, together with the troublesome situation caused by the decision of the Ural District Soviet to evacuate Ekaterinburg, the former Czar was ordered to submit to execution without delay because the Soviet believed it harmful and unjustifiable to continue to keep him under guard.

"'Citizen Nicholas Romanoff,' said the Soviet Chairman to the former Czar, 'I inform you, you are given three hours to make your last orders. Guard, I ask you not to leave out of your sight Nicholas Romanoff.'

"Soon after Nicholas returned from the meeting his wife and son called upon him weeping. Often Alexandra fainted and a doctor had to be called. When she recovered she knelt before the soldiers and begged for mercy. The soldiers answered that it was not within their power to render mercy.

"'Be quiet, for Christ's sake, Alice,' repeated the Czar several times in a very low tone, making the sign of the cross over his wife and son.

"After this Nicholas called me and kissed me, saying:

"'Old man, do not leave Alexandra and Alexis. You see, there is nobody with me now. There is nobody to appease them, and I shall soon be led away.'

"Later it proved that nobody except his wife and son, of all his beloved ones, was permitted to bid farewell to the former Czar. Nicholas and his wife and son remained together until five other soldiers of the Red Army appeared with the Chairman of the Soviet, accompanied by two members, both workingmen.

"'Put on your overcoat,' resolutely commanded the Chairman.

"Nicholas, who did not lose his self-possession, began to dress, kissed his wife and son, and me again, made the sign of the cross over them, and then, addressing the men, said in a loud voice:

"'Now I am at your disposal.'

"Alexandra and Alexis fell in a fit of hysterics. Both fell to the floor. I made an attempt to bring mother and son to, but the Chairman said:

"'Wait. There should be no delay. You may do that after we have gone.'

"'Permit me to accompany Nicholas Alexandrovitch,' I asked.

"'No accompanying,' was the stern answer.

"So Nicholas was taken away, nobody knows where, and was shot during the night of July 16, by about twenty Red Army soldiers.

"Before dawn the next day the Chairman of the Soviet again came to the room, accompanied by Red Army soldiers, a doctor, and the Commissary of the Guard. The doctor attended Alexandra and Alexis. Then the Chairman said to the doctor:

"'Is it possible to take them immediately?'

"Answered 'yes,' the Chairman said:

"'Citizen Alexandra Feodorovna Romanoff and Alexis Romanoff, get ready. You will be sent away from here. You are allowed to take only the most necessary things, not over thirty or forty pounds.'

"Mastering themselves, but stumbling from side to side, mother and son soon got ready.

"'Tomorrow get him out of here,' the Soviet Chairman commanded the guard, pointing at me.

"Alexandra and Alexis were immediately taken away by an automobile truck, it is not known where.

"The morning of the following day the Commissary again appeared, and ordered me to get out of the room, taking with me some property of the Czar, but all the letters and documents belonging to the Czar were taken by the Commissary. I left, but had great difficulty in procuring a railway ticket, because all the stations and trains were overfilled with soldiers of the Red Army, tossing about and evacuating the city and taking along all precious objects."

An epilogue and supplement to the manuscript, also written by Dominin, follow:

"The Cheliabinsk newspaper Utro Sibiri states that the Czar's execution was certified to by a special Government declaration at a place ten versts from Ekaterinburg. On July 30 a tumulus was found containing metal things belonging to each member of the family of the former Czar, and also bones of burned corpses, which may be those of the Romanoff family.

"As hostages, Grand Duchess Elena Petrova, Countess Henrikova, and a third, whose name I don't know, were taken away. The total hostages were about six. The Bolsheviki fled in the direction of Verknoturie.

CZAR'S ABDICATION OF 1905

"The Academician Bunakovhky, a member of the Russian Historical Society, found accidentally in the secret division of the Senate archives the proof sheet of a 'collection of laws ordered of the Government,' dated Oct. 17, 1905, in which was printed the following manifesto:

> Disturbances and riots in the capital and many parts of the empire are filling my heart with painful grief. The welfare of the Russian Emperor is indissolubly joined with the welfare of the people, and the affliction of the people is his grief. From the disturbances which have now arisen may proceed deep disorder among the population, a threat to the unity and integrity of our State.
>
> In these days, when the fate of Russia

is being determined, we consider it the duty of our conscience to fuse our people into a close union and join all the powers of the population for the height of the State's prosperity.

Therefore we have decided to abdicate the throne of the Russian Empire and lay down the high power. Desiring not to be separated from our beloved son, we surrender the succession to our brother, the Grand Duke Michael, and bless him upon the ascendance to the Russian throne.

NICHOLAS ROMANOFF.

(Countersigned) Minister of the Court,
BARON FREDERICKS.

Oct. 16, 1905. Novy Peterhof.

"Written with a red pencil on the text was 'Hold up printing. Manager of Typography Kedrinsky.'

"He tells me the following details regarding the delay in printing the manifesto. At 8 o'clock on the evening of Oct. 16 I received from a courier a packet from the Minister of the Court, Baron Fredericks, asking me to publish the manifesto in the next number of the Collection of Laws. As the manifesto was not received in the usual way through the Minister of Justice, Kedrinsky in giving the manifesto to a typographer to prepare the printing, simultaneously informed Shthegtovioff by telephone.

"At first the Minister of Justice only asked for the holding up of the printing, but at 11 o'clock the functionary for special commissions from the Minister visited Kedrinsky and asked for the original of the manifesto and ordered the proof sheet transmitted to the secret archives of the Senate."

Thus the Czar spent the last days as a Bolshevist prisoner, disappearing within a few hours before the Czechoslovak troops freed the terror-stricken city of Ekaterinburg.

The Russian Peasant and the Czar

By COMTE GASTON DE MERINDAL

This sympathetic sketch by a noted French author was written a month before the Czar's death sentence and was made public at the end of July, 1918:

CZAR NICHOLAS II., who swore on his father's deathbed to remain true to the alliance with France, and who kept his oath, is now enduring martydom, with a dignity which one day history will recognize. What sort of existence is he enduring now? I have exact information as to how he was transferred to Ekaterinburg. Already the treatment the Emperor had received at Tobolsk had shown the baseness of feeling actuating those who had usurped his authority, and whose ferocious absolutism is even now causing the greater part of his people to think regretfully of the absolutism of Nicholas II., which at any rate was paternal. Often and often I have tried, out of journalistic curiosity, to talk of the Czar with mujiks and workmen. But they have always turned the conversation, and in their faces I could read remorse and shame.

One evening at the end of January, 1918, I was looking over the Kamenoostroff at Petrograd, the vista being obscured in the darkness and the damp. One could see nothing except the heaps of snow bordering the street on which the rays of light from half-closed shutters fell in luminous patches. From time to time the report of a rifle shot, the crackling of a mitrailleuse in the distance, a call for help, or a sinister cry caused timorous figures to hurry past the fronts of the houses. Suddenly a voice, young and plaintive, began singing an air which made me start. The singer was an izvoshtshik, or driver, and he was calmly sitting sideways on his sledge, with his legs touching the snow, while his horse jogged along as he liked. Then I vaguely perceived several "Red Guards," who stopped for a moment and then silently went on their way. An old woman selling newspapers bowed low and hastily crossed herself, or, rather, left the gesture uncompleted, as though afraid * * * By this time

the voice was lost in the distance. And then I had a hallucination. In the illumined sky I saw the Winter Palace rise before me. An immense crowd was kneeling, as though in mute adoration, in front of a man who had just made his appearance on one of the balconies. This man was the Czar. He said: "I swear I will not put back my sword into its scabbard until they who have attacked us shall have been vanquished. People of Russia, pray for victory!"* One great and formidable shout came in response. This cry was a menace, an oath, a prayer. It ended in a song, and the song was the same that the young izvoshtshik had just been singing: "God preserve the Czar!" Have I now made it clear why the mujik and the workman of Russia have remorse in the heart and shame in the eyes when one utters in their hearing the name of Nicholas II.?

When Lenine and Trotzky made up their minds to remove the Czar to Ekaterinburg the Empress Alexandra Feodorovna was asked if she wished to remain with her son, who was ill, or to go with the Emperor. His proud Consort, who, in the delusion of mysticism, and through the unhealthy and superstitious fear she felt for Rasputin, the self-styled envoy sent by God to protect the Czarevitch, had, for all her goodness and courage, been a bad influence on Nicholas II. in respect of internal politics during the last year of his reign, would not, unhappy woman, leave her husband. So they were both taken to the railway station, where they had to join the queue before the ticket office among the crowd of mujiks and soldiers, who, for all their dirt and rags, were respectful enough. They traveled third class, still with the peasants and the soldiery, and, as was the case later at Ekaterinburg, had to have the same food and accommodation as they. Knowing as I do the dignity of the Czar's character, and the deep affection he had for his people and his country, I do not think this promiscuity troubled him. On the contrary, my opinion is that the revulsion of feeling in his favor—every day more and more visible among his subjects—might well have grown still stronger through this companionship, which the Bolshevist leaders forced on him as an insult and a punishment. But some day history will rightly record the murderous intentions of these Bolsheviki and will weave a martyr's crown for "Nicholas le Débonnaire."

*This scene took place on the day war was declared.

Private Diary of the Late Czar

His Own Record of His Downfall

A PORTION of the diary of the late Czar Nicholas, prepared for publication by a Bolshevist commission, has been printed in the Izvestia, a Petrograd newspaper. The diaries go back to Feb. 1, 1882, and contain daily entries. An extract from the published entries relating to the period of the Czar's deposition and imprisonment is presented below. The new style calendar dates are given throughout:

March 11, 1917—Disturbances have been occurring for several days at Petrograd. Troops have unfortunately taken part in them. It is an uncomfortable feeling to be so far away and to receive only brief, unfavorable reports.

March 13—Went to bed at 3:15, because I had a long talk with Ivanoff, whom I sent to Petrograd with troops to restore order. Slept till 10. Traveled all day, and arrived at Lichoslav at 9 o'clock.

March 14—Returned from the station at Visher because Liuban and Tossno are occupied by the insurgents. Went to Pskoff, where I spent the night. Saw Russky. He, Daniloff, and Savitsh dined with me. Gatschina and Luga are occupied by the insurgents. It is a shame and a disgrace. It was impossible to proceed to Tsarskoe Selo. All my thoughts and feelings are all the time there. How hard it must be for poor Alix to go through all this alone! May the Lord God help us!

March 15—In the morning Russky read me a long conversation he had by telephone with Rodzianko. His opinion was that the situa-

tion at Petrograd was such as to render powerless any Ministry representing the Duma, owing to the opposition of the Social Democrats. My abdication is necessary. Russky communicated this conversation to headquarters, and Alexeieff to the army commanders. Their replies arrived at 1:30 in the afternoon. The main contents were that the decision to take this step was necessary to save Russia and appease the army at the front. I agreed. A draft manifesto was sent to me from headquarters.

In the evening Gutchkoff and Shulgun arrived from Petrograd, with whom I had a conversation and to whom I handed a rewritten manifesto which I had signed. Left Pskoff at 1 o'clock in the night, my experiences weighing heavily on me. All around are treachery, cowardice, and deception.

March 16—Slept long and well. Only awakened far from Dvinsk. A sunny and frosty day. Discussed with my people yesterday's events. I read much in Julius Caesar. At 8:20 I arrived at Mogileff, where the whole staff awaited me at the station. At 9:30 I went to my house. Alexeieff came with the latest news from Rodzianko. So Mischa (the Grand Duke Michael) has resigned! His manifesto closes with a wag of the tail for the Constituent Assembly, which is to be elected in three months. God knows what moved him to put his signature to such nonsense. In Petersburg the unrest has ceased. If only it had lasted longer!

March 22—Began to fast, but the fast did not begin with joy. After midday mass Kerensky was here. He begged that we might restrict our meetings to meal times, and sit apart from the children. This was to a certain degree necessary for him in order to pacify the famous Soldiers' and Laborers' Council. To avoid any violence one must adapt one's self.

March 30—Slept well. At 10 o'clock the good Alex [one of the Grand Dukes] arrived. Hereupon a conference. At 12 o'clock I went to the station to receive dear mamma, who had come from Kieff. I took her with me, and we breakfasted together. She stayed and talked for a long time. I received at last two telegrams from Alice, [the Czaritsa.] Went for a walk. Horrible weather, cold and snowstorm. Received after tea Alexeieff and Freederiks. Dined in the evening with mamma, and sat with her until 11 o'clock.

March 31—The day is clear and frosty. At 10 o'clock to midday mass. Mamma came later. She breakfasted, and remained with me until 4 o'clock. At tea received General Ivanoff, who came back from the requisitioning. He had been to Tsarskoe Selo, and had seen Alice. What has become of poor Counts Freederiks and Wojesloff, whose presence excites everybody? They have gone to Freederiks's property near Pensa. In the evening with mamma.

April 3—Last day in Mogileff. At a quarter to 11 read a farewell command to the army. Went to the house of the officer of the day, where I took leave of the staff and authorities. At home farewell to the officers and Cossacks of the Guard and the Free Regiment. My heart was breaking. At 12 o'clock with mamma, in her carriage, where we breakfasted. Remained with her and her suite until half-past 4. Took leave of her, Sondro, Sergei, Boris, and Alek. Poor Nilow was not allowed to come to me. At a quarter to 5 left Mogileff. It was touching, the crowd of people who accompanied me. Four members of the Petersburg Soviet in my train. Am heavy, woeful, and full of longing.

April 4—Arrived quickly and safely at 11:30 at Tsarskoe Selo. God, what a difference! On the streets, around the castle, and even in the park sentinels. Before the entrance some ensigns. Went upstairs and saw Alice, my soul, and the poor children. She faced things bravely and healthily. All were in a dark room, on account of the measles; but they felt well, except Marie, who was only then beginning with the measles. Breakfasted and also dined at midday in the playroom of Alexis, [the Czarewitch.] Saw good Benckendorff. Went with him for a walk, and worked with him in the gardens, as I was not allowed to go further. After tea brought my affairs into order.

April 5—Outside the conditions under which we live here, the thought that we are together rejoices and consoles me. Received in the morning Benckendorff, looked through papers, regulated and burned many. Sat with the children until 2:30. Went for a walk with Dolgorouki, accompanied by ensigns. Today they were more pleasant.

April 6—Received Benckendorff in the morning. Learned from him that we shall remain here for a rather long time. It is pleasant to know this. Again burned letters and papers. Anastasia has the earache—the same as the others. Went in the afternoon with Dolgorouki for a walk, and worked in the garden. At a quarter to 7 went to night mass. Afterward went to Anna [a lady of the Court and a favorite of the Czaritsa] and Lilly. Thereupon to rest.

April 12—At 10 o'clock we went to mass, at which many took communion. Walked for a short time with Tatiana. Today the burial of the "victims of the revolution" took place in our park opposite the centre of the Alexander Palace. Sounds of funeral music and the "Marseillaise" were to be noted. At 6 o'clock we went to a religious service.

April 18—In the morning a short walk. Regulated affairs and books. Began to lay on one side everything which I will take with me when it comes to the journey to England. Worked in the garden.

April 21—Passed quietly the twenty-third anniversary of our betrothal. In the morning walked for a long time with Alexis.

May 11—Abroad today is the first of May. Our asses have therefore decided to celebrate this day by processions through the streets

with music and red flags. Apparently they came into our park and laid wreaths. Walked for an hour and a half and in the evening began to read aloud to the children "A Millionaire Girl." [This book title appears in English.]

May 14—In the morning went for a walk. At 12 o'clock a geography lesson with Alexis. During the day again worked in our vegetable garden. In the evening learned that Korniloff has retired from the post of upper commander of the Petersburg military district, and also of the resignation of Gutchkoff. Always on the same grounds—irresponsible interference with the orders of the military authorities by the Labor Deputies' Council and by some organization or other standing much further to the left.

June 16—After morning tea Kerensky suddenly appeared in auto from town. He did not remain long with me. He requested that some documents which had relation to internal policy should be sent over for the inquiry committee.

July 2—Before midday came good news about the beginning of the offensive on the southwestern front. In the direction of Sloczow, after two days' artillery preparation, our troops broke through the enemy's positions, taking 170 officers and 10,000 men prisoner, and capturing cannon and machine guns. I thank Thee, O Lord! God has sent us this in a good hour. I feel myself quite different after this joyful message.

July 9.—Our good commander, Colonel Komblinski, requested me not to shake hands with the officers in the presence of strangers, and not to call out any words of greeting to the guards. This I have done sometimes, but they, however, do not respond. Studied geography with Alexis. Then we felled a gigantic tree in the gardens behind the orangery. The guards even wanted to help in this work. Read to the end "The Count of Monte Christo."

July 18—In Petersburg today there were riots and fighting. A number of soldiers and sailors arrived from Kronstadt to oppose the Provisional Government. Complete confusion. Where are the people who could take this movement in their hands and could end the struggle [without?] shedding blood? The root of the evil is in Petersburg itself, not in the whole of Russia.

July 19—Happily the tremendous majority of the troops in Petersburg remain faithful to their duty and order has been restored in the streets. Worked the whole of the day in the woods, felled four trees and sawed them up. In the evening began to read "Tartarin of Tarascon."

July 21—Worked in the park. Today, like yesterday, the guards of the 1st and 4th Regiments of Guards were correct in service, and did not patrol during our walk in the garden. Changes have taken place in the Government. Prince Lvoff has gone; Kerensky becomes Minister-President and at the same time Minister of War and Marine, also has the leadership of the Trade Ministry. This man is decidedly in the right place at the present moment. The greater power he has, the better it will be.

July 22—Three months we have passed here since I left Mogileff and came here, and we are prisoners. It is hard to be without news of dear mamma. All the rest is indifferent to me.

July 24—In the morning walked with Alexei. On my return learned of the arrival of Kerensky. In our conversation he mentioned our probable departure for the south on account of the proximity of Tsarskoe Selo to the disturbed capital. Olga's name day, therefore went to church. Worked well in the garden. Read the third part of the trilogy of Mereschkowfki's "Peter," (trilogy: Julian the Apostle, Leonardo da Vinci, and Peter.) Well written, but leaves a heavy impression behind.

July 27—Since the last few days bad news from the southwest front. After our defensive at Halisch many divisions which were completely soaked with the humiliating defeatist teaching did not carry out the command to attack, but withdrew without any pressure from the enemy at some positions. The Germans and Austrians have made use of this, for them, favorable state of affairs and carried out with great force a breakthrough in Southern Galicia, which may force the whole of the Galician front to retreat east. Simply weakness and doubt. Today at least the Provisional Government has declared that in the theatre of war capital punishment shall be restored for treachery. If only this measure has not come too late! Worked again, felled three trees, sawed up two. Began quietly to pack books and things.

The Pall Mall Gazette published the following conversation between Nicholas II. and Kerensky on the subject of the abolition of the death penalty in Russia:

One day at Tsarskoe Selo the Emperor remarked:

"Kerensky, you have committed a grave mistake."

"How?" asked the Socialist leader.

"That of having abolished the death penalty."

"But I did that especially with a view to saving you," replied Kerensky.

"You were wrong all the same," said the Czar. "I would willingly have given my life for Russia."

Commenting on the late Czar's diary, the Berlin Vorwärts said:

The Czar had carefully written down when he went walking and when he played dominos. When Rodzianko sent him a telegraphic communication over the situation with the supplementary demand to abdicate the throne, all the Czar had to remark at first was that the document was so fearfully long. Such

remarks, written down at headquarters in the days when the flames of the revolution were rising high, when it was a question of to be or not to be for Nicholas himself, for the dynasty and for the Czardom, show the pitiable insignificance of the man in whose hands lay the fate of millions of people and of the whole of European culture. Even his fall cannot raise him to any greatness. The chief value of the diary is its meteorological character, for during thirty years almost every day the state of the weather has been noted. This pedantry also appears to us as a sign of extreme poverty of mind.

Strasbourg

By VICTOR GUSTAVE PLARR

I saw thee sombrely enthralled,
My Strasbourg, in Autumnal haze
The year ere War, and I recalled
Thy fame and inly sang thy praise.

I hardly dared to dream that thou
Wouldst ever face the Dawn again,
I marked the sorrow on thy brow,
Thy silence, and thy ordered pain.
* * * * *
Oh, do we dream as oft we did—
Watchers on visionary walls?
There's something quivers that was hid:
On the blue Vosges—a trumpet calls!

We tore the linen on the bed
Long since for flags to deck our doors:
Long since with vine-lees blue and red
We dyed our secret Tricolors.

Bring forth the dear flags hidden long,
Ring all ye bells for years misrung:
O Alsace, be one burst of song,
One nosegay to our Frenchmen flung!

Nay, practice now one last restraint,
Lest awful gladness drive us mad.
Keep slow our heart-beats lest we faint
And die through being over-glad.

O eyes, hold back your tears, and lips
Forbear to tremble . . . O my God,
My blood beats like to lashing whips:
They tread where late the Prussian trod!

As, after death, a bridegroom might
Meet his dead bride among the blessed,
With indescribable delight
And awed timidity possest,

The City thrills, beholding where
The first file of deliverers comes
With clarion-blast that rends the air
And thunder of immortal drums.

Then bursts into a rhythmic flow
Freedom's tremendous lay of lays,
First sung in Strasbourg long ago—
The Marseillaise, the Marseillaise!

Hearts are too full for tongues to cry . . .
Mark, where th' old exquisite minster soars,
Amid the hush, remote, on high,
Seen thro' glad tears, the Tricolors!

Campaign of the Caliphs for Damascus

Story of the Desert Fighting From Mecca to Damascus Under the King of the Hedjaz

This picturesque chapter of war history, as full of wonder and romance as the Arabian Nights, was written by a correspondent of The London Times, who was in touch with the Arabs throughout their campaign against the Turks. One of the leading figures, Sherif Feisul, is the third son of the Sherif of Mecca, whose successful revolt against Turkish domination helped General Allenby to crush the Turks in Palestine. The last campaign was fought in close co-operation with Allenby's forces.

SOON after he heard the news of the surrender of Kut by General Townshend, Hussein ibn Ali, Grand Sherif and Emir of Mecca, sent word to the British Government that he could no longer stand by and witness the continued subjection of the Arabs to the Turks. He asked for pay, arms, and food for his troops, and before they had been promised him broke out into rebellion against the Young Turk Party and their German masters.

The Sherifs of Mecca have long been de facto rulers of Mecca and its provinces, and the immense prestige of the family among the Arabs (Hussein ibn Ali is the senior descendant of Mohammed, and as such head of the Sherifs, the Prophet's family) carried all the Arabs of the Hedjaz with them in their revolt. They easily crushed the Turkish garrisons of Taif, Mecca, and Jedda, and opened up communication with the British fleet in the Red Sea, so that the arms and food they needed for the further extension of their rising might be brought to their coasts.

THE ATTACK ON MEDINA

At Medina, where Sherifs Feisul and Ali (third and eldest sons of the Sherif of Mecca) raised their father's flag on June 13, 1916, the eventful day of the Mecca revolt, events were less fortunate. The Turks had expected hostilities, and had brought down large forces from Syria to anticipate events. Feisul raised all the tribesmen and villagers about Medina and occupied the suburbs, but shrank from an attack on the Holy City itself. The Tomb of Mohammed makes Medina very sacred to all Moslems, and especially to members of the Prophet's own family; and the Arabs were new to warfare, and had not got before them the example of the Turks, who shelled at Mecca the Kaaba, the centre of Moslem interest in things of this world. Whatever the cause, they lost their opportunity. They cut the railway to Syria, tearing up lengths of the metals with their bare hands and throwing them down the bank, (for they had no explosives,) but they refused to cut the precious water conduits or to clear their way by fighting through the streets. The Turks, encouraged by their inactivity, sallied out at dawn, surprised the garden suburb of Awali, massacred in it hundreds of women and children and burned the rest—putting machine guns at the gates and setting fire in many places to the flimsy houses.

Feisul dashed up with his Arab camel men to the rescue, but was in time only to harry the last files of the retreating Turks. The Arabs now clamored for an assault on the great citadel that stood without the walls, and when Feisul tried to hold them back plunged forward without him. The Turks had, however, a formidable armament collected there, and the Arabs had never before met artillery fire. The assaulting column swerved aside and took refuge in the broken lava slopes of a low hill outside the northeast angle of the town. The Turks saw their weakness and sent out an enveloping force to cut off and destroy them. Feisul, with the rest of the Arabs, a mile back on the flank, saw the danger of their fellows, and started out to help them.

A DARING LEADER

The Turks opened with all their guns from the town wall, covering the open ground with bursting shrapnel, and after their first losses the Arabs wavered and then took cover in the gardens. Feisul rode up to their front line on his horse, and called to them to follow him. Their chief refused, saying that it was death to cross the plain. Feisul laughed, and turning his horse forced it to walk through the Turkish fire till he had gained the shelter of the opposite gardens. Then he waved to the troops behind him, who charged across to him at a wild gallop, losing only about twenty men on the way.

The combined forces now engaged the sallying Turks, and a costly fight was maintained till dark, when Feisul found himself nearly without ammunition, and without reserves of men, food, or arms for the morrow. He had therefore to change all his plans, abandon hope of an immediate victory in the north, and instead endeavor to hold his disheartened army together till he could obtain new supplies from the coast, where Rabegh, half way to Mecca, had been promised him as a base.

The siege of Medina indeed made little progress after this, and the town still holds out and may continue to do so for long after the rest of the world is at peace. It has been cut off from Turkey for long enough, but so have the Turkish garrisons of Asir and Yemen. It is a holy city, so that the Arabs have never fired, and will never fire, a shot against it, (ideal conditions for a besieged army.) The Turks have deported every civilian, and scattered them, without record, or means, or hope of return, over all the Ottoman Empire. We found Medina refugees in Jerusalem, in Kerak, in Damascus. Some are in Konia, some in Angora, some in Constantinople itself; their only common touch today is destitution. Their gardens have fallen to the Turkish garrison, just as the jewels and splendid offerings of the Prophet's Tomb have fallen to the Turkish governors. The soldiers spend their days in husbandry, and at night withdraw to the sheltering walls of the town.

ARAB TACTICS

In the first days of the Arab revolt, however, things were not so easy nor so idyllic. The army in Medina was as strong as the Arab tribesmen outside, and was equipped with guns and machine guns and airplanes. As they collected transport, or received it from Syria by the now repaired railway, they pushed their lines further and further afield, and by seizing the only wells in the countryside began to make a menacing advance toward Rabegh, the key of Mecca in the military sense. Feisul flung himself into a tangle of difficult sandstone hills that flanked the Turkish advance, and while his brother Ali at Rabegh was striving to form the beginnings of a regular army, to add to the tribesmen that technical aid which alone could enable them to meet the Turks fairly in the field, Feisul set himself, with little bands of ravaging Bedouins on camels, to make impossible a serious advance of the Turks by raiding their lines of communication. It was risky work, since the Arab parties—because of difficulties of water supply—could not exceed ten or fifteen men, and these had to dash in on the main road, kill or carry off what they could, and regain their camels and escape before the garrison of the blockhouses could turn out. Only men who could leap into the camel saddle at the trot with one hand while carrying a rifle with the other were chosen for this service.

The Arabs' best efforts at defense proved insufficient, and Feisul saw that a change of plan was necessary if the Turks were to be prevented from regaining Mecca and crushing the Arab movement in its infancy. After consulting the British naval authorities in the Red Sea he determined that if they would support him to the utmost he would risk leaving the Mecca road undefended and carry his whole force away from Yenbo to attack Wejh, 200 miles further north along the Hedjaz coast. He argued that by boldly taking the offensive against the Turkish communications with Syria —and Wejh covered a vital section of the Hedjaz railway, the life-cord of the Turkish forces in Arabia—he would force them to divert a considerable force

to purely defensive purposes, and might so deceive them by his apparent careless confidence in the strength of Mecca as to persuade them to abandon their forward march against it.

To take his place Feisul called up his younger brother Zeid, and gave him what men he thought not worth taking away, so that Zeid might make a semblance of resistance in the hills, while he also asked his elder brother Abdulla, who had been blockading Medina on the east, to move across the railway, north of Medina, and appear to threaten the Turkish line of communication directly. Abdulla had actually no force capable of doing anything very serious, but he made a fine start by cutting up some mobile Turkish units, and left between the metals of the railway a letter to the Turkish Commander in Chief in Medina, telling him of all, and much more than all, of what he meant to do.

A FLANK MARCH

Feisul's own operation consisted of a flank march of 200 miles parallel to the Turkish front by an inferior fighting force, leaving behind it an open base and the only possible defense line of the Middle Hedjaz undefended. He embarked on the ships put at his disposal by the British senior navy officer, Red Sea, all his arms and stores from Yenbo before he left the place. He divided his 10,000 men into nine sections, to move independently to Um Lejj, a little coastal village half way, and ordered to concentrate there by Jan. 14, 1917. At Um Lejj he issued them with fresh supplies (obtained, as agreed, from the ships) and sent on board a landing party to be used in the actual attack on Wejh in co-operation with the navy. He had then to contemplate a march of 150 miles, without a single spring of water and only a few weak wells to suffice for what was, for the desert, an exceptionally large army. To aggravate things, there was little grazing for the camels, and the scarcity of baggage animals made it impossible to carry forage. The Bedouin, too, who guided us had no short unit of time, such as the hour, to inform us of distance, and no longer measure of space than the span. They had no realization of numbers larger than ten, and could not tell us the roads, or the wells, or how much capacity they had. Intercommunication between Bedouin forces is always hindered because no man in the force can read or write. In the end, however, we got through on Jan. 25, without losing a man from hunger or thirst. We lost many camels, but all our mules survived the trip, thanks to a Royal Indian marine ship which put into an uncharted bay on the coast and supplied them with water in the middle of a dry march of seventy-five miles.

The actual business of Wejh was settled by the navy and the landing party before the main army came up. Feisul was in time only to cut off some of the escaping garrison and capture all their reserves of arms and equipment. The naval force had a quite difficult fight, but eventually carried their points without undue loss by making free use of water communication to outflank the Turkish positions and by the very vigorous support given by the ship's guns to the various landing parties. The Turks intrenched themselves in the town, and fought from street to street, while the Arabs cleared the houses both of Turks and of all movable property. The whole place was taken in thirty-six hours, and the navy set the seal on its work by taking up other Arab landing parties to Dhaba and Moweilah on Feb. 8 and Feb. 9, by the action of which the whole of the northern end of the Red Sea, up to the Gulf of Akaba, was cleared of the enemy.

ORGANIZING DESERT TRIBES

After the occupation of Wejh, the Arab operations had to take a new phase. The Turks who had been advancing on Mecca at once fell back on Medina, and began to defend their pilgrim railway seriously. This gave the Arab Sherif Feisul the time and leisure he so much needed to construct his army of regular troops. It need hardly be said that Arabia provided no recruitable population. The Bedouin is hostile to discipline and unfit for regular service; though on his own day, in his own coun-

try, and in his own style, he will dispose of many times his number of any troops that can be brought against him. Feisul's regular army was composed of peasantry from Syria and from Messopotamia. In part, they came from their own districts secretly to him. Many

SCENE OF THE FIGHTING IN ARABIA

were deserters from the Turkish Army, for the Turks when war broke out had pressed 150,000 Arab-speaking subjects into their army, and these men, when the Sherif revolted, all knew that the day of reckoning with their masters was approaching.

Besides the labor of forming a regular army, Sherif Feisul at Wejh devoted himself day and night to securing desert power, to take the place of the British sea power that henceforward could serve him only indirectly. In this he succeeded, thus gaining a means of approach and a line of communication for all enterprises he desired against the cultivated land of Palestine and Syria as ready and inviolable almost as the sea has proved to Britain. It took him months to obtain the suffrages of all the tribes, and the expenditure of as much tact and diplomacy as would suffice for years of ordinary life. What he achieved, however, is little short of wonderful. From time immemorial the desert has been a confused and changing mass of blood feuds and tribal jealousies. Today there are no blood feuds among the Arabs from Damascus to Mecca; for the first time in the history of Arabia since the seventh century there is peace along all the pilgrim road.

While forming his army and developing his policy, Feisul kept the Turks busy by frequent railway raids. He cut the line in dozens of places, and did each time what damage he could. But the construction of the Hedjaz railway is primitive and there are no great bridges or elaborate constructions which can be destroyed to interrupt the line for a sensible period. His work had to be done and redone continually, and very heart-breaking work it was.

A FIGHTING SHEIK

By early May, however, Feisul's propaganda in the north was crowned with success, by the adhesion to him of Sheik Auda abu Tayi, the leading spirit of the Howeitat and the finest fighting man in the desert. He is over 50 now, but still tall and straight and as active as a young man. He prides himself on being the quintessence of everything Arab. His hospitality is sweeping, often crushing; his generosity has reduced him many times to poverty and swallowed the profits of a hundred successful raids. He has married twenty-eight times, been wounded thirteen times, and in his battles has seen all his tribesmen hurt and most of his relatives killed. His escape from wounds in the last eight years he ascribes to an amulet, (the rarest and richest in the world, in his judgment,) a complete copy of the Koran produced in photo-miniature by a Scotch firm. His private "kill" in single fight is seventy-five since 1900—Arabs, be it understood, for Truks are not entered in Auda's game book. Under his hands the Howeitat had become the finest fighting men in the desert, and he has seen Aleppo, Basra, and Mecca in his raids. He is as hard-headed as he is hot-headed, has extreme patience, and ignores advice and abuse with the most charming smile. He talks abundantly, in a voice like a waterfall,

of himself usually, and in the third person. His great pride is to tell tales against himself, or to tell in public fictitious but appalling stories of the private life of his host or guests.

Auda came to Wejh and swore allegiance to the Sherif in the picturesque Arab formula, on the book, and then sat down to dinner with Feisul. Half way through the meal he rose with an apology and withdrew from the tent. We heard a noise of hammering without, and saw Auda beating something between two great stones. When he came back he craved pardon of the Sherif for having inadvertently eaten his bread with Turkish teeth, and displayed the broken remains of his rather fine Damascus set in his hand. Unfortunately, he could hardly eat anything at all afterward and went very sorrowfully till in Akaba the High Commissioner sent him an Egyptian dentist, who refurnished his mouth.

THE MARCH TO AKABA

From Wejh on May 9 Feisul sent off a small expedition of camel men under Sherif Nasir to take Akaba, 300 miles further north. They marched through the Hedjaz hills, picking up a few adherents, across a dreadful lava field, which foundered their camels, over the Hedjaz railway in a thunder of dynamite explosions, into the pathless central desert of Arabia, where they wandered for weeks in great pain of heat and hunger and thirst, losing many of their party and disheartening more. When they did reach water it was only to lose three more of their few men from snakebite, for the Wadi Sirhan is venomous. However, at length they reached the Howeitat tents, and under the burden of the tribe's most insistent hospitality spent some uneasy days. They had now marched some 400 miles and were getting short of food. Some of the party rested here to gather recruits, while others went out north and west to trouble the Turks by feints upon the railways of Syria and confuse them as to what they meant. They destroyed a bridge near Homs and one near Deraa and blew up a train near Amman.

The Turks believed that they must be in Wadi Sirhan, and concentrated their available cavalry about the Hauran and sent out all that could move into the desert after them. Nasir moved at once, south and west, and captured two stations near Katraneh. The Turks blew up the wells in the desert (Nasir had now learned to do with little water) and reinforced the threatened sector from Maan. This latter was, however, the area the Arabs really wanted, and a day later a section of the Howeitat, on June 30, wiped out the first Turkish post on the new motor road from Maan to Akaba, after the Turks had won a first success and had cut the throats of thirteen Arab women and children. News of their attack reached Maan, and the mass of the garrison there set out to relieve the post. That day Nasir occupied the railway near Maan and blew up a series of bridges and then threw himself between Maan and the Turkish relief column, which had reached its objective only to find the ground held by squadrons of wheeling vultures busy on their dead.

FIGHTING IN FURNACE HEAT

Throughout July 2 Nasir fought the Turks in a heat that made movement torture. The burning ground seared the skin off the forearms of our snipers, and the camels went as lame as the men with the agony of the sun-burned flints. The Turks were hemmed in to a gentle valley, with a large spring in the bottom. The Arabs were dry. They had rifles, and the Turks were hemmed into a gentle valley, kept up the fight till evening. At dusk Auda collected our fifty horsemen in a crooked valley about 300 yards from the Turks, and suddenly burst at them over a rise, galloping into the brown of them, shooting from the saddle as he came. The Turks broke in panic, as Turks often will, and after one wild burst of musketry scattered in all directions, while the rest of the Arab force dashed down the hillsides into the hollow as fast as their cantering camels could take them. In five minutes it had become a massacre. Some of the Turks got away in the gathering darkness, but the Arabs took and killed more than their own total numbers.

There were still four Turkish gar-

risons between Nasir and the sea. The nearest was overrun in half an hour; the next but one surrendered without a shot fired. The third was strongly placed, but the Arab leader announced that a sudden darkness at the third night hour would enable it to be rushed without loss —and the moon was good enough to be eclipsed that night. Fortified by such evident proof of ghostly alliance, the Arabs pressed on down the great road that the Turks had prepared for the invasion of Egypt. The fourth post fell back before our approach to the main position of Akaba, where the Howeitat tribesmen, before even we were near, clustered about them like hornets, sniping any head or body that showed and cutting off all egress.

FALL OF AKABA

They were six miles from the beach in the mouth of an immense ravine, impregnable from attack by the sea, as they knew, and we knew, but very open to a force taking them, as we were doing, unexpectedly from the east. When Nasir came up he tried to make them parley; the local Arabs fiercely refused. "They tore our men in four pieces between yoked mules, why should we spare them?" * * * but the Sherif after a day and a night of earnest work regained control of his men. He then, with only one companion, advanced into the open between the Arabs and the Turks, so that his men had perforce to hold their fire, and sent in a prisoner with the white flag to tell the Turks that all was up. Fortunately, the Turkish commander agreed, and the Arabs swept through his camp into the village of Akaba in a mad rush of joy.

Our position, when we first arrived in Akaba, was miserable. We had no food, and hundreds of prisoners. They ate our riding camels, (we killed them two a day,) caught fish, and tried to cook the green dates, till the messengers, who had been sent off hastily to Egypt across the Sinai Desert, could send help and food by sea. Unfortunately, the camels by now had done 1,000 miles in five weeks, and were all jaded, so that it took the men two days to get to Suez, where Admiral Wemyss at once ordered a man-of-war at top speed to Akaba, with all the food that was to be found on the quays. That ship is gratefully remembered in the desert, for it saved 2,000 Arabs and 1,000 Turks from starvation.

THE WILDERNESS ROAD

Feisul came to Akaba in August, and once again his tactics and the color of the Arab movement had to change. The abandon of the early days, when each man had his camel and his little bag of flour and his rifle, was over. The force had to be organized and become responsible. No longer could Feisul throw himself into the thickest of the doubtful fight and by his magnetic leadership, and still more wonderful snap-shooting, turn the day in our favor. No longer could the Sherifs in glowing robes hurtle out in front of their men in heady camel charges and bring back spolia opima in their own hands. Even our wonderful Arab bodyguards—Central Arabia camel men—dressed in all the colors of the rainbow, only one degree less gorgeous than their camel trappings, had to be sacrificed. The Sherifian army now stood on the threshold of Syria, and its work was henceforward with the townsmen and the villagers—excellent people, but not the salt of the earth, as are the Arabs of the desert.

The desert was Feisul's; he had worked his miracle, and made the wilderness peace; but the wilderness was only our road, the means by which we could arrive at the cultivated places we wished to raze or occupy. Another sobering influence was the knowledge that we formed part of the army of General Allenby. Akaba was on his extreme right, and the Arab army formed his right wing. Our plans were only a part of his plans, instead of being joyous ventures of our own. The Arab Army, however unorthodox its elements, tried its best to fulfill the wishes of the Commander in Chief and to contribute its uttermost to his plans. In return he gave it the materials, the advice, the advisers, and the help it needed, and enabled Feisul to transform what had been a mob of Bedouin into a small but well-made force of all arms.

CO-OPERATING WITH ALLENBY

The new Arab Army—now the right wing of General Allenby's army—was tried before the end of October, 1917, when 500 men of it, with two mountain guns and four machine guns, holding a selected position on the heights around Petro—the "rose red city half as old as time," whose ruins made notable the Nabathaean hills—held them against four Turkish infantry battalions, a cavalry regiment, half a mounted infantry regiment, six mountain guns, four field guns, and two machine-gun companies. The Turks attacked in three columns, drove back the Arabs at one point, and captured one mountain gun, but were counterattacked and driven in flight back across the plain. The Arab losses were heavy, but they retook the lost gun.

The Arab regular army then fell back from the hilltops because of the heavy snowfall of 1917-18. The Turks also had to fall back to near the railway, and there was only fighting of the Bedouin till Spring, when the Arab main army attacked Maan, between April 13 and 17, as their share of the British Amman attack. This phase of the operations has been dealt with by General Allenby in his last dispatch in full detail.

The Winter was, however, not uneventful for us, since Feisul tried, by means of the local tribes and peasantry, to share in the British descent to the Dead Sea and Jordan Valley. Sherif Nasir again led the forlorn hope, and again Auda abu Tayi joined us. There came also some of the Beni Sakhr clan from Moab. The force moved about the desert east of Maan, uneasily for a time, and then suddenly, in the first days of January, made an attack on the third railway station north of Maan, called Jurf. The Turks held the station buildings strongly and a covering knoll above it; but Nasir had with him a little mountain gun which knocked out the first Turkish gun, and so encouraged the Bedouin that they got on their camels and again repeated the camel charge that had won us the fight for Akaba. Bullets have little immediate effect on a camel that is going at twenty-five miles an hour, and before the Turks could do anything the Arabs were over the trenches and among the station buildings. The survivors of the garrison, some 200 in number, surrendered at discretion.

CAVALRY WIN A SEA FIGHT

From Jurf Nasir marched to Tafileh and summoned it to surrender. The Turkish garrison of 100 laughed at us; but Auda galloped up under their bullets to the east end of the town, where the market opens on to a little green place, and in his voice, which at its loudest carries above all the tumult of a mêlée, called on the dogs of villagers to hand over their Turks. All the Arab world knows Auda, and while they regard him as a most trying friend, love him as a national monument; so without more ado they surrendered themselves and their Turkish garrison.

Tafileh is a village of about 6,000 inhabitants, and we looked, with the reinforcement of its men, to do great things. As a beginning our horse, with the help of Abu Irgeig and the Arabs of Beersheba, charged one night up the east bank of the Dead Sea from its south end, flying through the defiles between the hills and the lake and over the Turk patrols before they could give warning, till at dawn they passed over the root of the flat promontory called the Lissan and came gently through the bushes till they were within easy shot of the little harbor where half the Turkish Dead Sea fleet was moored by cables to the shore. The crews were on shore breakfasting, and the Arabs, by a swift cavalry charge, were able to capture the Turkish fleet with its crews, sink the ships, and get the officers and sailors away with them before the garrison on the bluffs above had realized that irregularities were being committed. The "fleet" were of course only motor launches and fishing vessels; but there are few sea forces that have been captured by cavalry, and the disgust of the two very smart naval officers we took gave us great comfort.

FIGHTING AT TAFILEH

Meanwhile the Turks of Damascus had become alarmed at the Arab progress, and had sent down their G. O. C. Am-

man with a composite regiment of infantry, some cavalry, and two mountain howitzers to turn us out of Tafileh. He came along delicately, laying his telephone lines and making his roads, and with him were the new civil staff for Tafileh and the equipment of the new Post Office there. We got in touch with him on Jan. 24, 1918, and found him unpleasantly strong. In fact, he pushed us nearly out of Tafileh that night. The flashes of the Turkish rifles at the crest of the great gorge in which Tafileh lies were very visible, and there ensued a great panic in the town. All the women screamed with terror, and threw their household goods and children out of their houses into the streets, through which came plunging mounted Arabs, shooting busily at nothing in particular.

At dawn, however, we were still in the place, and were able to send up a few men with two automatic rifles to assist the peasantry. This improved things, but was obviously insufficient, and the fighting became very hot, with a good deal of shelling by the Turks and huge bursts of machine-gun fire from their twenty-seven machine guns. A shell knocked out one of our automatic rifles, and the other finished its ammunition. So we chose out a second position about two miles in the rear of the flint ridge we were actually holding, and sent back to collect all the men we could upon it.

As soon as they began to appear we sent back the thirty peasants (on foot) who were helping us in the forward position, and held it for another fifteen minutes only by thirty Howeitat horsemen. By then things had become quite impossible, with the air thick with bullets, and reply from our side nearly out of the question, so the horsemen mounted again and scampered back to the reserve line. The Turks occupied our old ridge a few minutes later, and were obviously astonished to see the second line in front of them, with a mob of men walking about on top of it. We had now about 300 men, and showed them all we could.

Shortly afterward Sherif Zeid joined us, with one mountain gun, four machine guns, and seven automatic rifles; also about 200 more men. We sent the Arab horse away to the Turkish left to turn their distant flank, and a peasant force, with some automatics, to turn their right flank. Meanwhile in the centre we demonstrated, and fired our mountain gun, and carried out some astonishing tactics, till the outflanking parties were in position. We then attacked boldly across the hollow between the two ridges direct at the Turkish centre. As we were only about half their strength, this amused them so much that they did not notice our outlying parties till they opened fire and shot down all the Turkish machine gunners. At the same moment we charged (camels, horses, and men pell-mell) and carried their main position with its fifteen Maxims before sunset. The peasantry from miles round were rallying to us, and met the broken Turks falling back before our men, who were tired out and very hungry, since we had been fighting for thirty hours. The local people therefore relieved us of the duty of pursuit, and filled our place so satisfactorily that only about eighty of the Turks got away, and they lost the whole of their animals, carts, guns, and machine guns.

A HARD WINTER

After this affair we were in good spirits, and foresaw ourselves meeting the British shortly at Jericho. However, things went wrong. It was partly the reaction after a great effort, partly the stimulus we had given to the Turks, partly the awful weather—for just after the end of January the Winter broke for good, and we had days of drenching rain, which made the level ground one vast mud slide, on which neither man nor camel could pass. When this cleared we had snow, and snow, and snow. The hills round Tafileh are 5,000 feet high, and open on the east to all the winds that Arabia can send, and conditions soon became impossible.

Snow lay on the ground for three weeks. If the camels were strong and fit they would march for one day or two days through a coating six inches thick; but in all the hollows were drifts a yard deep, and at these our unfortunate men had to dismount and dig a way through with their bare hands. The Bedouin had

never remained in these hills for Winter before, and gradually quit them this year also. It increased one's misery to see below one, in Wadi Arabah, the level land of the Dead Sea depression flooded with sunlight and to know that down there was long grass sown with flowers and the fresh milk and comfort of Spring in the desert. The Arabs wear only a cotton shirt and a woolen cloak, Winter and Summer, and were altogether unfitted for weather like this; very many of them died of the cold.

One curious incident was when a party of 150 Arabs went out to raid the railway near Maan. They marched from Akaba, with its sweltering heat, for sixty miles and halted for the night. Next morning they climbed the escarpment, which looked, they said, like a negro with a white skull cap on, and marched through powdery snow till dark, which proved windy and with faint attempts at a blizzard. They then camped in a three-foot watercourse, barracking their camels for protection against the wall of the gulley to save them from the pitiless wind. They themselves lay down on the other side of the gulley and slept. It was a bitter night, and no one was lively enough to get up and look about him, as it snowed gently, and every one shivered all the time with the cold. At dawn, however, they found the side of the gulley where the camels were one smooth drift of snow, out of which, like dark islands, were sticking the humps and saddles of their beasts. They set to, with the large iron spoons in which coffee beans are roasted, and dug out many of them—but all except three were dead! The jest was our marching home those long miles barefooted and laden with all our baggage, while the local attempts at a blizzard became more and more realistic.

On another occasion Sherif Feisul sent out a party of thirty-four camel riders to carry money to his brother in Tafileh, eighty miles away—and four days afterward one solitary rider, the only one of the party, struggled in. After this we all gave up touring the hills of either Edom or Moab in Winter.

For many months whenever there was no operation in hand some one on the Arab front (which was 400 miles long, and was held by some 40,000 Arabs) would say, "Let us undertake a railway raid," and something more or less exciting would happen. Unquestionably the greatest game of all railway work is blowing up trains. Once in September, 1917, an Arab party marched out of Akaba with explosives to Rum, a spring in the most wonderful red sandstone cliffs that look too regular to be natural and are yet far too overwhelming to be artificial. It is like an immense empty triumphal road, waiting for a procession or review greater than the world can bring it. At Rum we collected a raiding party of Howeitat. Though the very pick of the fighting men of Arabia, they were the most cranky, quarrelsome collection imaginable. In six days there had to be settled fourteen private feuds, twelve assaults with weapons, four camel thefts, one marriage portion, two evil eyes, and bewitchment. It took longer than making out company returns in triplicate.

We reached the line, and wandered up and down it, by day and night, keeping hidden till we found a place that pleased us, and there we laid an electric mine. The line crossed a valley on a high bank 500 yards long, pierced by three small bridges about 200 yards from each other. We laid the mine over the southernmost, connected it electrically with the firing mechanism under the middle one, and arranged for two Lewis guns to take position under the northernmost one. From this northern bridge ran up a long transverse gulley westward. It was about two feet deep and sprinkled with broom bushes, behind which the men (on foot) and the Lewis guns hid till wanted.

On the first day no train came; on the second a water train and a line patrol together. On the third, about 8 A. M., a train of twelve wagons came down from Maan and passed slowly over the embankment. The Bedouin were all lying behind their bushes, the Lewis gunners were under their arch, and the firing party under theirs, dancing a wild war-dance as the train rumbled over their heads. One man was left right out in the open to give the signal to the firing party when to fire the mine; he looked

a harmless enough Arab, and the officers in the train amused themselves by firing at him with their pistols. As soon, however, as the locomotive was over the mine he jumped up and waved his cloak, and instantly there was a shattering roar, a huge cloud of smoke and dust, the clanking of iron and the crushing of woodwork, and the whirring noise of the fragments of steel from the explosion sailing through the air.

CHARGING THE WRECK

Till the smoke cleared there was dead silence, and then the two Lewis guns which had come out to right and left at the edges of their abutments raked the troops as they leaped out of the derailed trucks. The Bedouin opened a rapid fire also, and in six minutes the affair was over, as the Arabs charged home on the wreck. We found that we had more prisoners than we wanted, some seventy tons of foodstuffs, and many little things like carpets and military stores. The Bedouin plundered at lightning speed, while we signed the duplicate way-bills and returned one copy to the wounded guard, whom we meant to leave in place. Then we fired the trucks and drove off our now overladen camels before the relief parties of Turks, who were hurrying up from north and south, could cut us off.

Raids did not always go so well, but many of them were very damaging to the Turk. Thus it took him months to repair the break in the line made by Sherif Nasir in one raid about seventy miles north of Maan on May 18, 1918. All his operations in the Maan area were delayed until General Allenby was ready to take the offensive in the Autumn. Sheik Auda did a good thing during that fighting, for the Turks sent down the last survivors of their last company of camel corps. They penned their camels in a yard of the station while they fought. Auda could not resist the temptation to loot, and dashed in on his mare with twelve of his tribe; and for the loss of one man and two horses they brought out the whole twenty-five riding camels from within 100 yards of the Turkish machine gun. It was a very wonderful sight.

The Liberators of the World

By MAURICE MAETERLINCK

America understood that the issue at stake was not only a matter of elementary justice and pity, but that it was still more a question of high duty toward the eternal conscience and morals of mankind. Thanks to her intervention, it will not be declared and taught to our children hereafter that honesty, loyalty, and heroism are only dangerous lies and the stock-in-trade of dupes; that wrong, always and everywhere, is right if it has might to sustain it; and that the only reward permissible here below for duty magnificently performed is a sum total of sufferings, disasters, and death by hunger. An example of iniquity on so immense and triumphant a scale would have dealt a blow to human ideals from which they could not have recovered in centuries. You Americans have not allowed that blow to be dealt, and the future, which belongs to you more than to any other, will never forget it.

Latin America in the War

By BENITO JAVIER PEREZ-VERDIA
MEMBER OF THE MEXICAN BAR

EIGHT of the twenty Latin-American nations—Brazil, Cuba, Panama, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Haiti, and Honduras—declared war on Germany, the last five having entered the struggle after April, 1918. Four republics severed diplomatic relations with the German Empire—Bolivia, Peru, Uruguay, and Ecuador. El Salvador declared a benevolent neutrality toward the United States, which was understood to be more than a paper declaration, since it entailed the use of Salvadorean ports by United States warships and those of the Allies, regardless of the restrictions as to the length of stay of warships in neutral ports, set by international law.

Six Latin-American nations—Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Paraguay, and Venezuela—remained neutral. This neutrality in no way implied hostility to the policy of the United States; it meant that, as they had not suffered any direct grievance at the hands of Germany, their national interests received preference over every other political consideration. Thus in the case of Argentina, it meant that, as she filed her protest when the German submarines illegally sank the Argentine sailing ships Monte Protegido and Oriana and the steamer Toro, she succeeded in wresting from the German Government a promise to respect Argentine shipping and to pay an indemnity for all damages growing from the illegal acts.

Not all the Latin-American nations were treated alike by Germany. When the German Empire, on Jan. 31, 1917, instituted its submarine blockade of the British, French, and Italian shores, several Latin-American nations followed the lead of the United States and entered a strong protest against such a violation of international law. These nations were Bolivia, Brazil, Cuba, Haiti, Honduras, Guatemala, Peru, and Uruguay. While the protests of Brazil and Uruguay followed the normal course of such diplomatic communications, the Guatemalan protest and others from small nations were received with the greatest contempt. Accordingly, the Government of Guatemala, in a decree dated April 27, 1917, stated that "as the German Gov-
"ernment has not had even the courtesy
"to acknowledge the receipt of Guate-
"mala's protest against the submarine
"blockade, either directly or through her
"representative in Guatemala, the only
"becoming action in the circumstances is
"the severance of diplomatic relations."

Haiti protested on May 11, 1917, against the submarine blockade, holding Germany responsible for the lives and interests of Haitian subjects traveling on the high seas. When several natives of Haiti lost their lives on the Karnak and Montreal the proper representations were made. Germany in reply handed the Chargé d'Affairs of Haiti his passports, thus compelling Haiti in turn to dismiss the German Chargé d'Affaires in June, 1917.

CUBA AND PANAMA

Of the Latin-American nations which declared war on Germany, Cuba and Panama were the first to throw themselves into the world conflict—on April 7, 1917, that is to say, the day following the beginning of hostilities between the United States and Germany. President Menocal, in his message to the Cuban Congress, reviewed the causes which had brought about the state of war between the United States and Germany, and dwelt upon Germany's continuous violations of international law and of the rights of neutrals. The late President of Panama, in addition to the proclamation dated April 9, 1917, sent a friendly message to President Wilson following the declaration of a state of war between the United States and Germany. Panama on Dec. 10 and Cuba on Dec. 16, 1917, declared war on Austria-Hungary,

thus identifying themselves with the policy followed by the United States in regard to the Central Empires.

BRAZIL'S ACTION

As a result of the sinking of the steamer Parana by a German submarine without warning on the night of April 3, 1917, off Point Barfleur, with attendant loss of life, the Brazilian Government broke off diplomatic relations with Germany on April 11. Notwithstanding its declaration of neutrality on April 25, this status was maintained only a short time. The Brazilian Ambassador in Washington, in his note of June 4, 1917, to the Department of State, announced the passage of the law which revoked Brazil's neutrality in the war between the United States of America and the German Empire. The Republic thus recognized the fact that one of the belligerents was a constituent portion of the American Continent, adding: "We are bound to that "belligerent by traditional friendship "and the same devotion to the defense "of the vital interests of America and "the accepted principles of law. Brazil "* * * could not longer stand un-"concerned when the struggle involved "the United States, actuated by no self-"interest whatever, but solely by a love "of international judicial order, and "when Germany included us and the "other neutral powers in the most vio-"lent acts of war." Finally, on Oct. 26, the Brazilian Congress proclaimed the existence of a state of war between Brazil and Germany.

CENTRAL AMERICA

Guatemala entered the war on April 21, 1918, when, through a decree of her Legislative Assembly, it was resolved that "Guatemala assumes in the present "international conflict the same belig-"erent attitude as the United States "against the German Empire." Nicaragua declared war against Germany, as well as against Austria-Hungary, "mak-"ing common cause with the United "States of America and with the Latin-"American republics which are at war "with the said Imperial Governments," and Costa Rica, which had suffered the effects of a revolution either encouraged or promoted by Germans residing in that country, broke off diplomatic relations on Sept. 21, 1917, and on May 24, 1918, declared war on the German Empire. She was thus the third Central American republic to assume a belligerent attitude.

On July 19, 1918, Honduras declared war on Germany according to the following decree:

> Considering that the motives which originated the severing of the diplomatic relations of this republic with the German Empire have become accentuated, being characterized every day by greater gravity for the international life of all peoples;
>
> Considering that continental solidarity imposes upon the States of America the duty to contribute each according to the measure of its abilities toward the triumph of the cause of civilization and of right, which, with the allied nations, the United States of America defends, and consequently demands a definite attitude in the present conflict of the world;
>
> Therefore, in council of Ministers, it is decreed:
>
> That there exists a state of war between the Republic of Honduras and the Government of the German Empire.

The Government of Haiti declared war on Germany on July 12, 1918. The President, in a proclamation on the same date, said: "The small nations have in their "international life a sole force—Right—"which is the guarantee of their ex-"istence. * * * Germany, the for-"midable military power fighting "against the nations, has declared her-"self in open rebellion against Right. "Our place, therefore, is among the peo-"ples which are fighting her, and which "are fighting her with such heroism, "supported by our powerful and natural "ally, the United States."

PERU

The Peruvian bark Lorton was sent to the bottom on Feb. 4, 1917, while on her way from Callao to Bilbao with a cargo of nitrates; the sinking took place in Spanish territorial waters, completely outside the submarine zone decreed by Germany. Germany stubbornly asserted her right to submit the case to a German prize court, a proposition emphatically rejected by Peru. The unyielding attitude of Germany brought on a diplomatic rupture, although the Argentine

claims in the cases of the Monte Protegido Oriana, and Toro had been recognized in full. This is a striking case of the discrepancy of German standards in her dealings with neutral countries. Attention must be called, however, to a very important difference in these cases in favor of Peru, as the destination of the Lorton was a neutral port, while the Argentine ships were bound to a belligerent port.

The President of Peru, in his message to the Peruvian Congress on July 28, 1917, indorsed the principles set forth in President Wilson's war message, saying:

> Peru, which in all her acts of international life has endeavored to incorporate these principles of justice in the judicial and political relations of the American peoples; Peru, which in a war not far back sacrificed for these ideals the blood of her sons, her wealth, and her hopes for the future, cannot be indifferent to the words of President Wilson, and adheres, once more, to these noble purposes.

ARGENTINA'S ATTITUDE

If Argentina did not sever her diplomatic relations with the German Empire, as did Peru on Oct. 6, 1917, it was because Germany had granted all her claims, besides making the solemn promise to respect Argentine shipping in an even more ample manner than that of the Sussex. It was during these diplomatic negotiations that Count Luxburg sent his notorious messages to his Government through the Swedish Legation at Buenos Aires, recommending the sinking of Argentine vessels without leaving any trace, "spurlos versenkt," as he said, in a phrase which has found its place in the history of diplomacy.

The Argentine Government, two days after the publication of the messages, dismissed this unscrupulous diplomat, and Germany hastened officially to disapprove the utterances of her representative. The indignation which spread over Argentina was so high that popular demonstration against Germany acquired a threatening character, and the House of Representatives and the Senate passed a resolution urging the immediate severance of diplomatic relations with the German Empire. The resolution passed by the Senate on Sept. 19, 1917, read as follows:

> The Argentine Senate is deeply affected by the conduct of the ex-Minister of the German Empire, Count Luxburg, in the matter of the telegrams transmitted to the German Foreign Office through the Swedish Legation in this capital and published by the Department of State of the United States of America; it believes that such conduct is an offense against diplomatic morals and the most elementary principles of humanity as contained in our laws, against the traditional policy of loyalty, honesty, and justice of the Argentine Republic, and against the right of free navigation of vessels carrying her neutral flag in the present war; it is firmly convinced that such acts may jeopardize the immunity of her flag, the lives of her nationals, and the neutrality of the republic as well as her territorial sovereignty, in exercising within her jurisdiction acts of espionage to the detriment of the commerce of the republic and that of the belligerent nations which are friendly to her. It believes, furthermore, that the attitude to be adopted by the Government in this emergency must foster the uninterrupted fraternal friendship which has united at all times the States of this continent, upon the basis of common democratic ideals and of international justice. The order of expulsion against the above-mentioned Minister from the territory of the nation is not, in its judgment, sufficient reparation for the seriousness of the offense and wrongs committed. The Senate of the nation accordingly decrees: That the proper step to be taken in the present circumstances is that the Executive Power sever diplomatic relations with the Imperial Government of Germany.

In the course of diplomatic negotiations on the sinking of the steamer Toro an Argentine doctrine was proclaimed regarding the immunity of national products which, in the words of the Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs, are "the fruit of the efforts of the "nation in its vital work, not to satisfy "war requirements, but to meet the nor-"mal needs of humanity." This doctrine awaits the careful consideration of internationalists and Governments before being definitely accepted or rejected. It is unquestionably a step forward which would insure a victory for neutral rights over the unrestricted ambitions of belligerents. Its adoption would be a veritable conquest in international law—one of those conquests which have been ignored by Germany.

The Argentine doctrine of immunity of national products was not, how-

ever, the sole international doctrine proclaimed by the Latin-American countries in the course of the war. Uruguay, which proved itself to be one of the most zealous champions of international order, in a decree of June 18, 1917, revoking its neutrality, advanced a principle of American solidarity which goes far beyond any Pan-American doctrine heretofore announced. In this decree Uruguay established a precedent which may rank close to the Monroe Doctrine in importance. It is no longer the United States alone which, in the rôle of big sister, stands as the champion of the American continents against possible European aggression. It is now Uruguay—a small country of 85,000 square miles and of 1,500,000 inhabitants—which fearlessly declares that any American nation which fights in defense of its rights against a power of another continent shall find an ally in Uruguay. Complementing these statements, which mark a departure in American diplomacy, the Executive of Uruguay expressed in his message to Congress, Oct. 6, 1917, an earnest indorsement of the ideas of President Wilson on a League of Nations.

ECUADOR AND OTHERS

The President of Ecuador, in his message to the Congress, dated Aug. 10, 1918, made the following comment about the severance of diplomatic relations:

> In December last we broke off diplomatic relations with the German Empire. In the sessions of 1917 the Congress had been already informed of our refusal to receive the German Minister, Mr. Pearl, a refusal which implied, of course, the suspension of our diplomatic intercourse with Germany. The attitude of Mr. Müller and our duty to follow a course which should express our solidarity to many countries of America, which have already adopted a similar method or have gone even further in their expressions of international policy, have seemed to us sufficient reason to justify Ecuador, which is a democratic country with liberal institutions, in adopting such a course.

And the President of Venezuela in his message of May 3, 1917, announced the policy to be adhered to by his country as follows:

> Up to the present there has been no act of German submarines by which Venezuela has been directly affected, and therefore it has not been involved in the complications which have drawn the United States into war with the German Empire. Notwithstanding this, Venezuela, in consequence of her respectful assertion of all her rights, reserves the right to defend the lives and the properties of her nationals. She follows the course of events with natural interest and is identified with the principle in defense of which the United States has entered the war, with the traditional friendship which has united us to that nation, and with those general interests that the republics of this continent enjoy in common.

This attitude, which was that observed by the rest of the neutral countries, was likewise proclaimed by the President of Chile on June 1, 1917, and reaffirmed on June 1, 1918. On both occasions the Chilean President took advantage of the opportunity of addressing the Congress to state that Chile had reserved to herself the right of taking the necessary steps in the event of any breach of the rules of international law affecting her.

Bolivia was the first Latin-American nation to break off diplomatic relations with Germany—on April 10, 1917. The Bolivian protest against the submarine warfare as conducted by Germany was couched in very strong terms, and the Department of Foreign Relations of Bolivia sought to unify Latin-American action to enforce the rules of international law. The Bolivian President in his message to the Congress, on Aug. 6, 1917, fully indorsed the stand taken by President Wilson in defense of the principles of humanity and justice.

Paraguay showed her friendship toward the United States, stating her regret "that military operations of the "German Empire, opposed to the prin-"ciples and conventions on which the "rights of neutrals are founded and "regulated in maritime warfare, have "forced the United States of America to "appeal to arms in order to re-establish "the rule of law by the recovery of these "rights," and declaring also that "Para-"guay and its Government in these mo-"ments regard the course of the United "States of America and the American "Government with the most lively sym-"pathy."

On Oct. 17, 1917, the Colombian Con-

gress passed a resolution protesting against the submarine campaign and expressing the opinion that submarines should not be admitted in Colombian ports. The resolution was worded as follows:

> Whereas, The use of submarines against all kinds of merchant vessels, whether neutral or belligerent, without any discrimination, is a practice contrary to international law and so qualified not only by the Government of Colombia, but by other neutral Governments: Now, therefore, the Senate of Colombia protests against the aforesaid practice.
>
> It is of the opinion that the submarines of the nations which use them as above described should not receive the same treatment as warships which follow the rules of international law. The Senate of the republic, therefore, believes that they should not be admitted into the ports and other jurisdictional waters of the republic, and that the nation should observe regarding these vessels the same conduct observed at the present time by other neutral Governments; such conduct is based on a sense of prudence and international safety.

MEXICO'S NEUTRALITY

The President of Mexico, on the occasion of the presentation of the credentials of the Belgian Minister in March, 1918, dwelt on the sacrifices of Belgium as follows:

> It is a great pleasure for me to declare to your Excellency on this solemn occasion that Belgium, in taking up arms in defense of her neutrality, her honor, and her independence, has fulfilled the most heroic act of modern times to the glory and example of weak nations. Countries which are not ready to shed the last drop of blood in defense of their autonomy and their institutions have no right to be counted in the concert of free nations, and those which do not measure dangers or curtail sacrifices to preserve them, although they may be defeated and chained, may rest assured of the advent of the bright day of their liberty, because they are worthy of it, because they live for it, and were born to enjoy it.

It is true that in the case of Mexico there was some friction, caused mainly by German propaganda, which in Mexico especially was secretly at work to create a feeling of hostility and distrust between the two countries. A sample of this hostile effort was the famous Zimmermann note. No other country in America, however, had better reasons for remaining neutral than Mexico, without committing thereby any act of hostility to the interests of the United States. Mexico needed her neutrality to heal her own wounds, to repair the immense losses in blood and treasure due to her recent civil strife; to prepare effectively to undertake the tremendous work of reconstruction which is required to bring the country prosperity through a sound development of her inexhaustible resources. In attaining these ends, the stirring declarations of President Wilson to a group of Mexican newspaper men on June 7, 1919, were naturally a powerful factor for the betterment of international relations between Mexico and the United States.

New Year's Day, 1919

[From a Poem by Lieutenant Grantland Rice]

Today no storming vanguard leaps
To leave its share of slain;
At dawn no rolling thunder sweeps
From Flanders to Lorraine;
The white year breaks against the sky
Beyond the last red flare,
Save where ten million ghosts drift by
Who neither know nor care.

INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF THE WAR

[American Cartoon]

Skimming It Off

—From the Newark Evening News

[English Cartoon]

In Honor of the British Navy

—From London Punch

To commemorate the surrender of the German fleet.

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Kaiser's Iron Tonic Fails

From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

GERMANIA: "No, Doctor, you can't help me any more."

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

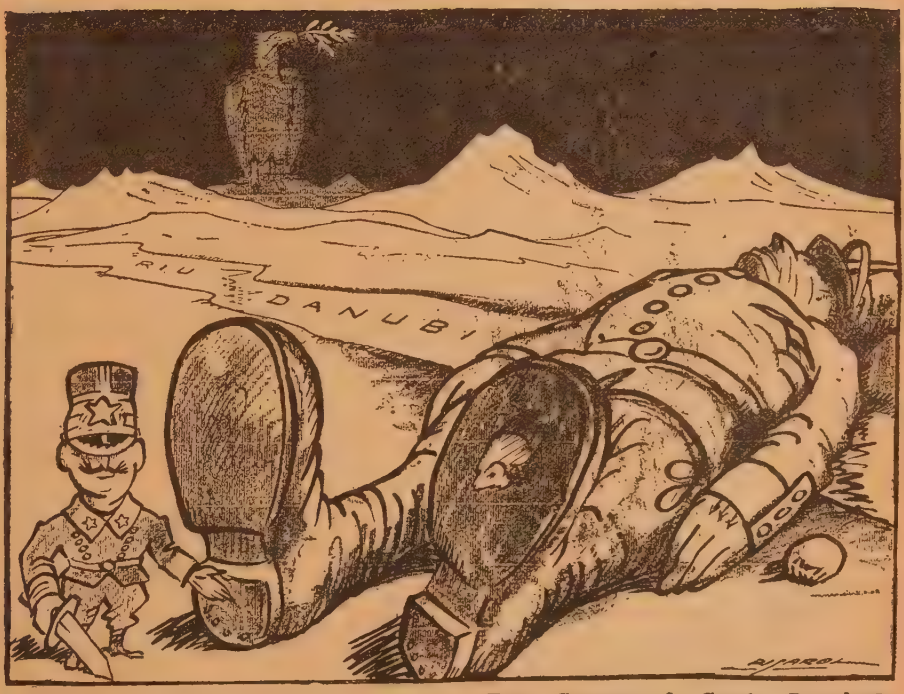
Before the Portals

—From Nebelspalter, Zurich

"What are you doing here, youngster?"
"I am cold standing so long outside."
"I also. But I will soon warm you."

[Spanish Cartoon]

David and Goliath



From Campana de Gracia, Barcelona

A Spanish artist's view of the Italian victory over Austria-Hungary.

[Spanish Cartoon]

The German Militarist Pig

—From Campana de Gracia, Barcelona

It inflated itself so much — —— ——— that it burst.

[English Cartoon]

Applying the Armistice Terms

—From The Passing Show, London

FOCH: "I'd rather have wrung his neck."

A Pretty Good League

—New York Herald

The Day of Reckoning

—Baltimore Sun

"You would dance—you must pay the fiddler!"

Exhibit One---At the Peace Conference

—Ohio State Journal

To Make It Seaworthy---That's the Problem

—Portland Oregonian

[English Cartoon]

The Skipper Who Skipped

—*From London Opinion*

WILHELM THE SKIPPER: "I have piled my ship on the rocks, but I seem to have saved my own skin—for the present."

[English Cartoon]

Germania's Glad Eye

—From the Passing Show, London

CLEMENCEAU: "En Bien, Mon Cher President, if you knew the old Jezebel as well as we do, you wouldn't be deceived by her approaches, even though she has disguised herself in that Hat!"

In Case of Danger

—*Detroit News*

The Ghost of 1914

—*Newark Evening News*

Bury It!

—*Cincinnati Post*

Home With the Bacon

—*Washington Times*

Back Again!

—*From The New York Times*

Lucifer

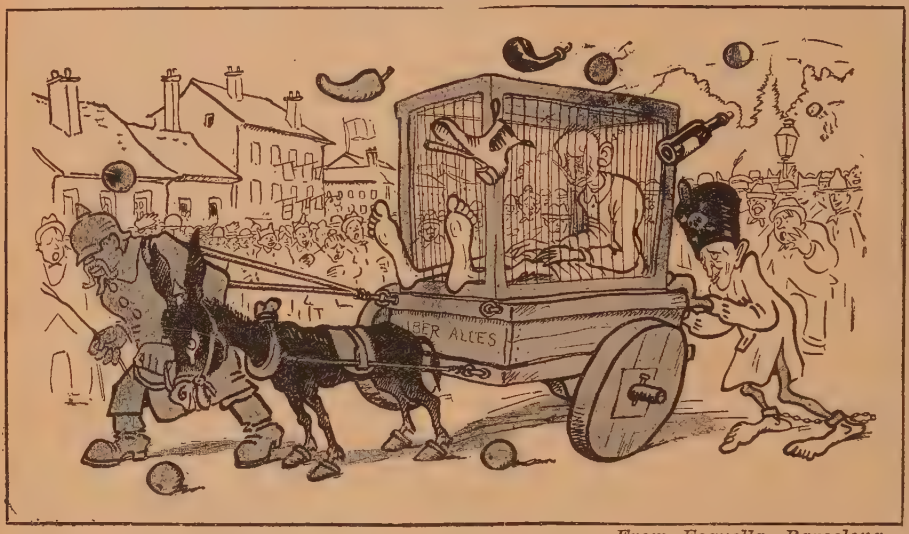
—*New York World*

For Distinguished Service

—*New York Times*

[Spanish Cartoon]

The Punishment They Would Get From the People



—From Esquella, Barcelona

[German Cartoon]

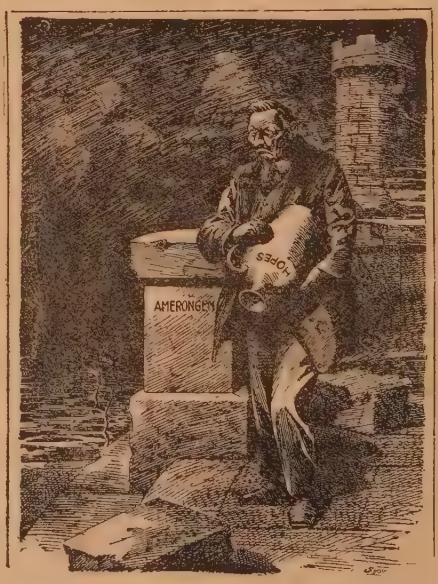
Out of Fashion

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

OLD BERLINER TO GERMANIA: "Madame, your headgear is out of date; you'd better get a cap."

[American Cartoon]

The Outcast



—Dayton News

She Has His Seat

—*St. Louis Republic*

Now's the Time to Sign Him Up

—*New York Tribune*

Extra! Extra! France Surrenders!

—*New York World*

The Perilous Perch

—*St. Louis Globe-Democrat*

Made in Germany

Pulling Together

New Version of an Old Song

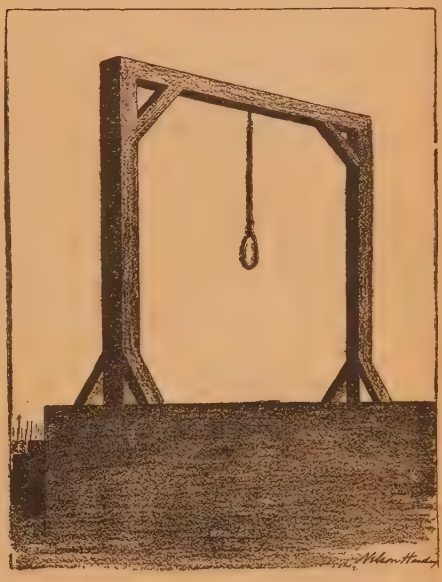
Brooding

—From The San Francisco Chronicle

The "All Highest"

—*Brooklyn Eagle*

Proposed Arch for the Kaiser

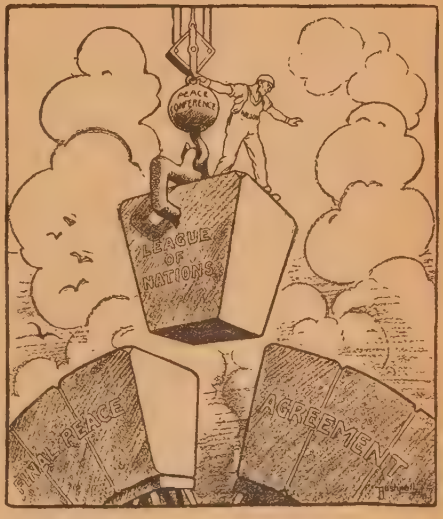


—*Brooklyn Eagle*

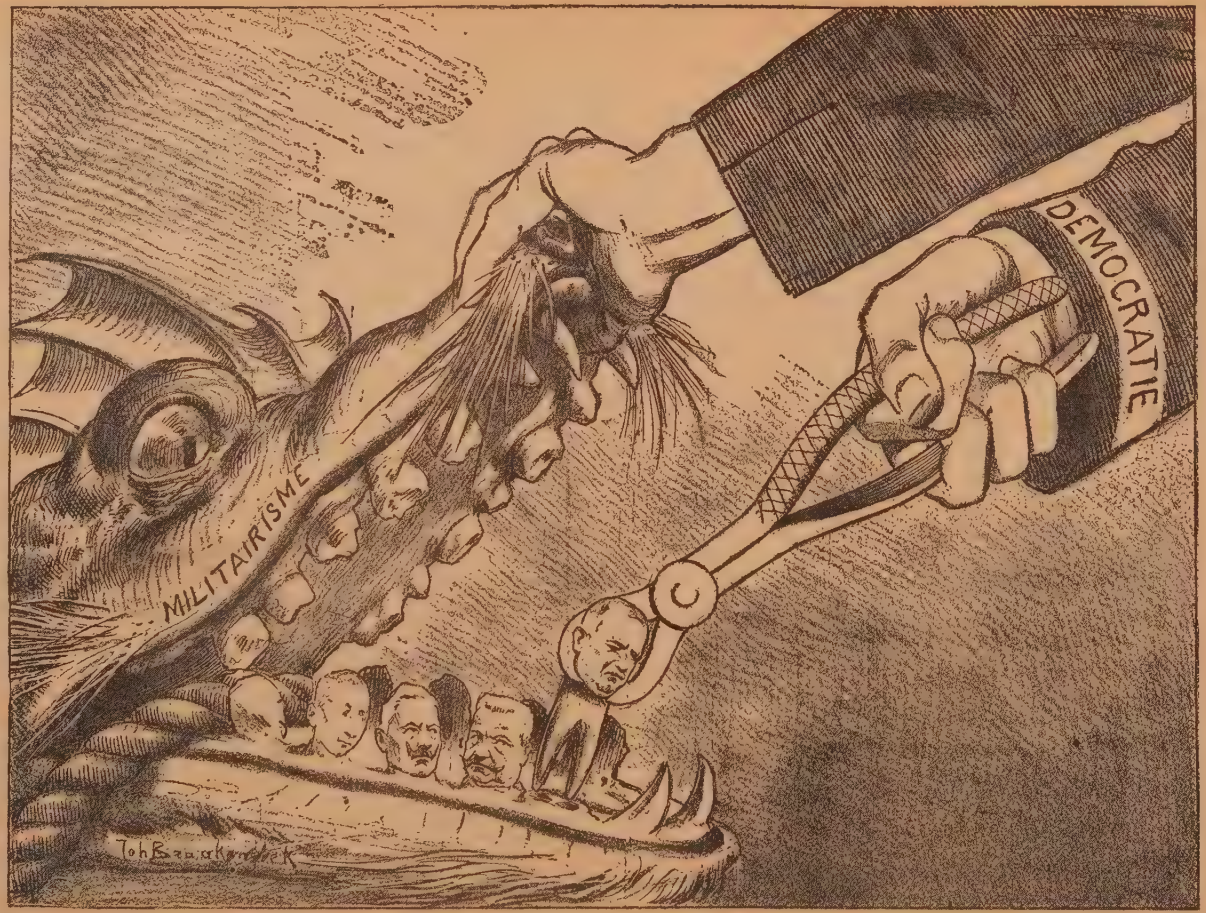
"Lest We Forget!"

—*New York Herald*

Laying the Keystone



—*Central Press Association*



[Dutch Cartoon]

The Beginning of the End of Militarism

Democracy, the Toothpuller, Removing Ludendorff.

—From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

[Norwegian Cartoon]

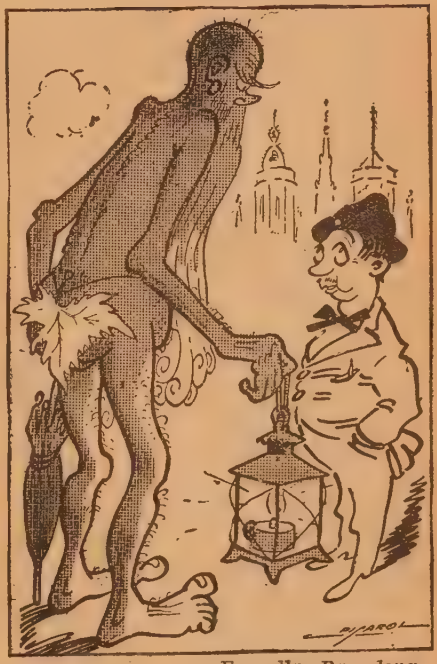
Cause and Effect

—*Søndags Nisse, Stockholm*

CRIPPLE: "If our rulers had not wooden heads, I should not have wooden legs!"

[Spanish Cartoon]

Hopeless



Esquella, Barcelona

"Whom are you seeking, Diogenes?"
"A pro-German."

[German Cartoon]

Austria's Downfall

—*Kladderadatsch, Berlin*

The German Cartoonist called Austria's defeat "One of History's Bad Jokes," adding, "The storm blew her down, but Italy claims the victory."

[Italian Cartoon]

"The Devil a Saint Would Be"

—*Il 420, Florence*

[English Cartoon]

The Only Loophole Left

—*From John Bull, London*

[American Cartoon]

A Stanch Craft

—*From The New York Tribune*

"It'll take a bigger wave than that to wreck the old boat! Eh, Mate?"

[American Cartoon]

Frankenstein to Date

From The Dayton News

"Vait! Vait! Don't you know your master?"

MAJOR GEN. THOMAS H. BARRY

Gen. Barry Succeeded the Late Major Gen. J. Franklin Bell in Command of the Department of the East

(© Western Newspaper Union)

WALKER D. HINES

Appointed Jan. 11, 1919, as Director General of Railroads, Succeeding William G. McAdoo

(© *Harris & Ewing*)

COUNT BROCKDORF-RANTZAU

German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Succeeding Dr. W. S. Solf

NICHOLAS TCHAIKOVSKY

Premier of the North Russian Government, Opposed to the Bolshevist Régime

DR. KARL LIEBKNECHT

Leader of the Spartacan Revolt, Who Was Killed Jan. 15, 1919, in the Berlin Riots

NEWSPAPER MEN AT PEACE CONFERENCE

George H. Perris
British Correspondent at French Front

Philip Gibbs
War Correspondent with British Armies

George Creel
Chairman of Committee on Public Information

Ray Stannard Baker
Official Reporter of Peace Conference

"THE WATCH ON THE RHINE"

American Sentry on Bridge at Coblenz, Germany, Opposite the Famous Fortress of Ehrenbreitstein

(© *Committee on Public Information from Underwood & Underwood*)

The Quai d'Orsay in Paris Houses the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and in One Salon of the Building the Peace Delegates Meet

(© *Times Photo Service*)

THE PEACE CONFERENCE IN SESSION

First Photograph to Reach This Country Showing the Peace Delegates Actually in Session. President Wilson Is at Left of Clock

(© *Western Newspaper Union*)

PRESIDENT WILSON AND MRS. WILSON AT CHAUMONT, FRANCE

The President and Mrs. Wilson, Escorted by Gen. Pershing, Leaving the Town Hall of Chaumont, France, Headquarters of American Expeditionary Forces

(© *Times' Photo Service*)

TRIUMPHANT FRENCH ENTRY INTO STRASBOURG

President Poincaré, Premier Clemenceau, and French Officers at Strasbourg During the Celebration of the Return of Alsace-Lorraine Described Elsewhere in These Pages

(© *Underwood & Underwood*)

The 1st Division of the 28th American Infantry Entering Coblenz. Men Are Being Billeted Under Supervision of Officers

(© *International Film Service*)

THE ONCE BEAUTIFUL CLOTH HALL OF YPRES, BELGIUM

Utter Ruin of the Famous Structure That Was Not Only the Pride of Belgium but a Treasure of the World

(British Official Photo)

PRESIDENT WILSON AT MILAN, ITALY

A Tremendous Outpouring of People, Wild With Enthusiasm, Greeted President Wilson When He Visited Milan, Jan. 5, 1919

(Times Photo Service)

ROME, ITALY, GAVE THE PRESIDENT A GREAT WELCOME

The Presidential Party Entering the Spacious and Beautiful Piazza di San Pietro, Jan. 4, 1919

(© *Underwood & Underwood*)

MEETING OF TWO GREAT ALLIED GENERALS

Gen. Sir Edmund Allenby, Victor in Palestine, and Gen. Franchet d'Esperey, Conqueror of Bulgaria, Meeting at Scutari, Opposite Constantinople

(© French Pictorial Service)

PERIOD LIV.

The Peace Congress—Question of the German Colonies—Shaping the League of Nations Plan—Premier Clemenceau's Appeal to America—The Prinkipo Conference Plan—Armistice Extension—Making the New Map of Europe—The Lesser Belligerents—Peace Issues in Neutral Countries—President Poincare in Alsace-Lorraine—Germany's National Assembly—The Former German Emperor—The Revolt of the German Navy—Last Cruise of the German Fleet—Russia's Struggle With Bolshevism—Red Russia Described by Eyewitnesses—Events in the Republic of Poland—Chronology of the Armistice Period—Solving New Shipping Problems—America's Financial Aid to the Allies—Emerging From War Conditions—Heroism on Torpedoed Transports—Story of the First American Regulars—War Work of the Y. M. C. A.—Passing of the Hapsburg Sovereignty—The Hungarian People's Republic—Organizing German Austria—The Czechoslovaks and Jugoslavs—Sinking of the Viribus Unitis—Why Austria's Peace Efforts Failed—Mobilizing the British Army in 1914—The French Withdrawal at Briey—Marshal Foch on the Armistice—Wanton Destruction of French Factories—Haig's Victory Dispatch—Campaign That Liberated Palestine—Massacre of the Greeks in Turkey.

THE PEACE CONGRESS

A Tentative Constitution for a League of Nations Agreed Upon ---Other Proceedings

THE proceedings of the opening session of the Peace Congress, held at the Quai d'Orsay in Paris, Jan. 18, 1919, were recorded in the preceding issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. At that session the regulations governing the Conference proceedings were adopted—in sixteen sections. The following were the regulations regarding the composition of the Congress:

MEMBERSHIP

The belligerent Powers with general interests—the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan—shall take part in all meetings and commissions.

The belligerent Powers with particular interests—Belgium, Brazil, the British Dominions, and India, China, Cuba, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hedjaz, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Serbia, Siam, and the Czechoslovak Republic—shall take part in the sittings at which questions concerning them are discussed.

The Powers in a state of diplomatic rupture with the enemy powers—Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, and Uruguay—shall take part in the sittings at which questions concerning them are discussed.

The neutral Powers and States in process of formation may be heard either orally or in writing when summoned by the Powers with general interests at sittings devoted especially to the examination of questions directly concerning them, but only so far as these questions are concerned.

REPRESENTATION

The representation of the different Powers was fixed as follows:

Five for the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan; three for Belgium, Brazil, and Serbia; two for China, Greece, the King of Hedjaz, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Siam, and the Czechoslovak Republic; one for Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, and Panama; one for Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, and Uruguay.

The British Dominions and India shall be represented as follows: Two delegates each for Australia, Canada, South Africa, and India, including the native States; one delegate for New Zealand.

Although the number of delegates may not exceed the figures above mentioned, each delegation has the right to avail itself of the panel system. The representation of the Dominions, including Newfoundland, and of India, may be included in the representation of the British Empire by the panel system.

Montenegro shall be represented by one delegate, but the rules concerning the designation of this delegate shall not be fixed until the moment when the political situation of this country shall have been cleared up.

The conditions of the representation of Russia shall be fixed by the conference at the moment when the matters concerning Russia are examined.

SECRETARIAT

The provision regarding the secretariat was as follows:

A secretariat, appointed from outside the plenipotentiaries, composed of one representative of the United States of America, one of the British Empire, one of France, one of Italy, and one of Japan, will be submitted to the approval of the Conference by the President, who will be the controlling authority responsible for its operations.

This secretariat will be intrusted with the care of drafting the protocols of the meeting, of classifying the archives, of providing for the administration and organization of the Conference and generally of insuring the regular and punctual working of the service intrusted to it. The head of the secretariat shall have charge of and be responsible for the protocols and archives.

The archives will always be open to the members of the Conference.

PUBLICITY

The publicity of the proceedings shall be insured by official communiqués prepared by the secretariat and made public. In case of disagreement as to the drafting of these communiqués, the matter shall be referred to the principal plenipotentiaries or their representatives.

A provision was made that all questions to be decided upon should be subject to two readings. The following pro-

gram regarding resolutions was agreed to:

DECISIONS

A committee shall be formed for drafting the resolutions adopted. This committee shall concern itself only with questions which have been decided. Its sole duty shall be to draw up the text of the decision adopted and to present it for the approval of the Conference.

It shall be composed of five members not forming part of the plenipotentiary delegates and composed of one representative of the United States of America, one of the British Empire, one of France, one of Italy, and one of Japan.

THE SUPREME COUNCIL

The Supreme Council, consisting of the two ranking delegates from each of the five chief Powers, held its first session afte the adjournment of the Plenary Council on Jan. 20, and devoted the session to consideration of the Russian situation. The meeting was addressed by Joseph Noulens, the French Ambassador, who had recently returned from Russia. The session on the following day also was devoted to Russia, and M. Scavenius, Danish Minister to Russia, was heard. At the session of the council on Jan. 22 the decision was announced by which all Russian factions were invited to a conference at Princes' Islands, Sea of Marmora. The text of the announcement and other details appear elsewhere in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

At the meeting of the Supreme Council on Jan. 23 an order of business was announced for a plenary meeting of the Conference on Saturday, Jan. 25. The following questions were considered for this purpose:

First—International legislation on labor.
Second—Responsibility and punishments in connection with the war.
Third—Reparation for war damage.
Fourth—International régime of ports, waterways, and railways.

In addition, the meeting began consideration of the procedure to be adopted with regard to territorial questions.

SUPREME WAR COUNCIL

At the meeting on the 24th the Supreme Council first met as the Supreme War Council. Not only were there present President Wilson and the Premiers, and Foreign Ministers, but also Marshal Foch, Field Marshal Haig, General Pershing, General Diaz, and the Generals of the Versailles War Council, including Generals Wilson, Belling, Bliss, and Robilant.

The council conferred with Marshal Foch and the other military experts as to the strength of the forces to be allowed to the various allied Powers on the western front during the period of the armistice. It was decided to set up a special committee composed of Mr. Churchill, Mr. Loucheur, Marshal Foch, General Bliss, and General Diaz to examine the question.

The Supreme War Council also agreed to recommend for the approval of the Governments concerned the issue of an identic medal and ribbon to all the forces of the allied and associated Powers who had taken part in the war.

WARNING TO FACTIONS

After the Supplementary Council, the President of the United States of America and the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of the allied and associated Governments, with the representatives of Japan, held a short meeting and agreed to the publication and transmission by wireless telegraphy to all parts of the world of the following communication:

The Governments now associated in conference to effect a lasting peace among the nations are deeply disturbed by the news which comes to them of the many instances in which armed force is being made use of in many parts of Europe and the East to gain possession of territory, the rightful claim to which the Peace Conference is to be asked to determine.

They deem it their duty to utter a solemn warning that possession, gained by force, will seriously prejudice the claims of those who use this means. It will create the presumption that those who employ force doubt the justice and validity of their claims, and purpose to substitute possession for proof of right, and set up sovereignty by coercion rather than by racial or national preference and natural historical association. They thus put a cloud upon every evidence of title they may afterward allege, and indicate their distrust of the Conference itself.

Nothing but the most unfortunate results can ensue. If they expect justice they must refrain from force and place their claims in unclouded good faith in the hands of the Conference of Peace.

MISSION TO POLAND

At a meeting of the council the same day the mission of the Allies and associated great Powers to Poland was discussed, and it was agreed that M. Pichon, the French Foreign Minister, should prepare draft instructions to the mission for the approval of the representatives of the powers. It was agreed that one press representative for each of the five great Powers should be permitted to accompany the mission.

The question of territorial readjustments in connection with the conquest of the German colonies was then taken up. Sir Robert Borden, Prime Minister of Canada; Mr. Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia; General Smuts, representative of General Botha, the Prime Minister of South Africa, and Mr. Massey, Prime Minister of New Zealand, were present and explained the particular interest of the respective dominions in regard to this question.

Second Plenary Session

Preliminary Steps for the Organization of a League of Nations

THE second plenary session of the Peace Conference, held on Jan. 25, 1919, with Premier Clemenceau in the chair, was marked by the adoption of the plan for a League of Nations. The plan was accepted unanimously, the principles upon which it was based being emphasized and firmly supported by the representatives of the allied Powers. After having called the delegates to order, M. Clemenceau read the resolution on the creation of a committee on the League of Nations, the text of which follows:

It is essential to the maintenance of the world settlement which the associated nations are now met to establish that a League of Nations be created to promote international obligations and to provide safeguards against war.

This League should be created as an integral part of the general treaty of peace and should be open to every civilized nation which can be relied on to promote its objects.

The members of the League should periodically meet in international conference and should have a permanent organization and secretaries to carry on the business of the League in the intervals between the conferences.

The Conference therefore appoints a committee, representative of the associated Governments, to work out the details of the constitution and the functions of the League and the draft of resolutions in regard to breaches of the laws of war for presentation to the Peace Conference.

That a commission, composed of two representatives apiece from the five great Powers and five representatives to be elected by the other Powers, be appointed to inquire and report upon the following:

First—The responsibility of the authors of the war.

Second—The facts as to breaches of the laws and customs of war committed by the forces of the German Empire and their allies on land, on sea, and in the air during the present war.

Third—The degree of responsibility for these offenses attaching to particular members of the enemy's forces, including members of the General Staffs and other individuals, however highly placed.

Fourth—The constitution and procedure of a tribunal appropriate to the trial of these offenses.

Fifth—Any other matters, cognate or ancillary to the above, which may arise in the course of the inquiry, and which the commission finds it useful and relevant to take into consideration.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADDRESS

After the resolution had been read, the Chair recognized President Wilson, who made the following address to the assembly:

Mr. Chairman: I consider it a distinguished privilege to be permitted to open the discussion in this conference on the League of Nations. We have assembled for two purposes, to make the present settlements which have been rendered necessary by this war and also to secure the peace of the world, not only by the present settlements but by the arrangements we shall make at this conference for its maintenance.

The League of Nations seems to me to be necessary for both of these purposes. There are many complicated questions connected with the present settlements which perhaps cannot be successfully

worked out to an ultimate issue by the decisions we shall arrive at here. I can easily conceive that many of these settlements will need subsequent consideration; that many of the decisions we make shall need subsequent alteration in some degree, for, if I may judge by my own study of some of these questions, they are not susceptible of confident judgments at present.

It is therefore necessary that we should set up some machinery by which the work of this conference should be rendered complete.

We have assembled here for the purpose of doing very much more than making the present settlements that are necessary. We are assembled under very peculiar conditions of world opinion. I may say, without straining the point, that we are not the representatives of Governments, but representatives of the peoples. It will not suffice to satisfy Governmental circles anywhere. It is necessary that we should satisfy the opinion of mankind.

The burdens of this war have fallen in an unusual degree upon the whole population of the countries involved. I do not need to draw for you the picture of how the burden has been thrown back from the front upon the older men, upon the women, upon the children, upon the homes of the civilized world, and how the real strain of the war has come where the eyes of the Government could not reach, but where the heart of humanity beats.

PERMANENT PROCESSES NEEDED

We are bidden by these people to make a peace which will make them secure. We are bidden by these people to see to it that this strain does not come upon them again. And I venture to say that it has been possible for them to bear this strain because they hoped that those who represented them could get together after this war and make such another sacrifice unnecessary.

It is a solemn obligation on our part, therefore, to make permanent arrangements that justice shall be rendered and peace maintained. This is the central object of our meeting. Settlements may be temporary, but the action of the nations in the interest of peace and justice must be permanent. We can set up permanent processes. We may not be able to set up a permanent decision.

Therefore, it seems to me that we must take as far as we can a picture of the world into our minds. Is it not a startling circumstance, for one thing, that the great discoveries of science, that the quiet studies of men in laboratories, that the thoughtful developments which have taken place in quiet lecture rooms have now been turned to the destruction of civilization? The powers of destruction have not so much multiplied as they have gained facilities.

The enemy whom we have just overcome had in his seats of learning some of the principal centres of scientific study and discovery, and he used them in order to make destruction sudden and complete. And only the watchful and continuous co-operation of men can see to it that science, as well as armed men, is kept within the harness of civilization.

In a sense the United States is less interested in this subject than the other nations here assembled. With her great territory and her extensive sea borders it is less likely that the United States should suffer from the attack of enemies than that other nations should suffer. And the ardor of the United States—for it is a very deep and genuine ardor—for the society of nations is not an ardor springing out of fear or apprehension, but an ardor springing out of the ideals which have come in the consciousness of this war.

AIMS OF THE UNITED STATES

In coming into this war the United States never for a moment thought that she was intervening in the politics of Europe, or the politics of Asia, or the politics of any part of the world. Her thought was that all the world had now become conscious that there was a single cause of justice and of liberty for men of every kind and place.

Therefore, the United States would feel that its part in this war should be played in vain if there ensued upon it abortive European settlements. It would feel that it could not take part in guaranteeing those European settlements unless that guarantee involved the continuous superintendence of the peace of the world by the associated nations of the world.

Therefore, it seems to me that we must concern our best judgment in order to make this League of Nations a vital thing—a thing sometimes called into life to meet an exigency, but always functioning in watchful attendance upon the interests of the nations—and that its continuity should be a vital continuity; that its functions are continuing functions that do not permit an intermission of its watchfulness and of its labor; that it should be the eye of the nations, to keep watch upon the common interest—an eye that does not slumber, an eye that is everywhere watchful and attentive.

And if we do not make it vital, what shall we do? We shall disappoint the expectations of the peoples. This is what their thought centres upon.

I have had the very delightful experience of visiting several nations since I came to this side of the water, and every time

the voice of the body of the people reached me, through any representative, at the front of the plea stood the hope of the League of Nations.

Gentlemen, the select classes of mankind are no longer the governors of mankind. The fortunes of mankind are now in the hands of the plain people of the whole world. Satisfy them, and you have justified their confidence not only, but have established peace. Fail to satisfy them, and no arrangement that you can make will either set up or steady the peace of the world.

You can imagine, I dare say, the sentiments and the purpose with which the representatives of the United States support this great project for a League of Nations. We regard it as the keynote of the whole, which expresses our purposes and ideals in this war and which the associated nations have accepted as the basis of a settlement.

THE PEOPLE'S MANDATE

If we returned to the United States without having made every effort in our power to realize this program, we should return to meet the merited scorn of our fellow-citizens. For they are a body that constitute a great democracy. They expect their leaders to speak; their representatives to be their servants.

We have no choice but to obey their mandate. But it is with the greatest enthusiasm and pleasure that we accept that mandate. And because this is the keynote of the whole fabric, we have pledged our every purpose to it, as we have to every item of the fabric. We would not dare abate a single item of the program which constitutes our instructions; we would not dare to compromise upon any matter as the champion of this thing—this peace of the world, this attitude of justice, this principle that we are the masters of no peoples, but are here to see that every people in the world shall choose its own masters and govern its own destinies, not as we wish, but as they wish.

We are here to see, in short, that the very foundations of this war are swept away. Those foundations were the private choice of a small coterie of civil rulers and military staffs. Those foundations were the aggression of great Powers upon the small. Those foundations were the holding together of empires of unwilling subjects by the duress of arms. Those foundations were the power of small bodies of men to wield their will and use mankind as pawns in a game. And nothing less than the emancipation of the world from these things will accomplish peace.

You can see that the representatives of the United States are, therefore, never put to the embarrassment of choosing a way of expediency, because they have had laid down before them the unalterable lines of principles. And, thank God, these lines have been accepted as the lines of settlements by all the high-minded men who have had to do with the beginning of this great business.

I hope, Mr. Chairman, when it is known, as I feel confident it will be known, that we have adopted the principle of the League of Nations and mean to work out that principle in effective action, we shall by that single thing have lifted a great part of the load of anxiety from the hearts of men everywhere.

We stand in a peculiar cause. As I go about the streets here I see everywhere the American uniform. Those men came into the war after we had uttered our purpose. They came as crusaders, not merely to win a war but to win a cause. And I am responsible for them, for it falls to me to formulate the purpose for which I asked them to fight, and I, like them, must be a crusader for these things, whatever it costs and whatever it may be necessary to do in honor to accomplish the object for which they fought.

I have been glad to find from day to day that there is no question of our standing alone in this matter, for there are champions of this cause upon every hand. I am merely avowing this in order that you may understand why, perhaps, it fell to us, who are disengaged from the politics of this great Continent and of the Orient, to suggest that this was the keystone of the arch, and why it occurred to the generous mind of your President to call upon me to open this debate. It is not because we alone represent this idea, but because it is our privilege to associate ourselves with you in representing it.

I have only tried in what I have said to give you the fountains of the enthusiasm which is within us for this thing, for those fountains spring, it seems to me, from all the ancient wrongs and sympathies of mankind, and the very pulse of the world seems to beat to the fullest in this enterprise.

SECONDED BY BRITAIN

President Wilson was followed by Premier Lloyd George, who made the following speech in support of the resolution:

Mr. Chairman: I rise to second this resolution. After the noble speech of the American President, I feel that no observations are needed in order to commend this resolution to the Conference, and I should not have intervened at all had it not been that I wished to state how emphatically the people of the British Empire are behind this proposal.

And if the national leaders have not been able during the last five years to devote as much time as they would like to its advocacy, it is because their time and their energy have been absorbed in the exigencies of a terrible struggle.

Had there been the slightest doubt in my mind as to the wisdom of this scheme, it would have vanished before an irresistible appeal made to me by the spectacle I witnessed last Sunday. I visited a region which but a few years ago was one of the fairest in an exceptionally fair land. I found it a ruin and a desolation.

I drove for hours through a country which did not appear like the habitation of living men and women and children, but like the excavation of a province, shattered and torn. I went to one city, where I witnessed a scene of devastation that no indemnity can ever repair—one of the beautiful things of the world disfigured and defaced beyond repair.

And one of the cruelest features to my mind was what I could see had happened —that Frenchmen, who love their land almost beyond any nation, in order to establish the justice of their cause had to assist the cruel enemy in demolishing their homes, and I felt that these are the results—only part of the results.

Had I been there three months ago, I would have witnessed something that I dare not describe. But I saw acres of graves of the fallen. And these were the results of the only methods, the only organized methods, that civilized nations have ever attempted or established to settle disputes among each other. And my feeling was: Surely it is time that a saner plan for settling disputes between peoples ought to be established than this organized savagery.

I don't know whether this will succeed. But if we attempt it, the attempt will be a success, and for that reason I second the proposal.

SUPPORTED BY ITALY

The Italian Premier, Signor Orlando, was next recognized by the Chair, and he expressed his support of the plan in the following words:

I wish to express fervent adhesion to the great principles which we are asked to consecrate, and I think by doing this we shall only fulfill the most solemn obligation we have undertaken toward our people. We asked them to make immense efforts and the counterpart of the responsibility we took was for them sacrifices, unnamed sufferings and death.

We are only doing our duty by keeping our sacred promise, and we must therefore bring into this full consent of mind, and if I may say so, purity of soul. No people is more ready to accept in its entirety this principle. It is with no feeling of vanity that I shall now recall the great juridical tradition of the Italian people. The principle of law is not only the principle of protection and of justice against violence—it is the form guaranteed by the State of what is a vital principle to humanity—social co-operation and solidarity among men.

The plan which will be laid before us must give us not only guarantees against future wars, but must secure co-operation between nations. This is a great historical day. Today the right of peoples is born. It is only just that it should be born in this generous country of France, which has fought so well by her genius and by her blood to insure the triumph of the rights of man, and this is a happy omen in the beginning of these debates.

ATTITUDE OF FRANCE

Leon Bourgeois, a French delegate, then expressed his adherence to the plan. He said:

I express my gratitude to the President of the republic who appointed me to speak on this great occasion. Was it because of his memory of the part I took in The Hague Conference? Whatever the reason, half of the honor now given to me must go to those of my colleagues present who were at The Hague with me.

The strong expression used by President Wilson—that we are not only the representatives of Governments, but the representatives of peoples—is something we must reflect upon. What do the free peoples of the world wish for? They wish that the terrible experience of the last four and a half years should never be renewed; they wish for the thing so deeply desired by all the victims of this war, all those who died for freedom and the right—the men who died fighting, not only for their country, but as true crusaders for the liberty of the world.

The striking picture drawn by Mr. Lloyd George of what he saw in one of the devastated parts of France is only one instance of a great fact. The devastating effect of an international conflict cannot now be limited to the place near where the conflict started. There is now no possibility of limiting any conflict of this sort. It cannot happen anywhere without putting the whole world in mortal danger. The whole world is interdependent economically, morally, and intellectually.

Another reason makes it impossible for us to face the renewal of such a war. It is the great progress and the great future progress of science which—against its object, which is all for the benefit of

mankind—will be used as it has been used, if we do not find some way out of the difficulty, for purposes of wholesale destruction.

SAFEGUARDING THE FUTURE

By thinking of what has been done during this war we can imagine what will happen if another war takes place in another forty or fifty years. We have the right to say that the problem before our consciences—how to assure the future of our own country and the future of our common motherland, the world, while making superior its interest—is the problem of general peace. We can remember the scruples which at The Hague were felt even by the representatives of the most free and most peaceful countries, when they said that they were obliged to limit the stipulations to what would preserve the honor and vital interests of their respective countries.

At present the vital interest of all countries is for a universal peace, based upon the relevance of right, and the rights of all our countries separately are dependent upon it. How can we make a reality of what was thought to be a dream of yesterday? How is it that practical statesmen are now around this table with the common thought that will certainly be expressed by your unanimous votes on what we thought only yesterday to be Utopia?

If we look backward to the history of the last thirty years—and, especially, if I am permitted to refer to it again, The Hague Conference—we can see that, in spite of the disappointment we have suffered, such meetings as that of The Hague Conference had results. Such a dangerous conflict as that between France and Germany at the time of the Casa Blanca incident could be solved by a decision respecting the honor of both countries by a process of arbitration.

Why was it not possible to apply the same proceeding to the terrible conflict which has caused the world so much suffering? There are two causes for it, one of which you will deal with presently. It is because the map of the world did not show a state of things in conformity with the principles of right. It was impossible for Frenchmen not to remember that some of their old countrymen were under foreign rule. It was impossible for Italy to forget that some of the fair provinces of Italy were not yet members of their own mother country, and there were many other questions I need not mention now.

THE SITUATION CHANGED

How can you organize international peace by suppressing a just claim for unredeemed countries and populations? This could not be done. But after you have arrived at a settlement in conformity with the principles of right and the wishes of populations themselves, then you will have a firm basis to build up what The Hague Conference was unable to establish.

The second difference between that time and the present time is that you will be able to sit and establish a system of punishments. At The Hague it was impossible because of the division between nations there, and that division showed already the same classification which had been shown in this war. The same group of nations was then adhering to every proposal against a peaceful settlement which we have seen since destroying the peace and happiness of the whole world. At present we are in a position not only to lay down the principles but also to establish a system of penalties.

By this you will be able to do a lasting work, and you will be able to enter with a serene mind into the temple of peace. In the name of the Government of the republic, it is my duty to say that we are ready to attempt and to lend our earnest will to everything that can bring us as far as possible on the road which has been pointed out by President Wilson's speech. You will see what measures have to be taken, but you can be certain that it is with a deep and sincere fervor that the whole of France will join in the efforts.

President Wilson said this question is in the heart of all mankind. Well that a united mankind is born, and we greet its birth.

VIEWS OF OTHER NATIONS

The Chinese delegate, Lou Tseng Tsiang, stated that he wished to give absolute support to the plan in the name of his Government, declaring that China associated herself entirely with the high ideals embodied in the resolution.

M. Dmowski, the Polish delegate, gave expression to his support in the following declaration:

> I wish to express our deep gratitude for this great initiation, and I am speaking for a nation that has suffered very much in the past and hopes that such sufferings will be the last, and that what has not been destroyed during the past centuries and during the present war shall now be preserved for future generations. I am now speaking for a country where the danger is greater than elsewhere, and a danger that is permanent, because the war has not yet come to an end in Poland; because danger and fighting continue there on three different sides. If institutions can be established giving to the world guarantees of a general, permanent peace, danger to which Poland is now exposed would not exist. I

am speaking in the name of Poland and for the existence of those where the League of Nations is most needed.

M. Hymans, the delegate from Belgium, after stating that his country adhered whole-heartedly to the principles involved in the plan, requested an explanation of the paragraph of the resolution which said: "The Conference shall appoint a committee representative of the associated Governments to work out the constitution of the League." Premier Clemenceau replied as follows:

If you will let me speak you shall be satisfied. It has been decided that the committee for the League of Nations should contain two representatives for each of the five great Powers, and that five be elected by the other Powers. The delegates nominated by the five great Powers are, for the United States of America, President Wilson and Colonel House; for the British Empire, Lord Robert Cecil and Lieut. Gen. J. C. Smuts; for France, M. Bourgeois and M. Larnaude, Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Paris; for Italy, Signor Orlando and Senator Scialoja, and for Japan, Viscount Chinda and M. Ochiai.

It has been decided that the five delegates shall be elected by the other Powers, who will present them to the committee. I suggest there should be a meeting of all Powers interested here on Monday to elect their five representatives, and as the same principle is intended to apply to the election of the other committees it might be done at the same time.

M. Clemenceau then said that unless objections were heard the session could assume that the resolution enacting the League of Nations was adopted unanimously, and likewise that the other resolutions were accepted. The record showed unanimous approval.

BELGIAN REPRESENTATION

The Chair then gave the floor to the Belgian delegate, M. Hymans, who brought before the body the question of representation on the committee for the smaller nations, expressing his opinion with regard to Belgium in the following statements:

What has just been said by the Chairman puts before us the whole question of how those committees are to be formed. The system adopted, except for the Committee on War Damages and Reparations, which is on a different footing, is to give two delegates apiece to each of the great Powers and five to the whole of the nineteen Powers which are conveniently called "Powers with Special Interests." I have no authority to speak except for my own country, Belgium.

The only committee on which Belgium has representation is the Committee on Reparation of Damages. There Belgium, Serbia, Rumania, and Poland are allowed two delegates, but in all other committees the nineteen Powers I have referred to will nominate five delegates among themselves, and it is not said what system they should adopt. Our desire in speaking for Belgium alone is that Belgium should have representation in the Committee on the League of Nations, and in the Committee on Labor Legislation, for on the League of Nations Belgium has evidently something to say because of her special international situation, and also because of her historical and geographical position.

M. Hymans went on to give reasons why Belgium should have representation on these and other committees, and ended with an appeal to the conference's sense of fair play.

CLAIMS OF OTHER NATIONS

M. Calogeras, the Brazilian representative, declared that the formation of committees seemed to have been undertaken without any of the most responsible interests having been heard, stating that with regard to the question of the League of Nations Brazil had a particular right to be heard, since the principle that no war of conquest could be sanctioned by its Parliament had been laid down as an absolute clause in its Constitution.

Sir Robert Borden, representing Canada, while admitting the difficulty of having too large a committee, reminded the assembly that in matters where all delegates were concerned it would be more appropriate to have any definite conclusions arrived at by the assembly as a whole in accordance with rules that had been adopted. Mr. Trumbitch, the delegate for Jugoslavia, seconded the claims of the Belgian delegate, declaring that the kingdom of the Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes expected the same rights of representation.

Premier Venizelos, the Greek delegate, supported the claims of Belgium without claiming the same position for his own country. He reminded the delegates,

however, that between 300,000 and 400,000 people of Greek nationality had been killed in the Turkish Empire during the war and that it would be but fair to accord Greece one delegate on a committee inquiring into the responsibility for crimes committed during the war. He also claimed a representative for Greece on the Committee on Ports, Waterways, and Communications, not only because of the position of Greece as a maritime country, but because some of the points of Greek territory are of international importance.

M. Benes, the delegate for Czechoslovakia, claimed representation for his country on committees dealing with the matter of reparation, transportation facilities in the way of railways and waterways, and with regard to the League of Nations. M. Bratiano, the Rumanian delegate, speaking in support of M. Hyman's declarations, claimed representation for Rumania in the matter of international communications, since the Danube, the great waterway for Central Europe, had its source in Rumanian territory. He also declared that the interest taken by Rumania in the furtherance of the scheme for a League of Nations justified her direct participation in the work of preparing the plan. Both the Siamese representative, Bidadh Kosha, and the Chinese representative, Lou Tseng Tsiang, brought forward claims touching the matter of representation on the Committee on the League of Nations and on economic committees. M. Dmowski, speaking for Poland, supported the claims made by the various other smaller nations and claimed representation for Poland on all such committees as interested her directly.

M. CLEMENCEAU'S REPLY

Premier Clemenceau made reply to the claims put forward for greater representation with the following speech:

I shall try to justify the action of the bureau and of the Chair. If we ever had thought that it was possible to give satisfaction to every one, that illusion would have vanished by this time. Sir Robert Borden expressed the reproach that we had decided upon certain questions. Well, yes, we decided for instance, that all the nations represented here should come to this Conference.

There is no mystery about the meetings now taking place between the representatives of the five great Powers. Mr. Borden knows probably more than most people of those meetings, since only yesterday he was present there putting before us the special views of Canada about some colonial questions.

The five Powers are obliged to say that they are in a position to justify their attitude. At the time of the armistice they had together 12,000,000 men under arms on the battlefields. Their dead can be counted by millions. If the great idea of a Society of Nations did not shape the whole of our work here, it would have been possible for us five great Powers to consult only ourselves in the settlement.

That would have been, after all, our right. Well, that has never been our thought. We have asked all the nations interested in a settlement to meet with us here. We have asked them to give us their co-operation and their help.

EFFICIENCY THE OBJECT

Now, what about the method? Mr. Lloyd George, in very kind words at the opening of these meetings, reminded me that I was not quite young. I entered the French Parliament in 1871, and since that time I have seen a great many committees, and have been present at work on more than one. Now, my constant observation has been that the more numerous the members on those committees were, the less work was done and less facility there was for coming to conclusions. Now, conclusions are what we want. We have behind us the great force to which we owe consideration and respect—the force of public opinion. But public opinion expects us to do things. What they will ask of us is whether we have been arriving at conclusions.

Take the question of the great Society of Nations. They are listening to our debates most anxiously. They hope to hear that something has been done toward what they consider to be one of their most desired goals. What is our desire?

We have said that each of the five Powers intended to nominate two delegates to sit in these committees. Well, let us examine the question in its narrow form. In the observations that have been made really the question now before you has been more or less exceeded. We have nominated two delegates each, and we propose that five should be nominated by the other Powers. That is not enough, we are told from all sides. Well, then, I suppose I should propose that each Power should be represented in each committee. That would satisfy every one,

but would be the means of never arriving at any conclusion.

COMPLAINTS NOT VALID

The great complaint has been, as we have heard repeatedly from one country after another, that a country would not have a chance to be heard on the questions vitally interesting her. Now this cannot happen. You will have full right to attend, that is, to be present at the deliberations of any committee you choose. Those committees are entirely open to you; they are not created for any other purpose. You have the right to be fully heard whenever you please by any committee, and when you have been heard there, and when that committee has made its report and drafted something, you have the right to be heard again before this full sitting of the delegates, where you will be present yourself and will have the right to speak.

If we follow what has been suggested by M. Dmowski, then you are going to make proposals in writing. Well, that will come to the meetings of the five Powers. There should be no discussion about this; there should be no deliberations or discussion about the points of procedure when what is urgently required from us by public opinion is that we should pay less attention to form and deal with the substance of things. What they expect is to see our work taking material form and materializing. They wish that all those millions who are still mobilized should be enabled to return to their homes. These are the questions that interest public opinion. If we delay the vital discussion of things for an interminable debate on a question of procedure, we will, in a fortnight's time, still be at the same place from which we started.

M. Dmowski suggested that these questions should be put before the committee. I insist those questions should be put before your bureau, and to give my reason frankly, it is because I could not, we could not, accept that any commission should have the right to dictate to the five great Powers.

DESIRE TO BE FAIR

Now, I ask simply that our resolution, as drafted, should be accepted with, of course, the right to modify and to improve it later on. If we go out of this room with your vote, these committees will be established immediately. They will be able to work tomorrow. Our only preoccupation is to organize as soon as possible and to go to work without delay.

Who would take the responsibility of adding to the delays? I suppose none of us. But if any delegates think, after the names of the members of each of the committees are known, that an important addition should be made, that some country's or some man's presence is vital, they will have the right to say so, and there's no reason why we should consider our resolution sacred or unchangeable.

But we must get to work as soon as we can. Think of the immense work before us. President Wilson, in his speech to our body today, had honorable words for those men who came here as crusaders, not to win the war, but to win a cause. Well, it is of the cause that we must think, and we must do our best, whatever procedure we adopt, to make it better as we go along. But let us go to work at once.

As for myself, I have come here ready to sacrifice many of my opinions in order to conciliate, in order to reach the conclusions we all wish for, and I have already sacrificed some of them, done it with joy for the great common cause which has united us here. I hope we all will be inspired by the same spirit. Your Conference officials, in the decisions which they have arrived at and which they have submitted to you, have no desire to be unjust to any one. They do not wish to be unjust to Belgium, or to Bohemia, or to the Serbians, Croats, Slovenes, or any of those who have expressed their opinions here. They simply wish to devise a procedure that will lead to immediate, speedy, useful work. And this is the only conclusion they can arrive at.

NEW COMMISSIONS CREATED

The following resolution in regard to reparation was adopted by the conference:

That a commission be appointed, which shall comprise not more than three representatives apiece from each of the five great Powers and not more than two representatives apiece from Belgium, Greece, Poland, Rumania, and Serbia, to examine and report:

First—On the amount of reparation which the enemy countries ought to pay.

Second—On what they are capable of paying, and,

Third—On the method, the form, and time within which payment should be made.

A resolution in regard to international legislation on industrial and labor questions was passed. It reads:

That a commission, composed of two representatives apiece from the five great Powers and five representatives to be elected by the other Powers represented at the Peace Conference, be appointed to inquire into the conditions of employment from the international aspect and to consider the international means necessary to secure common action on matters affect-

ing conditions of employment and to recommend the form of a permanent agency to continue such inquiry and consideration in co-operation with and under the direction of the League of Nations.

This resolution was adopted regarding international control of ports, waterways, and railways:

That a commission composed of two representatives apiece from the five great Powers and five representatives of the other Powers be appointed, to inquire and report upon the international régime for ports, waterways, and railways.

After the adoption of these resolutions the session adjourned.

Staff Personnel of the Conference

Members and Committees

THE personnel of the Peace Conference as finally perfected was announced Jan. 29 as follows:

Besides Georges Clemenceau, the French Premier, as President, and Secretary Lansing, Premiers Lloyd George of Great Britain, Orlando of Italy, and Saionji of Japan as Vice Presidents, the members are:

Secretary General—M. Dutasta, France.

Secretaries: For the United States—Joseph C. Grew, Minister Plenipotentiary; Leland Harrison, and Colonel U. S. Grant, 3d. For the British Empire—Lieut. Col. Sir Maurice Hankey, Herman Norman, and Eric Phipps. For France—M. P. Gauthier, Minister Plenipotentiary, and M. Debearn. For Italy—Comte Aldrovandi, Marquis Charles Durazzo, and M. G. Brambilla. For Japan—Sadao Saburi.

Committee on Verification of Powers—Henry White, United States; Arthur Balfour, British Empire; Jules Cambon, France; Marquis Salvago Raggi, Italy, and K. Matsui, Japan.

Committee on Drafting—James Brown Scott, United States; Mr. Hurst, British Empire; M. Fromager, France; Ricci Busatti, Italy, and H. Nagosaka, Japan.

THE COMMITTEES

Premier Clemenceau on Jan. 26 announced the following committees in conformity with the action of the conference:

Responsibility for the War—Great Britain, Sir Gordon Stewart; France, Captain André Tardieu and Ferdinand Larnaude; Italy, Vittorio Scialoia and Deputy Raimondo; United States, Robert Lansing.

Reparation—United States, B. M. Baruch, John W. Davis, and Vance McCormick; Great Britain, William Morris Hughes, Sir John Simon, and Baron Cunliffe; France, L. L. Klotz, L. P. Locheur, and A. F. Lebrun; Italy, Antonio Salandra and General Badoglio; Japan, Baron Makino and Baron Nobuaki.

International Labor Legislation—United States, E. N. Hurley and Samuel Gompers; Great Britain, George Nicoll Barnes and Ian Malcolm; France, M. Colliard and L. P. Locheur; Italy, Signor Des Planches and Signor Cabrini; Japan, M. Otichian and M. Oka.

Regulation of Ports, Waterways, and Railroads—United States, Henry White; Great Britain, Sir John Simon; France, André Voiss and Albert Claveille; Italy, Signor Grespi and Signor de Marino; Japan, M. Yamakawa and Colonel Sato.

The representatives of the nineteen small Powers met on Jan. 27 and gave full adhesion to the organization formulated by the five great Powers. Jules Cambon, French delegate, and former Ambassador to the United States, presided. The following appointments were made to the various committees:

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Belgium, Paul Hymans.
Brazil, Epitacio Pessoa.
China, Wellington Koo, Plenipotentiary.
Serbia, M. R. Vesnitch.
Portugal, Jaime Batalkha Reis, Minister Plenipoteniary.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR

Belgium, (not yet appointed.)
Serbia, Slobodan Yovanovitch.
Rumania, Mr. Rosenthal.
Greece, M. Politis.
Poland, (not yet appointed.)

INTERNATIONAL LABOR LEGISLATION

Belgium, M. Vandervelde and M. Mahaim.
Cuba, A. S. Pustamante.
Poland, (not yet appointed.)
Czechoslovak Republic, M. Benes.

REGULATION OF PORTS, WATERWAYS, AND RAILROADS

Belgium, (not yet appointed.)
China, H. E. Thomas and C. T. Wang, Plenipotentiary Delegate.
Greece, M. Coromilas.
Serbia, M. Trumbitch.
Uruguay, Carlos Blanco.

Question of the German Colonies

Mandate Plan Adopted

THE Supreme Council at its session on Jan. 27 defined a program of work and the constitution of new committees for economic and financial questions as well as questions relating to private and maritime laws. The afternoon session continued the exchange of views on the former German colonies in the Pacific and the Far East. The representatives of the dominions and of China were heard. At the session of the Council on the 28th the question of the disposition of the German colonies in the Far East and the Pacific, and of those in Africa, was continued.

The representatives of the dominions were present at these two sessions, the representatives of China at that in the morning, and the Marquis Salvago Raggi (Italy) at that in the afternoon. In the morning the delegates of Australia, New Zealand, China, and Japan were heard. In the afternoon Henri Simon, French Minister of the Colonies, explained the views of his department on colonial questions. In addition, the fundamental principles of the League of Nations and their application were considered.

While no official announcement was made, it was known that a sharp difference of opinion had arisen regarding the disposition of the colonies, due to the insistence of Australia that the Pacific colonies taken from Germany by Australian troops be ceded outright to Australia, and the existence of treaties between Japan and Great Britain regarding the disposition of captured German possessions.

In the official report of Jan. 29 no reference was made to these differences, the communiqué regarding the day's sessions reading as follows:

> The President of the United States, the Premiers, and the Foreign Ministers of the allied and associated Governments and the Japanese representatives held two meetings on Jan. 29. The morning sitting was devoted to hearing reports of delegates who made general statements on the Polish situation and Polish claims. In the afternoon the Czechoslovak delegates gave their views on the question of the industrial basin in Silesia situated between Bohemia and Poland.
>
> Since Monday last Mr. Barnes, British Minister without portfolio, has been conferring with prominent British trade unionists on the draft of a scheme for the international regulation of conditions of employment.
>
> The scheme has been closely examined, and the experience of all present at the conference has been freely placed at Mr. Barnes's disposal. Many valuable suggestions have been made, and it is felt that full light has been given to the views of organized British trade unionists.
>
> The conference concluded at noon, Jan. 29, and the draft scheme agreed upon will be submitted to the International Commission on Labor Regulation, which was appointed on Jan. 25 at the Peace Conference.

CHINA AND JAPAN

A sharp difference also arose between the Chinese and Japanese delegations over the question of Kiao-Chau and the Pacific islands. This was summarized by a correspondent as follows:

> After the surrender of the German protectorate on the Chinese seacoast, Japan sent demands to China. China notified Japan that, military operations being over, she intended to declare the war zone ended. Japan responded with a demand that China give assent to all matters upon which the Japanese Government might agree with the German Government relating to the disposition of Germany's rights and concessions in the Province of Shantung. China was warned against making these demands known to any other Power; in addition, Japan's demands included the right to construct a railroad to Weissein and China was not to lease to any other country any territory on the coast of Shantung and must open some cities as commercial ports.
>
> China made a bitter response. It asked the retrocession of Shantung and indemnification for the losses caused by Japan's military operations and demanded that China should participate in any negotiations with Germany over Shantung. Japan's reply was an ultimatum, giving China forty-eight hours to accede.
>
> China finally gave in and signed the agreements, but issued a statement to the world saying that she had acted under constraint. These agreements provided that it should be left to Japan and Ger-

many to dispose of Germany's rights in Shantung, that China should apply to Japan for a loan for the new railway in Shantung, and that China should alienate no territory on the coast to any foreign Power.

It was agreed further that Kiao-Chau should be left to the disposal of Japan and that it would be restored by the Japanese to China on the condition that it be opened as a commercial port; that concessions under the exclusive jurisdiction of Japan should be established at a place to be designated by Japan; that an international concession should be established if the Powers chose, and that the disposal of the buildings and property of Germany was to be arranged between China and Japan before the restoration was made.

The Chinese assert that this agreement was obtained under a threat of hostilities and does not constitute a valid right. China announced that she would resist any encroachment in Shantung, and the controversy was one of the critical ones before the Peace Conference.

PROVISIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

At the meeting of the Supreme Council on Jan. 30, the subject of the colonies was thus referred to in the official communiqué:

> The exchange of views continued on the German colonies in the Pacific and in Africa, in the presence of the representatives of the dominions and of M. Simon, French Minister of the Colonies, and of the Marquis Salvago Raggi, [Italy.]
>
> In the afternoon satisfactory provisional arrangements were reached for dealing with the German colonies and the occupied territory in Turkey in Asia.
>
> At the afternoon meeting the Belgian delegates were present. Messrs. Hymans, Van den Heuvel, and Vandervelde were accompanied by M. Ortz, who explained the Belgian point of view concerning the Congo.
>
> It was further decided that the military representatives of the allied and associated Powers at Versailles should be asked to meet at once and present a report as to the most equitable and economical distribution among those Powers of the burden of supplying the military forces for the purpose of maintaining order in the Turkish Empire pending the decisions of the Peace Conference regarding the government of Turkish territory.

THE MANDATE PLAN

The " satisfactory provisional arrangements " referred to in the official report consisted in a tentative agreement, as it later developed, to incorporate in the constitution of the League of Nations a plan for administering the colonies under a system of " mandates " by which the League should assign them to various individual Powers for administration. The basic idea was that the colonies should be governed by mandate for the benefit of their own people. The most formidable opposition to the plan came from Premier Hughes, who insisted on the outright annexation of New Guinea to Australia. President Wilson and Premier Hughes had a sharp debate over the proposition, the former stoutly arguing for the mandate plan. The subsequent incorporation of the modified mandatary plan in the constitution of the League of Nations was a compromise, the mandate from the League of Nations being practically a delegation of administrative authority to the particular States over the colonies nearest to them.

BALKAN PROBLEMS

At the meeting of the Supreme Council Jan. 31 the delegates of the great Powers, composing the Interallied Commission to Poland, were introduced, to state the conclusions which they had reached after hearing the representatives of Poland and the Czechoslovak Republic regarding the provisional exploitation of the industrial district of Teschen.

After listening to the reports made by M. Noulens and by General Gothe, in the name of their colleagues, the allied Ministers decided to send to Teschen allied delegates for the purpose of assuring a peaceful exploitation in agreement with the Czechs and the Poles, pending a territorial settlement of the question by the Conference.

A statement of the views of the respective interests and rights of Rumania and Serbia in the Banat of Temesvar was then heard. M. Bratiano and M. Mishu represented the Rumanian Government, and the Serbian delegation was composed of M. Pashitch, M. Vesnitch, and M. Trumbitch.

The Rumanian and Serbian differences, it was understood, were being composed, and a better feeling was prevailing between the Czechs and Poles and between

the Jugoslavs and Italians regarding boundary questions.

It was definitely announced on the 31st that at the meeting of the council on the 30th, when an agreement was reached regarding the mandate plan for the colonies, President Wilson had told the members of the Supreme Council that he would not be party to a division of Germany's colonial possessions among the Powers which then held them, and then become party to a League of Nations which, in effect, would guarantee their title. There were inferences that the President even referred to a peace of "loot."

In the discussions President Wilson contended in no uncertain terms that to divide the colonies among the Entente nations would be in direct contravention of the "Fourteen Points," which were accepted as a basis of peace. Such a division, he is said to have added, would also violate the principles of the League of Nations as laid down at the Peace Conference on the 25th.

THE COLONIAL PLAN

On Feb. 1 an outline was made public of the accord reached by the Supreme Council concerning the disposal of the German colonies, which proved a correct forecast, as it was precisely confirmed by the constitution of the League of Nations, made public Feb. 15. This outline was as follows:

The allied and associated Powers are agreed that the German colonies shall not be returned to Germany, owing, primarily, to mismanagement, cruelty, and the use of these colonies as submarine bases.

The conquered regions of Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Arabia are to be detached from the Turkish Empire.

Provision is made whereby the well-being and development of backward colonial regions are regarded as the sacred trust of civilization, over which the League of Nations exercises supervisory care. The administration or tutelage of these regions would be intrusted to the more advanced nations, who would act as mandataries in behalf of the League of Nations.

These mandates would not be uniform, but vary according to the degree of development of the colonial region and its approach to the stage of self-government. The mandates in Palestine, Syria, and other portions of Turkey, where well-developed civilization exists, would be comparatively light and would probably permit of provisional recognition of the independence of these communities.

On the other hand, colonies like those in Central Africa would require a mandatary with large powers of administration, responsible for the suppression of slave trade, liquor, ammunition and arms traffic, and the prevention of exercise of military authority on the part of the natives except for native police purposes.

Other colonies and localities, such as those in German Southwest Africa and some of the South Pacific islands, have such sparse and scattered populations and are so separated from other communities that the laws of the mandatary country would probably prevail in these regions.

The mandataries would report at stated intervals to the League of Nations concerning the manner in which a colony was being administered.

The foregoing general outline indicated on broad lines the terms whereby the conflicting views were finally reconciled and a common agreement was reached, acceptable to all the great and colonial Powers.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS COMMISSION

The opening meeting of the League of Nations Commission was held in Colonel House's apartments in Paris, Feb. 3. President Wilson presided. There were present at the committee meeting: For the United States—President Wilson, Colonel House, and Mr. Miller, technical expert; for Great Britain—Lord Robert Cecil and General Smuts; for France—Léon Bourgeois and Ferdinand Larnaude; for Italy—Premier Orlando; for Japan—Baron Chinda; also delegates from Belgium, Serbia, Brazil, Portugal, and China.

President Wilson greeted the members and took a leading part in the discussion. This was no longer general, but specific, as the meeting had before it the printed text of the agreed plan for the formation of the League. The text was in English, as had been decided upon at a previous meeting between President Wilson, Lord Robert Cecil, General Smuts, and Premier Orlando.

There was a general discussion in which all the delegates participated.

OTHER COMMISSIONS

On Feb. 3 three other important committees held their first formal meetings. Louis Klotz, French Minister of Finance, was elected President of the Committee on Reparation. Premier Hughes of Australia and M. Vanderheuvel of Belgium were elected Vice Presidents. Robert Lansing, American Secretary of State, was unanimously elected President of the Committee on Responsibility for the War. In proposing Mr. Lansing's name, Captain André Tardieu, the French member of the committee, said that before regulating a peace of justice it was necessary to impose penalties upon the authors of the aggressions which had brought death to millions.

The work of the committee, he explained, would be, first, to study the facts which would establish the guilt of those responsible for premediated violation of treaties and international law, and, second, to fix the penalties which would be defined and applied.

This statement was issued:

> The initial meeting of the Commission on the Responsibility for the War and Its Conduct was held today at 3 o'clock at the Ministry of the Interior, and was attended by the delegates of the Powers represented on the commission.
>
> Robert Lansing, Secretary of State and chief representative for the United States, was chosen President of the commission, and Sir Gordon Stewart of the British delegation and Senator Scialoia of the Italian delegation were chosen Vice Presidents. M. de la Pradelle was appointed secretary of the commission.
>
> It was decided to appoint three subcommittees, two for the examination of questions of law and one for the examination of facts. The following persons were named as a committee of three to nominate members of the above-mentioned sub-committees and to determine the mandate under which the sub-committees in question will act: W. F. Massey of the British delegation, M. Tardieu of the French delegation, and M. Politis, Greek delegate.

The Commission on Ports, Waterways, and Railways also held its first meeting. The meeting was called to order by M. Clavelle, French Minister of Public Works. On his motion Signor Crispi, Italian Minister of Supplies, was named as Chairman and M. Sirton of Belgium Vice Chairman. The Supreme Council transmitted a request for the admission of members of the smaller nationalities to this committee, which accordingly added a Czech, a Portuguese, and a Pole to membership. The French and British presented a program including recognition of the general principle of the right of nations to control international waterways and international railways, which was accepted by the commission.

Shaping the League of Nations Plan

Acute Differences Overcome

THE Commission of the Society of Nations held daily sessions, beginning Feb. 4, and made steady progress. As the meetings progressed it was clear that there were sharp differences, the chief contention arising over the question of the power to be delegated to the League to enforce its decisions. All the reports indicated that the American and British delegations were in accord on a modified form of authority, while the supporters of a League with power to enforce its decrees by arms were led by the French delegation. The clash of ideas was such as to cause apprehension at times that there would be no agreement. The most acute differences arose on Feb. 9, when Premier Clemenceau issued an appeal to the American people through The Associated Press, which was construed by many correspondents as an attempt to reach the American public over the head of President Wilson. This appeal is printed on Page 405. It was vigorously applauded by the French press and was followed by a general expression among French journals of serious apprehension that the pacific attitude of President Wilson would cheat France of the fruits of victory and place the country in perpetual peril from a revived and

strengthened Germany. Some of these protests went to extremes, until at length an official hint was issued to the effect that if the Paris press were not tempered the congress would be removed to another city.

After this outburst the atmosphere was quickly cleared and a better feeling prevailed, which resulted on the 13th in a compromise agreement on the main features of the constitution of the League, which was finally presented to the Plenary Council on the 14th by President Wilson as a unanimous report. The chief factor which calmed the troubled waters was the agreement by the Supreme Council on new armistice terms to be imposed on Germany, of so drastic a character that the French and Belgian delegates felt that their execution would prevent any possibility of Germany reopening hostilities or resisting the terms of peace.

SUCCESS OF THE LEAGUE

A semi-official statement was made Feb. 14 through The Associated Press, in which the development of the League of Nations plan was reviewed. It was as follows:

> While there was unanimity as to the desirability of a League of Nations, it soon developed that some delegates, skeptical of its immediate efficiency, desired to maintain the old order of balances of power and protected frontiers until the new system had demonstrated its capacity to meet the needs of peace-loving nations. Patient endeavor and many long sessions of the Supreme Council itself, and afterward of the special commission created to deal with the subject, were necessary to establish to the satisfaction of these threatened dissenters the impossibility of continuing the old order while installing the new.
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> It was only within the last week that the difficulties facing the League of Nations were overcome, although with some misgivings. The doubting nations were induced to try the experiment of relying upon the honor and common interest of the other nations to insure the success of the project. Then there was the difference over the question of mandataries for backward peoples. Rather heated arguments developed at times, but these differences also were adjusted with unanimity in the end.
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> Various big issues presented themselves, some of which were skillfully diverted to commissions which are to report afterward to the League of Nations, while others were rather suddenly disapproved in the light of the development of the plan for the League of Nations.
>
> Of such was the vexed question of freedom of the seas that jeopardized the support of Great Britain. It was realized that with a perfect League of Nations there would be no neutrals, and that consequently no questions could arise as to freedom of the seas in time of war, while in time of peace equitable relations between nations were guaranteed by special provisions of the covenant.

THE ENEMY STATES

Finally, after these discussions were over, it can be stated that no hard feelings remained. There was absolute unanimity, so far as the special commission was concerned, and those nations which at first had doubted the efficiency of the project came out of the discussions in an attitude of its firmest advocates.

Looking to the future, the special commission attaches much importance to the provision made for the admission to the League of neutral and enemy States.

The enemy States are known to be anxious to adhere, but the commission has taken every precaution to make sure that they enter with proper motives and prepared to live up to the obligations of the League.

The point was made that such adhesion should be encouraged, as it was highly desirable, having at heart the interest of the whole world, that the industries of enemy States and neutral countries, which suffered from the blockade, be set in motion at the earliest possible moment.

This decision was not based upon sympathy for Germany, but upon the conviction that the safety of Continental Europe, and perhaps of the world, depended upon turning the German population into ways of industry, so that it might be able to produce goods to pay off the enormous indemnities which are to be imposed upon it. It was the conviction that otherwise Germany might soon drift into the condition of Russia, and that there would be no responsible Government with which the peace treaty could be concluded. In that case it would be necessary for the Peace Congress to continue indefinitely in existence, awaiting the social and economic reorganization that might follow an era of Bolshevism lasting, perhaps, for years.

Russia itself was regarded by the delegates as the great problem yet to be settled, although the hope was expressed that the Prinkipo conference would be realized and something like peaceful relations restored between the factions. It was regarded as necessary at the outset to convince the Bolshevist elements that the Peace Conference had no desire to

force upon them settlements of debts and other such matters as conditions of a successful conference.

THE FINAL SESSION

The final session of the League of Nations Commission was held Feb. 13. The French delegate presented a clause for an interallied military force to compel peace; it was defeated, receiving only two affirmative votes, those of the French and Czechoslovaks.

The Japanese delegation presented an amendment providing that racial discrimination should not be tolerated in immigration laws. Several delegates urged that this would open such a large question that great delay might ensue, and the matter was dropped without a vote.

At this session the constitution as finally drafted was unanimously adopted by the committee, and President Wilson was designated to present the completed plan to the Plenary Council on Feb. 14, and read it in person.

PRESENTED TO THE CONFERENCE

The plenary session of the Conference was held on the afternoon of Feb. 14. After reading the draft, President Wilson followed with a speech in support.

Lord Robert Cecil, head of the British delegation on the League of Nations, followed in an earnest speech. It was a good omen, said Lord Robert, that the document had been laid before the world before being finally enacted, so that people everywhere could advise upon and criticise it. The problem had been one of great difficulty, for it was to preserve the peace of the world with the least possible interference with national sovereignty.

The results accomplished, he continued, embraced two main principles—first, no nation shall go to war until every other means of settlement shall be fully and fairly tried; second, no nation shall forcibly seek to disturb a territory's integrity or interfere with the political independence of the nations of the world.

These were the great principles, but later another great principle must be laid down, namely, that no nation shall retain armaments fit only for aggressive purposes.

Dr. Vittorio Orlando, the Italian Prime Minister, expressed deep satisfaction at having collaborated in what was going to be one of the greatest documents of history. "Thus born out of the pains of "war," the Premier exclaimed, "this is "a document of freedom and right which "represents the redemption of humanity "by sacrifice."

VIEWS OF OTHER DELEGATES

Léon Bourgeois of the French delegation spoke in behalf of France on the good-will which, he said, had prevailed in formulating the project. At the same time, he said, the French delegates reserved the right to present their views on certain details of the plan, as a whole, which was a work of right and justice, and knew no distinction between great and small States.

Dangers to States were not all equal, M. Bourgeois said. Some States, like France and Belgium, were especially exposed and required additional guarantees. He urged a system of permanent inspection of existing armaments and forces as one means of avoiding a renewal of warfare.

Baron Makino of Japan, after approving the high purposes of the League, added that a proposal would be submitted later, which, it was hoped, would receive favorable attention. The nature of this proposal he did not make known, but it is supposed to refer to an amendment abolishing racial distinctions in international affairs. George Nicoll Barnes, British Minister of Labor, and Premier Venizelos of Greece also spoke approvingly of the League of Nations. Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, the Chinese delegate, gave China's adherence to the League.

The Arabian delegate pointed out that the constitution of the League recognized the right of self-determination, but said that certain secret treaties were in existence that would prevent this self-determination. He therefore hoped that such treaties as affected Asiatic Turkey would be declared by the Powers null and void.

Premier Hughes of Australia asked if full opportunity was to be given for discussion of the proposed League, and when. Premier Clemenceau replied that President Wilson had presented the docu-

ment with the expectation that there would be the fullest opportunity for discussion, but when this would occur would be determined later.

The conference adjourned at 7 o'clock, and President Wilson hastened homeward to prepare for the journey to the United States.

President Wilson's Comment on the League Constitution

PRESIDENT WILSON, after reading the constitution of the League of Nations to the Plenary Conference, spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman: I have the honor, and assume it a very great privilege, of reporting in the name of the commission constituted by this Conference on the formulation of a plan for the League of Nations. I am happy to say that it is a unanimous report, a unanimous report from the representatives of fourteen nations—the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Brazil, China, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, and Serbia.

I think it will be serviceable and interesting if I, with your permission, read the document, as the only report we have to make.

President Wilson then read the draft. When he reached Article XV. and had read through the second paragraph, the President paused and said:

I pause to point out that a misconception might arise in connection with one of the sentences I have just read: "If any party shall refuse to comply, the council shall propose measures necessary to give effect to the recommendations."

A case in point, a purely hypothetical case, is this: Suppose there is in the possession of a particular Power a piece of territory, or some other substantial thing in dispute, to which it is claimed that it is not entitled. Suppose that the matter is submitted to the Executive Council for recommendation as to the settlement of the dispute, diplomacy having failed, and suppose that the decision is in favor of the party which claims the subject matter of dispute, as against the party which has the subject matter in dispute.

Then, if the party in possession of the subject matter in dispute merely sits still and does nothing, it has accepted the decision of the council in the sense that it makes no resistance, but something must be done to see that it surrenders the subject matter in dispute.

In such a case, the only case contemplated, it is provided that the Executive Council may then consider what steps will be necessary to oblige the party against whom judgment has been given to comply with the decisions of the council.

CASE FOR USE OF FORCE

After having read Article XIX. President Wilson also stopped and said:

Let me say that before being embodied in this document this was the subject matter of a very careful discussion by representatives of the five greater parties, and that their unanimous conclusion is the matter embodied in this article.

After having read the entire document, President Wilson continued as follows:

It gives me pleasure to add to this formal reading of the result of our labors that the character of the discussion which occurred at the sittings of the commission was not only of the most constructive but of the most encouraging sort. It was obvious throughout our discussions that, although there were subjects upon which there were individual differences of judgment with regard to the method by which our objects should be obtained, there were practically at no point any serious differences of opinion or motive as to the objects which we were seeking.

Indeed, while these debates were not made the opportunity for the expression of enthusiasm and sentiment, I think the other members of the commission will agree with me that there was an undertone of high respect and of enthusiasm for the thing we were trying to do which was heartening throughout every meeting, because we felt that in a way this Conference did intrust unto us the expression of one of its highest and most important purposes, to see to it that the concord of the world in the future with regard to the objects of justice should not be subject to doubt or uncertainty, that the co-operation of the great body of nations should be assured in the maintenance of peace upon terms of honor and of international obligations.

IRRESISTIBLE UNION OF WILLS

The compulsion of that task was constantly upon us, and at no point was there shown the slightest desire to do anything but suggest the best means to accomplish that great object. There is very great significance, therefore, in the fact that the result was reached unanimously.

Fourteen nations were represented, among them all of those Powers which for con-

venience we have called the great Powers, and among the rest a representation of the greatest variety of circumstances and interests. So that I think we are justified in saying that the significance of the result, therefore, has the deepest of all meanings, the union of wills in a common purpose, a union of wills which cannot be resisted, and which, I dare say, no nation will run the risk of attempting to resist.

Now as to the character of the document. While it has consumed some time to read this document, I think you will see at once that it is very simple, and in nothing so simple as in the structure which it suggests for a League of Nations—a body of delegates, an Executive Council, and a permanent secretariat.

When it came to the question of determining the character of the representation in the body of delegates, we were all aware of a feeling which is current throughout the world. Inasmuch as I am stating it in the presence of the official representatives of the various Governments here present, including myself, I may say that there is a universal feeling that the world cannot rest satisfied with merely official guidance. There has reached us through many channels the feeling that if the deliberating body of the League of Nations was merely to be a body of officials representing the various Governments, the peoples of the world would not be sure that some of the mistakes which preoccupied officials had admittedly made might not be repeated.

It was impossible to conceive a method or an assembly so large and various as to be really representative of the great body of the peoples of the world, because, as I roughly reckon it, we represent, as we sit around this table, more than twelve hundred million people. You cannot have a representative assembly of twelve hundred million people, but if you leave it to each Government to have, if it pleases, one or two or three representatives, though only with a single vote, it may vary its representation from time to time, not only, but it may originate the choice of its several representatives.

Therefore, we thought that this was a proper and a very prudent concession to the practically universal opinion of plain men everywhere that they wanted the door left open to a variety of representation, instead of being confined to a single official body with which they could or might not find themselves in sympathy.

PROVISION FOR DISCUSSION

And you will notice that this body has unlimited rights of discussion—I mean of discussion of anything that falls within the field of international relations—and that it is especially agreed that war or internatícnal misunderstandings, or anything that may lead to friction or trouble, is everybody's business, because it may affect the peace of the world.

And in order to safeguard the popular power so far as we could of this representative body, it is provided, you will notice, that when a subject is submitted, it is not to arbitration, but to discussion by the Executive Council. It can, upon the initiative of either of the parties to the dispute, be drawn out of the Executive Council into the larger forum of the general body of delegates, because through this instrument we are depending primarily and chiefly upon one great force, and this is the moral force of the public opinion of the world—the pleasing and clarifying and compelling influences of publicity, so that intrigues can no longer have their coverts, so that designs that are sinister can at any time be drawn into the open, so that those things that are destroyed by the light may be promptly destroyed by the overwhelming light of the universal expression of the condemnation of the world.

Armed force is in the background in this program, but it is in the background, and if the moral force of the world will not suffice, the physical force of the world shall. But that is the last resort, because this is intended as a constitution of peace, not as a league of war.

The simplicity of the document seems to me to be one of its chief virtues, because, speaking for myself, I was unable to see the variety of circumstances with which the League would have to deal. I was unable, therefore, to plan all the machinery that might be necessary to meet the differing and unexpected contingencies. Therefore, I should say of this document that it is not a straitjacket, but vehicle of life.

A LIVING THING IS BORN

A living thing is born, and we must see to it what clothes we put on it. It is not a vehicle of power, but a vehicle in which power may be varied at the discretion of those who exercise it and in accordance with the changing circumstances of the time. And yet, while it is elastic, while it is general in its terms, it is definite in the one thing that we were called upon to make definite. It is a definite guarantee of peace. It is a definite guarantee by word against aggression. It is a definite guarantee against the things which have just come near bringing the whole structure of civilization into ruin.

Its purposes do not for a moment lie vague. Its purposes are declared, and its powers are unmistakable. It is not in contemplation that this should be merely a league to secure the peace of the world. It is a league which can be used for co-operation in any international matter. That is the significance of the provision introduced concerning labor. There are many ameliorations of labor conditions which can be effected by conference and discussion. I anticipate that there will be a very great usefulness in the Bureau of Labor which it is contemplated shall be set up by the League. Men and women and children

who work have been in the background through long ages, and sometimes seemed to be forgotten, while Governments have had their watchful and suspicious eyes upon the manoeuvres of one another, while the thought of statesmen has been about structural action and the larger transactions of commerce and finance.

Now, if I may believe the picture which I see, there comes into the foreground the great body of the laboring people of the world, the men and women and children upon whom the great burden of sustaining the world must from day to day fall, whether we wish it to do so or not, people who go to bed tired and wake up without the stimulation of lively hope. These people will be drawn into the field of international consultation and help, and will be among the wards of the combined Governments of the world. There is, I take leave to say, a very great step in advance in the mere conception of that.

Then, as you will notice, there is an imperative article concerning the publicity of all international agreements. Henceforth no member of the League can claim any agreement valid which it has not registered with the Secretary General, in whose office, of course, it will be subject to the examination of anybody representing a member of the League. And the duty is laid upon the Secretary General to publish every document of that sort at the earliest possible time.

I suppose most persons who have not been conversant with the business of foreign affairs do not realize how many hundreds of these agreements are made in a single year, and how difficult it might be to publish the more unimportant of them immediately, how uninteresting it would be to most of the world to publish them immediately, but even they must be published just as soon as it is possible for the Secretary General to publish them.

PROTECTION OF THE HELPLESS

Then there is a feature about this covenant which, to my mind, is one of the greatest and most satisfactory advances that have been made. We are done with annexations of helpless peoples, meant in some instances by some Powers to be used merely for exploitation. We recognize in the most solemn manner that the helpless and undeveloped peoples of the world, being in that condition, put an obligation upon us to look after their interests primarily before we use them for our interests, and that in all cases of this sort hereafter it shall be the duty of the League to see that the nations who are assigned as the tutors and advisers and directors of these peoples shall look to their interests and their development before they look to the interests and desires of the mandatory nation itself.

There has been no greater advance than this, gentlemen. If you look back upon the history of the world you will see how helpless peoples have too often been a prey to Powers that had no conscience in the matter. It has been one of the many distressing revelations of recent years that the great Power which has just been, happily, defeated put intolerable burdens and injustice upon the helpless people of some of the colonies which it annexed to itself, that its interest was rather their extermination than their development, that the desire was to possess their land for European purposes and not to enjoy their confidence in order that mankind might be lifted in these places to the next higher level.

Now the world, expressing its conscience in law, says there is an end of that, that our consciences shall be settled to this thing. States will be picked out which have already shown that they can exercise a conscience in this matter, and under their tutelage the helpless peoples of the world will come into a new light and into a new hope.

A PRACTICAL DOCUMENT

So I think I can say of this document that it is at one and the same time a practical document and a human document. There is a pulse of sympathy in it. There is a compulsion of conscience throughout it. It is practical, and yet it is intended to purify, to rectify, to elevate. And I want to say that, so far as my observation instructs me, this is in one sense a belated document. I believe that the conscience of the world has long been prepared to express itself in some such way. We are not just now discovering our sympathy for these people and our interest in them. We are simply expressing it, for it has long been felt, and in the administration of the affairs of more than one of the great States represented here—so far as I know, all of the great States that are represented here—that humane impulse has already expressed itself in their dealings with their colonies whose peoples were yet at a low stage of civilization.

We have had many instances of colonies lifted into the sphere of complete self-government. This is not the discovery of a principle. It is the universal application of a principle. It is the agreement of the great nations which have tried to live by these standards in their separate administrations to unite in seeing that their common force and their common thought and intelligence are lent to this great and humane enterprise. I think it is an occasion, therefore, for the most profound satisfaction that this humane decision should have been reached in a matter for which the world has long been waiting and until a very recent period thought that it was still too early to hope.

Many terrible things have come out of this war, gentlemen, but some very beautiful things have come out of it. Wrong has been defeated, but the rest of the world has been more conscious than it ever was before of the majority of right. People that were suspicious of one another can now live as friends and comrades in a single family, and desire

to do so. The miasma of distrust, of intrigue, is cleared away. Men are looking eye to eye and saying: "We are brothers and have a common purpose. We did not realize it before, but now we do realize it, and this is our covenant of friendship."

Text of the Proposed Constitution of the League of Nations

FOLLOWING is the text of the covenant and draft of the Constitution of the League of Nations as read by President Wilson to the plenary session of the Peace Conference:

COVENANT

PREAMBLE—In order to promote international co-operation and to secure international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the Powers signatory to this covenant adopt this Constitution of the League of Nations:

ARTICLE I.—The action of the high contracting parties under the terms of this covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of a meeting of a body of delegates representing the high contracting parties, of meetings at more frequent intervals of an Executive Council, and of a permanent international secretariat to be established at the seat of the League.

ART. II.—Meetings of the body of delegates shall be held at stated intervals and from time to time, as occasion may require, for the purpose of dealing with matters within the sphere of action of the League. Meetings of the body of delegates shall be held at the seat of the League, or at such other places as may be found convenient, and shall consist of representatives of the high contracting parties. Each of the high contracting parties shall have one vote, but may have not more than three representatives.

ART. III.—The Executive Council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, together with representatives of four other States, members of the League. The selection of these four States shall be made by the body of delegates on such principles and in such manner as they think fit. Pending the appointment of these representatives of the other States, representatives of —— shall be members of the Executive Council.

Meetings of the Council shall be held from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at whatever place may be decided on, or, failing any such decision, at the seat of the League, and any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world may be dealt with at such meetings.

Invitations shall be sent to any Power to attend a meeting of the council at which such matters directly affecting its interests are to be discussed, and no decision taken at any meeting will be binding on such Powers unless so invited.

ART. IV.—All matters of procedure at meetings of the body of delegates or the Executive Council, including the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the body of delegates or the Executive Council, and may be decided by a majority of the States represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the body of delegates and of the Executive Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

ART. V.—The permanent secretariat of the League shall be established at ——, which shall constitute the seat of the League. The secretariat shall comprise such secretaries and staff as may be required, under the general direction and control of a Secretary General of the League, who shall be chosen by the Executive Council. The secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary General subject to confirmation by the Executive Council.

The Secretary General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the body of delegates or of the Executive Council.

The expenses of the secretariat shall be borne by the States members of the League, in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

ART. VI.—Representatives of the high contracting parties and officials of the League, when engaged in the business of the League, shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities, and the buildings occupied by the League or its officials, or by representatives attending its meetings, shall enjoy the benefits of extraterritoriality.

ART. VII.—Admission to the League of States, not signatories to the covenant and not named in the protocol hereto as States to be invited to adhere to the covenant, requires the assent of not less than two-thirds of the States represented in the body of

delegates, and shall be limited to fully self-governing countries, including dominions and colonies.

No State shall be admitted to the League unless it is able to give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations and unless it shall conform to such principles as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its naval and military forces and armaments.

ART. VIII.—The high contracting parties recognize the principle that the maintenance of peace will require the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety, and the enforcement by common action of international obligations, having special regard to the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, and the Executive Council shall formulate plans for effecting such reduction. The Executive Council shall also determine for the consideration and action of the several Governments what military equipment and armament is fair and reasonable in proportion to the scale of forces laid down in the program of disarmament; and these limits, when adopted, shall not be exceeded without the permission of the Executive Council.

The high contracting parties agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war lends itself to grave objections, and direct the Executive Council to advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those countries which are not able to manufacture for themselves the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The high contracting parties undertake in no way to conceal from each other the condition of such of their industries as are capable of being adapted to warlike purposes or the scale of their armaments, and agree that there shall be full and frank interchange of information as to their military and naval programs.

ART. IX.—A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the League on the execution of the provisions of Article VIII. and on military and naval questions generally.

ART. X.—The high contracting parties shall undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all States members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Executive Council shall advise upon the means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled.

ART. XI.—Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the high contracting parties or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the League, and the high contracting parties reserve the right to take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.

It is hereby also declared and agreed to be the friendly right of each of the high contracting parties to draw the attention of the body of delegates or of the Executive Council to any circumstance affecting international intercourse which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

ART. XII.—The high contracting parties agree that should disputes arise between them which cannot be adjusted by the ordinary processes of diplomacy they will in no case resort to war without previously submitting the questions and matters involved either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Executive Council, and until three months after the award by the arbitrators or a recommendation by the Executive Council, and that they will not even then resort to war as against a member of the League which complies with the award of the arbitrators or the recommendation of the Executive Council.

In any case under this article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the recommendation of the Executive Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

ART. XIII.—The high contracting parties agree that whenever any dispute or difficulty shall arise between them, which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole matter to arbitration. For this purpose the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties or stipulated in any convention existing between them. The high contracting parties agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered. In the event of any failure to carry out the award the Executive Council shall propose what steps can best be taken to give effect thereto.

ART. XIV.—The Executive Council shall formulate plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice, and this court shall, when established, be competent to hear and determine any matter which the parties recognize as suitable for submission to it for arbitration under the foregoing article.

ART. XV.—If there should arise between States, members of the League, any dispute likely to lead to rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the high contracting parties agree that they will refer the matter to the Executive Council; either party to the dispute may give notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties agree to communicate to the Secretary General as promptly as possible statements of their case, all the relevant facts and papers, and the Executive Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

Where the efforts of the council lead to the settlement of the dispute, a statement shall be published, indicating the nature of the dispute and the terms of settlement, together with such explanations as may be appropriate. If the dispute has not been settled, a report by the council shall be published, setting forth with all necessary facts and explanations the recommendation which the council think just and proper for the settlement of the dispute. If the report is unanimously agreed to by the members of the council, other than the parties to the dispute, the high contracting parties agree that they will not go to war with any party which complies with the recommendations, and that if any party shall refuse so to comply the council shall propose measures necessary to give effect to the recommendations. If no such unanimous report can be made it shall be the duty of the majority and the privilege of the minority to issue statements, indicating what they believe to be the facts, and containing the reasons which they consider to be just and proper.

The Executive Council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the body of delegates. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request must be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute. In a case referred to the body of delegates, all the provisions of this article, and of Article XII., relating to the action and powers of the Executive Council, shall apply to the action and powers of the body of delegates.

ART. XVI.—Should any of the high contracting parties break or disregard its covenants under Article XII. it shall thereby ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the League, which hereby undertakes immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the Executive Council in such case to recommend what effective military or naval force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The high contracting parties agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which may be taken under this article in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State and that they will afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the high contracting parties who are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

ART. XVII.—In the event of dispute between one State member of the League and another State which is not a member of the League, or between States not members of the League, the high contracting parties agree that the State or States, not members of the League, shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Executive Council may deem just, and upon acceptance of any such invitation, the above provisions shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the League.

Upon such invitation being given the Executive Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances and merits of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

In the event of a power so invited refusing to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of the League, which in the case of a State member of the League would constitute a breach of Article XII., the provisions of Article XVI. shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute, when so invited, refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of such dispute, the Executive Council may take such action and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

ART. XVIII.—The high contracting parties agree that the League shall be intrusted with general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest.

ART. XIX.—To those colonies and territories which, as a consequence of the late war, have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in the constitution of the League.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be intrusted to advanced nations, who by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the

territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities, formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire, have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory power until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory power.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatary must be responsible for the administration of the territory, subject to conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic, and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific Isles, which, owing to the sparseness of the population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the mandatory State and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory States as integral portions thereof, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

In every case of mandate, the mandatory State shall render to the League an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control, or administration, to be exercised by the mandatory State, shall, if not previously agreed upon by the high contracting parties in each case, be explicitly defined by the Executive Council in a special act or charter.

The high contracting parties further agree to establish at the seat of the League a mandatory commission to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatory powers, and to assist the League in insuring the observance of the terms of all mandates.

ART. XX.—The high contracting parties will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend; and to that end agree to establish as part of the organization of the League a permanent bureau of labor.

ART. XXI.—The high contracting parties agree that provision shall be made through the instrumentality of the League to secure and maintain freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all States members of the League, having in mind, among other things, special arrangements with regard to the necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918.

ART. XXII.—The high contracting parties agree to place under the control of the League all international bureaus already established by general treaties, if the parties to such treaties consent. Furthermore, they agree that all such international bureaus to be constituted in future shall be placed under control of the League.

ART. XXIII.—The high contracting parties agree that every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any State member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretary General and as soon as possible published by him, and that no such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

ART. XXIV.—It shall be the right of the body of delegates from time to time to advise the reconsideration by States members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and of international conditions of which the continuance may endanger the peace of the world.

ART. XXV.—The high contracting parties severally agree that the present covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly engage that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof. In case any of the Powers signatory hereto or subsequently admitted to the League shall, before becoming a party to this covenant, have undertaken any obligations which are inconsistent with the terms of this covenant, it shall be the duty of such Power to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

ART. XXVI.—Amendments to this covenant will take effect when ratified by the States whose representatives compose the Executive Council and by three-fourths of the States whose representatives compose the body of delegates.

Premier Clemenceau's Appeal to America

THE following address to the people of the United States was made by Premier Clemenceau on Feb. 9, 1919, through The Associated Press:

I lived in the United States in my young and formative days. Perhaps, therefore, I may be indulged to say a few words to our allies on the other side of the Atlantic. Not by way of advice or propaganda, but frankly as friend to friend.

The friendship between our peoples which has subsisted for a century and a half is a very beautiful thing. The like of it has never existed for the same length of time between any other two peoples. This cordiality, cemented by our contact during the war, must endure in closer measure hereafter. To this end our minds must meet.

The entrance of America into the great war was full of dramatic interest. The application of nation-wide conscription without the slightest disturbance, the universal self-denial to supply us with food and all other requirements, the unity of purpose, and the amazing energy of 110,000,000 people of so varying and complex a character, challenged our admiration and gratitude in such fashion as no one but ourselves can know.

And the way the American soldiers fought! Nothing could have been finer. Inspired by the holiest ideals, I may say transfigured, they entered upon their task with all the determination, all the fervor, all the spiritual purpose of the old-time Crusaders. They did work! France might have died. She would not have surrendered. But do not mistake me. I do not mean to minimize the importance of the American military aid, nor of the American Red Cross, nor the Salvation Army, nor any of the helpful agencies. There never has been in all the world's history so perfect a co-ordination of the holy purpose of the righteous-minded inhabitants of the earth.

And now the war is won. The world is made safe for democracy, for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, as Jefferson said in the American Declaration of Independence. And the future is before us. What has it in store?

FAITH IN AMERICANS

I am told that some of these gallant American soldiers, who lived in trenches, slept in dugouts, and burrowed in the mud in devastated and war-torn France, when they crossed the Rhine and in an undevastated land found clean beds and baths, rather regret that they fought on the side of freedom and would rather have fought on the side of the murdering Germans. I do not believe it. I am sure there is no American soldier who does not recognize that France, the battlefield of the war, could not give him the comforts that Germany, undevastated, was able to. I do not and will not believe so meanly of a single one of the brilliant warriors who came from the States to our aid in the great struggle for civilization against savagery. It is incredible. It is the tragedy of the war that devastated France could not give them the comforts that unbroken Germany could.

I believe there is some criticism that there have been overcharges by the French for food and other things. Well, there are things to be said about that. First, for many years the Americans have been coming to Europe and with abundant means and great generosity have been spoiling our people. They have paid for everything with a bounteous hand. As a result, they have taught our people, who were willing pupils, that they were very rich and very, very generous. It was but human that our people should expect much from the Americans.

It is only fair to say that in every case where the attention of the French Government has been brought to a case of extortion an earnest and, I think, effective, effort has been made to stop it. Compared with the United States France is a small country and limited in her resources. Necessarily she is provident, perhaps unpleasantly careful, I would say; not miserly nor certainly intentionally extortionate. But also you must know that all the time our own French people have paid the same prices for what they bought that our American friends have.

Throughout the war our relations with the American Army have been most cordial, and your Treasury officials will assure you, I am sure, that there has always been a spirit of generosity on both sides. Any suggestion that we have asked payment for trenches or the burial places of your brave soldiers is atrocious. For all future ages the graves of American soldiers will be in the tender and sacred keeping of our grateful people.

I have said that the war is won. It would perhaps be more accurate to say that there is a lull in the storm. At least it is as well to face squarely all the possibilities.

MEANT TO EXTERMINATE FRANCE

Recent disclosures have enabled us to look deeper into the purposes of the enemy than we could heretofore. It was not purely a dream of military domination on the part of Prussia. It was a definite, calculated conspiracy to exterminate France, as well industrially and commercially as in a military sense. In this effort the German bankers and manufacturers joined their General Staff. The exposures of Dr. Mühlon of the Krupp Works and of Kurt Eisner at the Berne Socialist Conference make this clear.

And this fact explains many of the activities of the German Army which we were not able to understand. We can now see why they stole the machinery from our factories,

why they destroyed the coal mines of Lens, why there was all the wanton devastation of French territory, even when they were in retreat. It was thought to be a part of their tactics of military frightfulness. Instead, we can see now that it was a part of their deliberate commercial design.

And in this phase of their war-making effort they have not been altogether unsuccessful. The industrial life of France has been so wrecked that its resuscitation is most difficult, while by reason of her military surrender Germany has been able to save her factories intact and ready for immediate efficient operation. Industrially and commercially, as between France and Prussia, for the present the victory is with the Hun.

And financially, by reason of the blockade, (the value of which as a military factor no one will question,) the German war debt is almost wholly a debt to her own people, easily repudiated, while the debt of France is one which must be paid. Here again the war has proved something like a Pyrrhic victory for France.

The French fortune invested abroad before the war was large—some fifty or sixty billions (francs) of French stock. What has become of that fortune? The best that we can hope for is that payments on about two-thirds of it may be considered as simply deferred; that the immense sum accumulated by French thrift and loaned abroad will be collectible eventually.

INVESTMENT IN RUSSIA

France has something like twenty billion francs invested in Russia, two-thirds of that sum in Russian Government securities and the remainder in industrial enterprises. The French people have other billions in Balkan and Turkish obligations. Then, just before the war, the disorders in Mexico deprived us of any revenue from about two and a half billions of francs invested there, and we are having the same experience with several other billions in South America, notably the immense French investments in railways.

I mention some of these financial details to show how the French fortune has shrunk, so that our people can no longer derive a large income from abroad. The paying investments abroad are relatively inconsiderable compared to the debts that France has contracted abroad during the war, particularly in America and in England. The French Government has also loaned considerable sums to her small allies, just as America has done with her associates.

We look forward, therefore, to an immediate future in which we must regularly meet great interest charges in America and elsewhere abroad, to provide which we will have only the resources at home.

If our national debts were due only to our own people the problem would not be so difficult, because we would not then have to consider the sending out of the country of great sums at disadvantageous rates of exchange. The money collected from the French people for interest on the national loans would be distributed among the French people, unequally perhaps, but nevertheless the interest payments would remain in the country, to be used partly for reconstruction and as capital for the development of our industrial life.

Even as to the military triumphs of Germany there is a situation not altogether without disquieting features for France. It is quite true that the Allies have taken the German Navy and in large measure have disarmed the enemy, but there remains a chaotic yet fruitful Russia from which great help may be drawn by the Teutons.

With the British Army demobilized, the American Army back home, and France isolated there might be a danger of a reopening of the military debate by Germany which might embarrass us were it not for the assurance which President Wilson gave us in the Chamber of Deputies the other day that under the operation of the League of Nations, "whenever France or any other free people is threatened the whole world will be ready to vindicate its liberty," so that "there never shall be any doubt or waiting or surmise." This has given us great solace. And so we bid the departing American soldiers godspeed and a happy return to their peaceful firesides.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S PROMISE

Of course, a Society of Nations in which America and France enter must be supported profoundly by the conviction of their peoples and by a determination of each nation entering into the agreement to be willing to renounce its traditional aloofness from other peoples and willing to employ the national strength outside its own country in time of peace as well as under the pressure of war.

We shall have problems, but France will face them, as she has done, with courage and with an abiding faith in the triumph of right and justice. As was said of Chevalier Bayard, so must it be said of France—she will continue "sans peur et sans reproche."

All our plan are based upon the splendid platform laid down by President Wilson. In perfect harmony with the principles which he has enunciated, we are striving for higher and holier idealism in the conduct of the affairs of the world. Divested of all mercenary aspirations, we join heartily and unreservedly in the effort to make a better world and one of simple justice to all mankind.

The Prinkipo Conference Plan

An Attempt to Arrange a Meeting Between Delegates of the Allies and of Russian Factions

EARLY in January, 1919, the British Government submitted a proposal to the French Foreign Office that an invitation be dispatched by wireless to the Soviet Government at Moscow, to General Kolchak at Omsk, to General Denikine at Ekaterinodar, to M. Tschaikovsky at Archangel, as well as to all the other Governments appointed by the various Russian nationalities, for the declaration of a truce among the different contending factions during the period of the Peace Conference. In the event that the Soviet and other Russian Governments accepted this invitation they might be allowed to send delegates to the Peace Conference.

The French Foreign Minister, Stephen Pichon, responded on Jan. 5 with a diplomatic note, declaring that, while the French Government acknowledged the generous English spirit of worldwide reconciliation, approval could not be given the suggestion, since it did not take into consideration the principles that still inspired the policies of the French and other allied Governments in Russia.

FORMER AMBASSADOR'S VERDICT

On Jan. 20 the Supreme Council gave a hearing to Joseph Noulens, the French Ambassador, who had just returned from Russia, where he had witnessed personally the changes that had taken place in Governmental and economic life. He summarized his views in the following authorized statement:

> The Bolshevist power is the enemy of the Entente. It is responsible for the Russian defection from the Entente. It furnished Germany with food during the war. It protested against the terms of the German armistice. These acts show an uncompromising attitude of hostility against the Entente.
>
> Tyranny and terror, which are increasing daily, should place the bloody chiefs at Moscow and Petrograd outside the pale of humanity. No society of nations could deal with such a régime, which constitutes today the most serious obstacle to a general peace. Until the régime falls, which I hope to see the Allies actively undertake, Europe will continue to be exposed to the severest risks of agitation and war.

THE INVITATION SENT

On Jan. 22 the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference adopted a proposal laid before it by President Wilson for action regarding Russia. The plan adopted was that of sending a wireless message to the various Russian Governments, inviting them to send delegates to Princes' Islands, in the Sea of Marmora, to confer with allied representatives on Feb. 15. There are eight islands in the group chosen for this rendezvous, of which the largest and most beautiful is Prinkipo, a popular Summer resort, only twelve miles from Constantinople.

The text of the message sent was as follows:

> The single object the representatives of the associated Powers have had in mind in their discussions of the course they should pursue with regard to Russia has been to help the Russian people, not to hinder them or to interfere in any manner with their right to settle their own affairs in their own way.
>
> They regard the Russian people as their friends, not their enemies, and are willing to help them in any way they are willing to be helped. It is clear to them that the troubles and distrust of the Russian people will steadily increase, hunger and privation of every kind become more and more acute, more and more widespread, and more and more impossible to relieve unless order is restored and normal conditions of labor, trade, and transportation once more created, and they are seeking some way in which to assist the Russian people to establish order.
>
> They recognize the absolute right of the Russian people to direct their own affairs without dictation or direction of any kind from outside. They do not wish to exploit or make use of Russia in any way.
>
> They recognize the revolution without reservation and will in no way and in no circumstances aid or give countenance to any attempt at a counter-revolution.

It is not their wish or purpose to favor or assist any one of the organized groups now contending for the leadership and guidance of Russia as against the others. Their sole and sincere purpose is to do what they can to bring Russia peace and an opportunity to find her way out of her present troubles.

The associated Powers are now engaged in the solemn and responsible work of establishing the peace of Europe and of the world, and they are keenly alive to the fact that Europe and the world cannot be at peace if Russia is not. They recognize and accept it as a duty to serve Russia as generously, as unselfishly, as thoughtfully, as ungrudgingly as they would serve any other friend and ally, and they are ready to render this service in the way that is most acceptable to the Russian people.

In this spirit and with this purpose they have taken the following action: They invite every organized group that is now exercising or attempting to exercise political authority or military control anywhere in Siberia, or within the boundaries of European Russia as they stood before the war just concluded, except in Finland, to send representatives, not exceeding three representatives for each group, to Princes' Islands, Sea of Marmora, where they will be met by representatives of the associated powers, provided in the meantime there is a truce of arms among the parties invited and that all armed forces anywhere sent or directed against any people or territory inside the boundaries of European Russia as they stood before the war, or against Finland, or against any people or territory whose autonomous action is in contemplation in the fourteen articles upon which the present negotiations are based, shall be meanwhile withdrawn and aggressive military actions cease.

These representatives are invited to confer with the representatives of the associated Powers in the freest and frankest way, with a view to ascertaining the wishes of all sections of the Russian people and bringing about, if possible, some understanding and agreement by which Russia may work out her own purposes, and happy, co-operative relations be established between her people and the other peoples of the world.

A prompt reply to this invitation is requested. Every facility for the journey of the representatives, including transportation across the Black Sea, will be given by the Allies, and all the parties concerned are expected to give the same facilities. The representatives will be expected at the place appointed by Feb. 15, 1919.

This action of the Supreme Council produced a flood of protests from the more conservative elements in Russia, and from the various factions fighting the Bolshevist régime. The council of the national and democratic bloc of Russian political organizations abroad sent a strongly worded protest to Premier Clemenceau against the decision of the Supreme Council to call a conference of the Russian factions. It read in part:

> We would be men without honor and courage if we accepted for a single moment a truce such as proposed to us while all that are dear are in danger of death —violent death by execution or assassination or slow death through hunger. The interest of humanity in general and democracy in particular requires the establishment in Russia of a régime based on the sovereignty of the people freely expressed. An improvised meeting at the Princes' Islands cannot be an expression of this sort. Russia has long clamored for the free election of a Constituent Assembly. The attempt was stifled by the Bolsheviki by force of arms, and they are today asked to make the voice of Russia heard!

Nicholas Tschaikovsky, the head of the Northern Government of Russia, voiced the hostility of his Government to a compromise with the Bolsheviki, saying:

> The suggestion that we other Russians should enter into negotiations for an accommodation with the Bolsheviki is impracticable, because we have no common ground with them. They deny every democratic principle that we affirm, fundamentally the liberty of the subject. There is only one settlement possible between us: either we prevail over them or they prevail over us.
>
> The policy of the conference is not only useless, is not only impracticable, but it is humiliating to the representatives of Russia. We cannot enter into discussions with criminals and outrage-mongers. To do so would be to recognize Bolshevism as a party, or to recognize crime as a normal political weapon and to tolerate the loosening of the foundation of democracy.

Sergius Sazonoff, former Russian Foreign Minister, who represents the Governments of Ekaterinodar and Omsk at Paris, declared that he would not participate in the meeting with Bolshevist representatives proposed by the Supreme Council. He went further, making a plea on Jan. 24 that anti-Bolshevist Russians be allowed to raise a volunteer army in other European countries with the purpose of combating the Bolshevist régime and restoring order in Russia.

General Horvath of the Siberian Government, in discussing the invitation to Princes' Islands, declared on Feb. 1, at Vladivostok, that it would be impossible for the factions to reach an agreement with the Bolsheviki. The General said:

> We cannot conclude an armistice with them, because it would be impossible to secure guarantees which would not be violated by the Bolsheviki.

The Omsk Government, under Admiral Kolchak, in its formal reply to the invitation, expressed strong reserve, while not indicating absolute rejection of the proposal.

The Government of Georgia, in Transcaucasia, responded on Feb. 3 with a declination to attend, on the ground that Georgia, like Finland, already had achieved her independence, and was no longer a portion of Russia.

The Lithuanian delegation in Paris, representing the whole of Lithuania in Russia, comprising a population of about 15,000,000, replied on Feb. 6 that they were ready to accept the invitation on condition of the indorsement of the principle by the Peace Conference of absolute autonomy and independence for Lithuania.

ESTHONIA ACCEPTS

The official reply of the Esthonian Government, made public Feb. 11, was as follows:

> The Esthonian people, by the intermediary of its National Council, which springs from universal suffrage, determined to separate from Russia, and thereupon proclaimed Esthonia an independent republic. The Government has been provisionally recognized by the English, French, and Italian Governments. Not only does the Esthonian Government exert its authority independent of any Russian Government, but for three months, after having organized a regular army, it has been at war with the Russian Soviet communist republic.
>
> Therefore, we in no wise consider ourselves a part of Russia, although we accept the invitation of the allied powers and of the United States to go to Princes' Islands. We believe that the participation of the representatives of Esthonia and of the communist republic of Russian Soviets is of importance to the future relations between Russia and the Esthonian Republic.

The Lettish Republic responded on Feb. 12 that it would send delegates to the conference. The official text of the reply, in part, follows:

> Although, from a political point of view, the provisional Government of Letvia is in a situation exactly similar to that of Poland and Finland, it finds itself, nevertheless, invited, according to an official declaration made by the Secretary General of the Peace Conference on Feb. 10. In the name of the provisional Lettish Government, the Lettish delegation has the honor to bring to the attention of the Peace Conference of Paris the following declaration:
>
> "The provisional Lettish Government will send three delegates to Princes' Islands, provided that all armed forces sent or directed by Russia against the Lettish State be withdrawn from Letvia, and that all offensive military action cease.
>
> "Letvia announces its separation from Russia, and announced, in January, 1918, at the Constituent Assembly of Russia, the Constitution of an independent and sovereign Lettish State.
>
> "The Lettish delegation sent to the Peace Conference will participate in the conference at Prinkipo in order to:
>
> "1. Make peace with Russia, this peace to be recognized by the great allied powers.
>
> "2. Regulate, under the auspices of the great allied powers, the political and economic affairs as they result from the separation of Letvia and Russia.
>
> "3. Make treaties in and take the necessary steps toward the establishment of States."

By Feb. 12 the Ukrainian Soviet Government announced that it was willing to accept the invitation of the Supreme Council to the conference at Princes' Islands. The Government of the Crimea also informed the Allies about that time that it was willing to send delegates to the meeting.

BOLSHEVIST ATTITUDE

On Jan. 25 M. Tchitcherin, the Bolshevist Foreign Minister, sent a wireless message to the Soviet representative in Sweden asking for confirmation of the proposal of the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference to send a mission to confer with representatives of the different Russian factions at Princes' Islands. In his message M. Tchitcherin raised objections to the isolation of the islands as tending to surround the proposed meeting with secrecy, and also to leaving the choice of participants to the Entente.

On Feb. 6, 1919, the Russian Soviet Government, in a wireless message to the Entente Governments sent out from Moscow by M. Tchitcherin, announced that it was willing to begin conversations with the Entente with the object of bringing about a cessation of military activities. Moreover, it offered to guarantee the payment of interest on its debts by means of stipulated quantities of raw materials, and to place concessions in mines, forests, &c., at the disposal of citizens of the Entente, provided "the social and economic order of the Soviet Government was not affected by internal disorders connected with these concessions." The message added:

> The extent to which the Soviet Government is prepared to meet the Entente will depend on its military position in relation to that of the Entente Governments, and it must be emphasized that its position improves every day.

The Supreme Council, on receiving the acceptance of the Russian Bolshevist Government, immediately made arrangements to send a joint committee of two representatives from each of the five great powers to meet the representatives of the Soviet Government. On Feb. 7 William Allen White of Emporia, Kan., and Professor George Davis Herron were appointed the American delegates to the Marmora conference with the Russian factions. Other countries named the following delegates on Feb. 8: M. Conty, the French Minister to Copenhagen, and General Bampon, for France; Sir Robert Borden, Premier of Canada, and a military delegate, for Great Britain, and the Marquis della Torreta, former Ambassador in Petrograd, for Italy.

Meanwhile the Bolsheviki showed no signs of complying with the provision for a military truce, and the project had encountered so many other obstacles that the Peace Conference took up the whole question anew on Feb. 16, with a view to hastening the solution.

Armistice Extension

An Economic Council Added to the Commission and New Details Arranged

THE Supreme War Council devoted its sessions on Feb. 7, 8, and 9 to a discussion of the terms for a renewal of the armistice with Germany. Statements were made by Marshal Foch and other military leaders of France that the Germans had not complied with the previous terms, and urgent representations were made in favor of imposing new and more drastic terms and compelling their rigid execution. At the meeting of the council on Feb. 8 the following resolution, proposed by President Wilson, was approved:

> First—Under present conditions many questions not primarily of military character, which are arising daily and which are bound to become of increasing importance as time passes, should be dealt with on behalf of the United States and the Allies by civilian representatives of these Governments experienced in such questions—finance, food, blockade control, shipping, and raw materials.
>
> Second—To accomplish this, there shall be constituted at Paris a Supreme Economic Council to deal with such matters for the period of the armistice. The council shall absorb or replace all such other existing interallied bodies and their powers, as it may determine from time to time. The Economic Council shall consist of not more than five representatives of each interested Government.
>
> Third—There shall be added to the present international permanent armistice commission two civilian representatives of each Government, who shall consult with the allied high command, but who may report direct to the Supreme Economic Council.

At a meeting of the Supreme Council on Feb. 10 M. Klotz, French Minister of Finance, presented documents of the German General Staff, published in 1916, showing a systematic plan to destroy French industry, not only as a military measure, but as a means to promote German industrial interests. These docu-

ments were referred to the new Economic Council.

The council at its sessions on Feb. 12 brought together, besides President Wilson and representatives of the great powers, Marshals Foch and Pétain, Field Marshal Haig, General Diaz and Generals Pershing and Bliss; also economic and financial experts. Civilian Americans taking part were Norman Davis of the Treasury, Vance McCormick of the War Trade Board, and B. M. Baruch of the War Industries Board. The presence of these officials indicated that economic and financial, as well as military, features were incorporated in the new terms.

The German authorities were asked to furnish information confirming the amount of their war material, cannon, airplanes, and other equipment. This question came up in the recent sessions of the council when the extent of this material was advanced as a reason for taking measures against the renewal of warlike activities. Before determining on any such step it was considered desirable to request information, both as a memorandum dealing with the subject and as testing the good faith of the enemy in disclosing the status of his military equipment.

The new armistice terms were presented to the German Commissioners by Marshal Foch at Treves, on Feb. 14. Mathias Erzberger replied for the Germans. He handed two notes to Marshal Foch. One concerned the employment of the German mercantile marine for various purposes, while the other was longer and contained several requests, including the release of German prisoners and the maintenance of economic intercourse between Germany and occupied territories. The point made with reference to the German ships was that they would be released to bring food to Europe, provided Germany were allowed to obtain part of it, to be paid for by a collateral pledge rather than cash.

Among the declarations made by Herr Erzberger was one to the American representative on the Armistice Commission —that Germany went to the aid of the United States from 1862 to 1865 during the great economic crisis, furnishing money, clothes, shoes, and machinery. If the United States came to the aid of Germany today, more than fifty years afterward, Erzberger said, she could give Germany food and raw materials against a German loan, and at the same time would be doing a good stroke of business.

Herr Erzberger said that Germany was suffering from hunger. The doctors had made known the number of victims of the blockade. More than half a million men, women, and children had died from exhaustion or the results of lessened capacity to resist disease, he added. He declared that Bismarck gave succor to Paris in 1871, immediately after the Franco-Prussian War, and he gave warning that Bolshevism would result from hunger in Germany.

He also protested against what he termed the oppression against everything German in Alsace-Lorraine and against the encouragement given by the Entente to "the Polish appetite for conquest." Germany, he asserted, had accepted President Wilson's fourteen points for peace, and the Allies also had accepted them. Article II., he said, did not give the Allies the right to forbid the German people to defend themselves against such encroachments as the Poles were making.

Marshal Foch stated that the terms of the armistice were fixed by the Supreme War Council and gave notice that unless the new agreement was signed by 6 o'clock Feb. 16 he would regard the armistice as no longer in force and would leave Treves to issue the necessary orders to the allied troops.

Herr Erzberger left Treves for Weimar on Feb. 17 to consult the German Government. The Cabinet, after a six-hour session, instructed Herr Erzberger to sign the armistice and at the same time to hand to Marshal Foch a written statement, declaring that the German Government was aware of the serious consequences involved in either signing or rejecting the agreement. The Government's statement said:

> Instructing its delegates to sign, it does so with the conviction that the allied and associated Governments are endeavoring to restore peace to the world. The Ger-

man Government is obliged to define its standpoint toward three articles:

First, the agreement entirely ignores the German Government which has arisen in an orderly manner from the will of the people. It imposes in the form of curt orders provisions for the evacuation in favor of the insurgent Poles a number of important places, including Birnbaum and Bentschen. Although we are ready to cease all military aggressive action in Posen and other regions, we must expect the Poles to respect the line of demarkation; otherwise we must be authorized to defend ourselves by force.

Second, Germany promises to carry out those armistice terms which she hitherto has not succeeded in doing, but she ventures to assume that her obligations will not be interpreted in a manner incompatible with President Wilson's principles. We must wait and see whether we are in a position fully to follow the contemplated instructions of the allied supreme command.

Third, objection is raised to the point in the agreement giving only three days' notice for its denunciation.

The new armistice was signed at 6 o'clock on the evening of Feb. 16. Under its provisions: (1) the old terms must be carried out completely by Germany; (2) it can be denounced on three days' notice; (3) it is renewed for an indeterminate period; (4) it fixes a line of demarkation between Germany and Poland, by which a considerable portion of Posen is relinquished to Poland; (5) all offensive movements against the Poles must be abandoned; (6) a plan of disarmament and demobilization of the German forces is to be executed as prescribed by the military and naval advisers of the Allies; (7) and, finally, when this is done certain features of the blockade are to be relaxed. It was reported that the ultimate naval terms would provide for dismantling the fortifications of Heligoland and the Kiel Canal.

Making the New Map of Europe

Summary of Boundary Disputes

THE conflicting territorial claims brought before the Peace Conference for adjustment are so many and varied that a mere summary of them must fill several pages. Coupled with the problems of the former German colonies, they are demanding a large share of the thought of the peace makers at Paris.

Great Britain presents no territorial claims on the Continent and demands only that a permanent and just peace be concluded, and that, according to the principle of self-determination, there should be international freedom of transit by railroads and waterways. She proposes, however, to take the mandate over the German islands south of the equator for Australia and over German Southwest Africa for the Union of South Africa. Great Britain also expects to have the mandate over German East Africa and some parts of Arabia, having particular claims in this respect over Mesopotamia.

France regards Alsace-Lorraine as nothing less than a portion of French territory to be rightfully returned after an enforced separation, and demands an unconditional award of those provinces to France. With the tragic events of the Summer of 1914 still before them, the French desire the right to fix the French frontiers in their relation to the Rhine, and also, according to the suggestion of Marshal Foch, the erection of buffer States, one of which would be the Palatinate and the other Rhenish Prussia. France desires that, so far as the left bank of the Rhine further south is concerned, the Peace Conference should forbid military works of any kind—barracks, bridgeheads, forts, and fortresses—in that zone. She also desires the entire Rhine to be neutralized, in which desire she has the support of Switzerland. With regard to the government of the region, France feels that the inhabitants of the district should determine for themselves whether they are to join France, become an independent State, or return to Germany. France also desires

to have returned to her the valley of the Sarre.

France, because of her traditional interests in Syria, feels that she should exercise some sort of guardianship over that country until it is fully able to govern itself. The King of Hedjas, recognized as such by the Allies soon after he had assumed his new title in November, 1916, plans an Arab confederation in which Syria is to be included. His son, Prince Feisal, presented this claim to Syria, on the part of his father, before the Peace Conference. The main difficulty in connection with this particular problem lies in the treaty concluded between Great Britain and the King of Hedjas, under which Damascus was to be included in the territory awarded to Hedjas. One section of French opinion, at least, is strongly opposed to Damascus remaining under control of the King of Hedjas, by whom it is now being administered. France also has conflicting claims with Armenia and Arabia to certain parts of Turkey's Asiatic possessions.

PROBLEM ON THE ADRIATIC

Italy desires possession of the Trentino as far as the Brenner Pass, including the whole of Southern Tyrol, Trieste, Istria, Fiume, Zara, Sebenico, the larger part of the Dalmatian Islands, Avlona and its hinterland, the islands in the Aegean, which were taken from Turkey in the Tripolitan war, and, should France and England take territory in Asia Minor, the province of Adalia. Should France and England extend their colonial possessions in Africa, Italy desires to enlarge her holdings in Eritrea and Tripoli. Italy desires also that the Dalmatian Islands and such parts of the Dalmatian coast as are not awarded Italy should be neutralized. A protectorate over Albania is desired by Italy.

The Italian claims to the Islands of the Dodecanesus and other islands in the Aegean Sea conflict with the Greek claims. These islands were occupied by Italian troops, but are, and always have been, inhabited by Greeks.

There is a sharp conflict between the Italian desires regarding the east coast of the Adriatic and the Jugoslavic claims in that region. Italy stands on the London treaty of 1915, holding that the territory promised by England, France, and Russia therein is necessary to the future protection of Italy and, therefore, the peace of Europe, and that the territory promised Italy in 1915 was far less than what she asked as her allotment for entering the war.

Jugoslavia, the "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes," desires the Croatian seaboard and Fiume, conflicting herein with the Italian demands. With regard to the Dalmatian Islands and Albanian Islands, both Jugoslavia and Italy lay claim to these. The Jugoslavic State claims the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which were seized by the Hapsburg monarchy in 1908, and is opposed by no one in the Entente group in this claim. The union of Montenegro and Serbia as part of a greater Jugoslavic State was voted by the Montenegrin Parliament, but a faction representing King Nicholas of Montenegro and his adherents protests against a union which will not leave to Montenegro entire local self-government.

THE BALKAN COUNTRIES

Serbia has occupied the Banat to the south of Hungary, and her claims to that region are disputed by Hungary and Rumania. The territory is bounded by the Danube, Theiss, and Maros Rivers almost entirely, except on the east, where the Transylvanian Carpathians shut it in. Belgrade, the Serbian capital, is on the southwest corner.

Rumania, like Serbia, moved troops into the Banat of Temesvar to secure her claims to that part of Hungary. Rumania also desires to retain possession of that portion of Russian Bessarabia given her by the Central Powers under the canceled treaty of Bucharest and now in her possession. And further to insure her command of the mouth of the Danube, Rumania desires the Southern Dobrudja as ceded to her by Bulgaria after the second Balkan war.

Greece desires the possession of Northern Epirus and Thrace, from which latter, however, she excepts Constantinople and the shores of the Bosporus and

DISPUTED BOUNDARIES AND TERRITORIES IN EUROPE WHICH THE PEACE CONFERENCE MUST APPORTION

Dardanelles on condition that they be internationalized. Bulgaria, despite her unconditional surrender, has claims in Thrace, on the Aegean coast, and in Southern Macedonia that conflict with Greek desires. Greece further lays claim to the Vilayet of Smyrna, a former Turkish possession in Asia Minor, and to the former Turkish islands in the Aegean, which Italy desires.

NEW SLAVIC STATES

In Central Europe the new State of Czechoslovakia carved out its territories almost entirely at the expense of the old Austria-Hungary. The old kingdom of Bohemia, Moravia, and the Slovak regions of Northern Hungary have already been incorporated into the proposed State, but there are certain conflicts with the Poles, Ruthenians, Ru-

manians, and Germans, as well as with the Austrians and the Magyars, because the Czechs assert that parts of German Saxony and German Silesia belong ethnographically to the new State.

The Czechoslovaks are coming into opposition to Polish claims in Silesia, both parties being desirous to secure control of the Teschen mining district, and in sections of Galicia, while to the northeast Czechoslovak expansion has brought them into contact with the Ruthenians, or Ukrainians, in Eastern Galicia, and with other fringes of spheres claimed by the Rumanians. The new State desires expansion southward over a frontage on the Danube and over a corridor to the Adriatic.

The Poles, with an inadequate army, are endeavoring to establish possession of disputed regions on three sides of Russian Poland and Galicia, which constitutes the nucleus of the new Polish State. The Poles desire Eastern Galicia to include Lemberg, which is in the Ukraine, and the disputed Province of Kholm, in Little Russia.

To the northeast the Poles desire to

REGIONS IN ASIA MINOR AND THE CAUCASUS CLAIMED BY MORE THAN ONE NATION

have Vilna recognized as Polish. Both the Lithuanians and the Bolsheviki have raised claims to Vilna, the Bolsheviki supporting their pretensions by a menacing offensive. The Poles are contending against the Germans not only for German Silesia and Posen and West Prussia, as provinces populated chiefly by Poles, but also for the City of Danzig, so as to provide Poland with direct access to the sea.

Should the Poles have Danzig, East Prussia would be cut off from the rest of Germany and would remain an island populated by Germans surrounded by Polish dominions.

BELGIUM AND OTHERS

Belgium asks that her reparation for damages wrought by Germany shall be the first lien upon German assets to the extent of at least 15,000,000,000 francs, or up to a much larger sum if Germany does not return the machinery and the materials taken from Belgium. Belgium believes that she should be paid first because she was the first to be invaded, because her neutrality was violated and because she has suffered more from despoliation than any other country in the war.

Belgium, having reasserted her independence and thus emerged from her old state of neutrality, desires from Holland the left bank of the Scheldt and the peninsula of Maastricht, which protrudes into Belgian Limburg. Belgium is also ready to assent to a plebiscite in Luxemburg to decide whether that country wishes to join Belgium or France or to retain its autonomy.

The foregoing may be considered the extreme claims of Belgium. They come into conflict with Holland, which resists any infringement of the frontiers asked for by the Belgian annexationists. The Government of Holland appears willing to revise the Scheldt navigation treaty so that Belgium shall enjoy equal rights in the river with Holland.

Denmark desires that Northern Schleswig, seized from her by Prussia in 1864, be returned to her. This claim is not seriously disputed by Germany. In Sweden there is a strong movement for the union of the Aland Islands with that country, the islands being considered by the Swedes as the naval key to Stockholm, the capital of Sweden. Finland also has interests here, but the settlement in this case is not expected to be difficult.

Japan desires to retain the former German concessions on the Shantung Peninsula in China and the former German South Pacific islands north of the equator which Japan occupied during the war. China demands the return of Tsing-tao, formerly German, and Kiao-Chau, which Japan captured from Germany.

NEW ZIONIST STATE

The project of the Zionists again to form a nation of Jews after two thousand years has received the enthusiastic support of President Wilson; France, Italy, and Japan have also indorsed the declaration of Balfour on Nov. 2, 1917, which is the modern Jewish charter. That declaration stipulates that "His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object."

As nearly as possible, the new Palestine under the Union Jack is intended to be coterminous with the territory from "Dan to Beersheba" of the Old Testament. Thus no foreign power can wedge itself between Lebanon and the Egyptian border. The territory extends on both sides of the Jordan, but it does not include the desert, though that belonged to ancient Palestine. It stops short at the Hedjaz Railway as a recognition of Arab rights. Nor does it take in Damascus, which is regarded as the Arab capital. For practical purposes, therefore, it is the old historic Palestine, with certain adjustments of an economic order, such as complete possession of the essential waterways.

The Lesser Belligerents

Sketch of the Chief Developments in Belgium, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Other States Since the Armistice

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 16, 1919]

AFTER the withdrawal of the Germans, Belgium was faced by a serious problem—how to induce the people to assume a normal attitude. Foreign correspondents asserted and the local press confirmed the fact that the Belgians were still celebrating their release three months after the event and could not be induced to resume work. There is plenty of work for all, for the Germans destroyed railways, telephone and telegraph systems, roads and factories, yet it is with the greatest difficulty that workmen can be found who are willing to restore these things; and this notwithstanding the fact that coffee at Brussels is $5 a pound; meat, $2.50; sugar, 62 cents, and eggs 40 cents each. There were on Feb. 15, 1919, still 60,000 unemployed in Belgium who continued to receive the Government stipend of $20 a month.

How dire is the need of re-establishing transportation may be gathered from official figures: The Germans in their retreat destroyed 690 miles of railway tracks and rendered useless 260 miles; they took 2,614 locomotives out of a total of 4,534; 9,062 passenger coaches out of 10,812; and 80,568 freight cars out of 94,737. It is estimated that 100,000,000 pounds of steel will be required to reopen traffic by railway and restore the bridges.

The new Ministry, which came into power on Nov. 19, was made up of six Catholics, three Liberals, and four Socialists, as follows:

CATHOLIC PARTY

Premier and Minister of Finance	M. Delacroix
Railways	M. Renkin
Interior	Baron de Broqueville
Agriculture	M. Vandevyvere
Science and the Arts	M. Jaspart
Economic Relations	M. Harmignies

LIBERAL PARTY

War	M. Janson
Foreign Affairs	M. Hymans
Colonies	M. Franck

SOCIALIST PARTY

Public Works	M. Anseele
Justice	M. Vandervekde
Industrial Works	M. Wauters
Under Secretary (Public Works)	M. Coppieters

The new Government announced the following program: Universal suffrage at the age of 21 years, with a six months' residential qualification; a general election to be held as soon as possible; a simpler method sought for amending the Constitution; the repeal of Article 310 of the Penal Code regarding the freedom of labor; the establishment of a Flemish University in progressive stages by the extension of certain courses at Ghent University.

The political fight is being waged upon the basis of universal suffrage—one man, one vote. Before the war the priests had four votes, land owners and nobles as many votes as they had estates in different provinces, and Socialists and Liberals only one vote each. The Socialists were mostly workingmen and the Liberals mostly professional men. This enabled the Catholic Party to be in power for more than forty years. Under the universal suffrage system which would relegate priests and land owners to the same category as workingmen, doctors, and lawyers, it is asserted the Catholic Party may be placed in the minority. Nevertheless, Cardinal Mercier's great personality and the energy he displayed in behalf of Belgians during the war is said to have greatly helped the cause of the Catholic Party.

One cause of bitterness and animosity in Belgium is the Flemish movement, which now is practically dead owing to the efforts of the late German Governor von Bissing to make use of it to divide Belgium into two parts. King Albert, in his speech to the Parliament after returning to Brussels, announced that the Government would propose a bill to create the basis of a Flemish University

at Ghent, reserving the details to the new Parliament to be elected later.

Pro-Germans and "activists," who supported the German scheme to drive a wedge between the Flemings and the Walloons in Belgium, are now ostracized socially. Many arrests have been made in Brussels, Ghent, and Bruges. The people of Ghent divide their hatred evenly between the Germans and the "activists." Bruges is filled with a deep-rooted hatred of everything German, while Brussels ridicules both pro-Germans and "activists." In Bruges 153 women who dealt with Germans were beaten and their hair was shorn. In Ghent pro-Germans and "activists," both men and women, were physically punished.

PORTUGAL

The attempt at a Royalist revolution which began in Northern Portugal on Jan. 19 with the proclaimed idea of restoring Dom Manuel failed on Feb. 14, when the citizens of Oporto, assisted by the republican troops, dispersed the last of the revolutionists and captured their leader, Paiva Couceiro.

Certain preceding events appeared to many to have led to the uprising, particularly the assassination of President Sidonio Paes on Dec. 14, and the anarchist riots in Lisbon and Oporto in the middle of January. On Dec. 17 Admiral Canto y Castro, who had been a Colonial Governor under the old régime, and, during the war, Minister of Marine and in active control of the coast defense, was elected by Parliament to fill the late President's unexpired term. When the Royalist uprising took place his Government had sufficiently investigated the assassination and the riots to enable it to make the following official statement in regard to the uprising:

> A revolutionary movement broke out on Jan. 19, at 1 P. M., at Oporto, Braga, and Vizeu. The movement is restricted to these three localities. Forces loyal to the Government are marching against the revolutionaries. All the garrisons of the country have declared their loyalty to the Government and to the republic. At Lisbon and in all the rest of the country order has not been disturbed. The present political strifes in Portugal are not to be attributed to Bolshevism; they are all fought on questions of party politics, and do not aim at any social reform.

Although the revolution first proclaimed itself behind the aegis of Dom Manuel, there is evidence to show that other hands held that protecting shield. Dom Manuel himself formally denounced the revolution, and his representative in Portugal, Senhor Ornellas, the head of the Royalist Party there, did the same by pledging his support to the Government of Admiral Canto y Castro and ordering all Royalists to refrain from disturbing the public peace.

Although the chief delinquent in the attack on Dr. Paes, José Julio Costa, confessed that he was an anarchist pure and simple, documents were found connecting him with Senhor Magalhaes Lima, Senhor Brito Camacho, and Dr. Affonso Costa, who was Premier under Machado. Lima is a Senator, Grand Master of Portuguese Free Masons, and former Republican Minister of Public Instruction; Camacho, having supported Paes in the beginning, soon lined up with the opposition, and last Fall was violently attacking him in his paper, A Lucta. So far as known no documents have been found on the so-called Royalist leader, Couceiro, connecting his "revolution" with either Dom Manuel or Senhor Ornellas.

It is believed that Couceiro's movement, although appropriated by the rank and file of the Dom Manuel faction as their own, was really instituted for Dom Miguel, the pretender, who has an American wife.

Piava Couceiro, whose mother was an Englishwoman, was a Captain of infantry when the republic was proclaimed, Oct. 5, 1910, two years nine months after the assassination of Dom Manuel's father and elder brother, King Carlos and Prince Luiz Philip. He was the only officer who openly opposed the republican régime. He left Portugal late in 1911, declaring that he would work abroad to overthrow the Government. In the Autumn of 1911 he led a Royalist invasion with 2,000 men and captured several small towns, among them Vizeu, from which the American wife of the pretender, the Countess of Vizeu, (née Stewart,) derives her title. The movement was defeated, and in the following

June he was condemned in absentia to six years' imprisonment. He tried again in July, and still again in September, 1913, every time meeting with failure. His attempt previous to that of last January was a few months after the war began. It cost many thousand dollars, and was publicly repudiated by Dom Manuel.

TURKEY

While Talaat Pasha, the chief leader of the Young Turks and Grand Vizier during most of the period of the war, and Enver Pasha, the Minister of War, are in Germany awaiting developments, the new Sultan of Turkey, Mohammed VI., with the aid of the aged Tewfik Pasha and Djavid Bey, the financial expert, is trying to bring order out of chaos in both the finances and the army of Turkey. Meanwhile, the plans for an Armenian Commonwealth extending like a belt 300 miles broad from the Caucasus to the Mediterranean, and separating Anatolia on the north from Syria, Arabia, and Mesopotamia on the south; the claims of the new Kingdom of Hedjaz, of France and England to Syria and of Italy and Greece to Smyrna are unnoticed in Constantinople, although the subject of serious debate at the Paris Peace Conference.

Early in January the British Admiral, Calthorpe, with a staff of British, French, Italian, and American officers, took control of the police and sanitary forces of Constantinople and in a month produced marked improvements. The city and the vilayet beyond have been cleared of both criminals and vermin, the former principally held on the charge of being agents acting for the Talaat Government in the matter of the Armenian, Greek, and Syrian massacres.

When the armistice came the Committee of Union and Progress, which had been thoroughly trained in German efficiency, ignored the Sultan and attempted to run the Government. Then came a series of calamities due to the fact that not only the army but all public employes without waiting for demobilization started for their homes. The train service between Constantinople and Asiatic Turkey broke down completely owing to the desertion of train and station men; carriers, engineers, and laborers of all sorts followed. The committee tried to keep about 3,000 Indian, 100 English, 600 Russian, 1,000 Serbian, and 200 Italian prisoners of war at work on the Taurus tunnel of the Bagdad Railway, and did succeed in keeping them until Dec. 1.

Before the Young Turks could begin to make trouble for the new pro-Entente Cabinet, the Minister of the Interior read an irade from the Sultan. It was only fifty words, but it dissolved Parliament by virtue of an amendment to Article VII. of the Constitution, which the committee itself had caused to be adopted in 1909 to be used through Mohammed V. whenever there was a Parliament which declined to do its bidding. So the Committee of Union and Progress fell a victim to a petard of its own forging. There is no question of a new election until the fate of the empire shall have been decided at Paris. Meanwhile, the Sultan, who actually rules under the direction of the inter-allied commission, sent abroad an appeal for all liberal Turks to return home and take part in rehabilitating their country.

Aside from the police work proper, which, according to a report made by the American Commissioner Heck to the State Department, on Feb. 1, had already caused the arrest of thirty-five leading members of the committee and placed Keimal Bey, Governor of Diarbekir, on trial, thousands of Armenian and Greek prisoners were to be sought out and set free. Owing to an order published in the press by the Chief of Police, calling on all Turks to hand over to the police within the week of Jan. 20 all Armenian and Greek women and children detained in Turkish houses, something was accomplished. The enormous difficulty of the quest may be illustrated by a single case reported to the commission:

> At a private house which was visited we found an Armenian girl. A Turk had killed her parents and had then handed the girl, who was well off, over to his son, who, after having forcibly converted her to Islam, married her, and thus obtained the wealth that belonged to her. The girl, when asked if she would leave,

could not make up her mind. She is expecting to become a mother. If she leaves she knows she has a child to support, and that her own people will not take her in, so that she will be a waif for life, as she can recover none of the property which became her husband's by their marriage.

Some scheme on a large scale should be immediately put in operation for the benefit of girls similarly situated, for the Turk, as we all know, will only keep these girls as long as the bloom of youth is on them. There must be hundreds, if not thousands, of cases such as the one cited.

BULGARIA

Of all the countries actively engaged in the war Bulgaria suffered less than any other. Like Germany she capitulated before she could be invaded. Meanwhile, she had made huge profits off the Germans and Austrians with whom officially and privately she had dealings, whether by the lease of her public works or the furnishing of food supplies. Before her troops evacuated Serbia and Greek Macedonia she had extracted from warehouse and private dwelling and field everything that could be transported—tobacco, wheat, maize, farm implements, live stock, hides, perfumes, and metal work—and is now prepared to sell them as her own, her chief needs being machinery, cereals, and textiles.

Bulgaria's new Foreign Minister, General Theodoroff, issued a manifesto on Jan. 8, in which he disclosed a part of his Government's ambitions. Brushing aside the charges made by the Greeks and Serbians of Bulgar atrocities, he proceeded:

> In the East we think we are justified in asking for the restoration of the Adrianople district as far as the Media-Enos line, which was awarded to Bulgaria by the London treaty of May, 1913. On the south we expect free access to the Aegean Sea from Enos to Orfani. * * * In Macedonia we expect that portion which was admitted by the Serbians in their treaty with us in 1912 as of Bulgarian origin and character, which includes the towns of Monastir, Prilep, and Veles, (Koprili.) As for the part which is designated in the treaty as the "contested zone," which includes the districts of Uskub and Kumanova, the decision respecting which was to be left under the terms of the treaty to the then Russian Emperor, we are content to leave to the Peace Conference to determine. As to Dobrudja, we hope the Peace Conference will undo the injustice done Bulgaria when this province was taken from her by the Russians in order that they might give it to Rumania in return for Bessarabia. * * * In short, everywhere, we rely upon President Wilson's principle of nationalities.

Aside from numerous pamphlets and leaflets, the chief organ of Bulgarian propaganda is L'Echo de Bulgarie, a daily paper published in Sofia, in the French language. Ten thousand copies of every edition of this paper are delivered to Government agents for missionary work in the countries of the Entente. Aside from attempting to rehabilitate Bulgaria in the eyes of Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Americans, it has special messages for French and Italian ears; to the first it shows by the history of Bulgaria that neither the Rumanians nor the Greeks are to be trusted; to the second it reveals by the same method the alleged perfidy of the Serbians. An appeal is now being made for French moral support and Italian trade.

RUMANIA

Out of a maze of false reports coming through Berlin and Vienna, including that of an insurrection against King Ferdinand, the following real facts regarding Rumania appear from official Bucharest dispatches: Among the reforms contemplated by the Rumanian Government is a division of the great landed estates among the peasantry; a formidable army was mobilized on the frontier of Bessarabia against the Bolsheviki, and several of them were executed in Rumania itself; rights of citizenship were granted to all Jews born in the country; and everybody is working hard, from Minister of State to the peasant, on the reconstruction program. Details of this work up to the last fortnight in January, transmitted by mail, are now available.

The war Premier, Jean Bratiano, was actually being tried on the charge of high treason at Bucharest when the armistice came. The visible director of his trial was the pro-German Government of Marghiloman, while standing in the shadow behind it and directing its moves

was the Kaiser's Field Marshal von Mackensen. Marghiloman went out with the Germans and Austrians, and then, on Dec. 14, after a military administration under General Coanda, M. Bratiano resumed his old place as President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, with the following colleagues:

M. A. Constantinesco	Industry and Com'erce
General Vaitolano	War
M. Saliqa	Public Works
M. Buzdagan	Justice
M. Osdar Kiriacesco	Finance
M. Duca	Public Instruction
M. Marsezoe	Interior
M. Enesco	Agriculture
M. Inoculez, Dr. Cingureano, M. Pherekyde	Ministers without portfolio

In submitting the policy of his Government the President said that the foreign program would aim at the complete realization of the rights of the Rumanian Nation, which were based on their great war sacrifices. Internal policy would direct all its efforts to the immediate application of the two reforms recently introduced, namely, universal suffrage and the breaking up by way of expropriation of large estates and the distribution of land thus secured among the peasants.

The foreign program M. Bratiano laid before the Peace Conference at Paris on Feb. 2; it included the incorporation within the Kingdom of Rumania the Rumanian-speaking parts of Transylvania and Hungary, Bukowina, and Bessarabia. According to the provisions of the treaty which Rumania made with France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia, Aug. 17, 1916, by which the country entered the war, Rumania was to receive most of the territory indicated, and also the Banat, which is now claimed by Serbia. The treaty, however, is a dead letter, technically at least, for if Russia failed to live up to her part of the agreement and send men and munitions, Rumania herself surrendered to the enemy.

The Ukraine now claims all of Bessarabia and part of Bukowina. From the latter territory Rumanian troops were withdrawn on Jan. 31 at the request of the Paris Conference. A Franco-Rumanian force passed through Bessarabia on its way to Kiev, but no attempt was made to occupy the country. The Banat, although north of the Danube, contains about 20 per cent. Serbs, 40 per cent. Magyars, and 40 per cent. Rumanians. It is, however, both geographically and ethnically a part of Transylvania.

The armistice had scarcely been signed when the Rumanians of Transylvania and Hungary began to organize for a National Assembly. On Dec. 1, the Assembly was convened at Alba Julia, or Klausenburg, north of Hermanstadt, and solemnly proclaimed union with Rumania by virtue of the following document, included in an account of the event published in the Vildág of Dec. 3, a translation of which is as follows:

> The National Assembly of the Rumanians of Transylvania, Hungary, and the Banat, held on Dec. 1, 1918, at Alba Julia, declares the union of all Rumanians with the Kingdom of Rumania, the union with that country of all territories inhabited by Rumanians, and its imprescriptible rights over the portion of the Banat comprised between the Rivers Maresiu, Tissa, and Danube. Until the Constituent Assembly, which is to be elected by universal suffrage, should decide otherwise, the National Assembly guarantees provisional autonomy to these territories.
>
> The political principles of the united Rumanian Nation are:
>
> (a) Complete national liberty for all races inhabiting this territory. Each of these nations will govern itself, using its own language, and will have its own administration and courts of law. They will choose their own officials from among themselves. Each nation will haye the right to be represented in the Legislature. Each will take a share in the Government of the country proportionate to its numbers.
>
> (b) All religions will have equal rights, and will be autonomous.
>
> (c) The Government will be a democratic one in all branches of public life. Every man and woman, upon reaching the age of 21, will have a vote. The ballot will be equal, secret, and by communes.
>
> (d) There will be complete liberty of the press, of meetings, and of the right of assembly. Every one will be free to propagate his ideas.
>
> (e) There will be radical agrarian reforms. The conscription of landed property will be carried out, especially of large properties. As a basis for this conscription, the right of fidei comis will be abolished. The latifundia will be diminished, and the purchase of landed proprietorship will be made easy for the peasants and their families. The guiding

principle will be a general social leveling up and increased production.

(f) Industrial workers will be assured all the rights which they enjoy in the most advanced Western countries.

To conduct the affairs of the Rumanian Nation of Transylvania, Hungary, and the Banat, the National Assembly has elected a National Council, which is fully empowered to represent the Rumanian Nation at any time and any place, with all the nations of the world, and this council will take all measures which are necessary in the interests of the race.

The Assembly has constituted the Grand National Council, consisting of 200 members, of whom 20 are Socialists and 10 representatives of the army.

This Grand Council has chosen from among its members an Executive Committee, or government, composed as follows: Jules Maniu, President; other members: Messrs. Vasile Lucaciu, Vasile Goldis, Al. Vaida, St. Pop, Ivan Luciu, Aurel Vlad, Octavian Goga, Emil Hatzegan, Valeriu Braniste, Aurel Lazar, Victor Bontescu, Romulus Boila, and the Socialists, Ivan Flueras and Josif Zumanea.

The members of the Government have taken the oath in the presence of the Rumanian Orthodox Bishop of Arad. Sibiu was chosen as the seat of Government and it was installed there on Dec. 4. The Rumanians of Bukowina, Bessarabia, and of the former Kingdom of Rumania were represented at the Assembly, and the flags of all the Allies were flown. The 200 delegates of the comitat of Torontal were not present, the Serbian military authorities (who are in occupation of the comitat) having refused them passports.

A deputation of the National Assembly reached Bucharest Dec. 14 and made known to King Ferdinand the nature of the resolutions adopted at Alba Julia. On Jan. 10 the Official Gazette of Bucharest published the following decree:

1. The Rumanian territories comprehended by the decisions of the National Assembly of Rumanians at Alba Julia on Dec. 1, 1918, are herewith and henceforth incorporated in the Kingdom of Rumania.

2. Until a definite arrangement shall be made the public affairs of the said territories shall be directed by the Council of Government which has hitherto directed them.

3. The Royal Government of Rumania will administer the foreign affairs, the customs, finances, and the public defense.

4. The territories restored to Rumania shall provisionally be represented in the Royal Rumanian Government by Ministers without portfolios who shall give their special advice to different departments of the Government.

5. The Council of Government at Sibiu is directed to prepare for the territories administered by it an electoral reform based on direct, equal, and secret suffrage, also a project of law for agrarian reform.

GREECE

Greece has undertaken to obtain as much of the Greek-populated territory in Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, the islands of the Aegean, and the littoral vilayets of Asia Minor as M. Venizelos can induce the Peace Conference to grant.

Early in February Stephanos Skouloudis, former Premier, and D. G. Rhallis, Stephanos Dragoumis, General Yanakitsas, and M. Codjakos, members of his Cabinet in 1916, were arrested and are now being tried on charges of treasonable conspiracy with former King Constantine in attempts to destroy the State. They are held without bail on the recommendation of a committee of the Chamber and will be tried by the Bulé sitting as a High Court of Justice. Meanwhile the Eleutherios Tipos and other newspapers are publishing documents and interviews tending to establish the guilt of the accused. One of the latter is from Admiral Coudouriotis, who was Minister of Marine in the Skouloudis Government, and refers to the surrender of Fort Rupel. It reads in part:

"None of my colleagues in that Cabinet knew anything of that dishonorable act except M. Skouloudis and M. Gounaris. In a Cabinet council held eight days later I jumped up from the table and shouted at the top of my voice, 'Nobody has the right to dispose of the territory of Greece, won by the blood of her sons, as if it was his own private property. All her sons alike are equal owners, and nobody without their consent can smuggle away even an inch of it as you have done.'"

"What was M. Skouloudis's reply?"

"Alarmed at the scene I was making he mumbled and fumbled away and produced a document which the German Minister in Athens had given him, which contained a guarantee from the German Government for a return of Fort Rupel to Greece later on. That document bore a date three days before the actual surrender of the fort took place. All M. Skouloudis's explanations to the Entente and his statements to the Chamber were delib-

erate lies, resorted to to deceive both Greek public opinion and the Governments of the Entente."

If one may judge from the tone and substance of the press of Athens the war's blight practically passed it by, for the occupation of Saloniki by the Allies was a godsend to all Hellas in more ways than one. The Greek banks have plenty of money, and already companies are being formed for the exploitation of Levantine trade, whatever may be the decision of the Peace Conference as to the ownership of the littoral and islands. The whole Levant is pictured as crying for goods in exchange for the gold it got and saved from the Germans and the Turks.

Politically, where national policy concerns its neighbors, the Athens press promotes a greater Serbia rather than a Jugoslavia; it has faith that Italy will do what is right in the Adriatic as well as in the Aegean, but it utters perpetual warnings against the Allies being taken in by the "honeyed words" of the Bulgars.

SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO

It is still a disputed point (February, 1919) whether there is to be a greater Serbia with Croatian and Slovene appendages or a Jugoslavia consisting of a single political and territorial entity. Meanwhile, the Serbian scheme, along the lines laid down in the Declaration of Corfu, July, 1917, has the advantage, for Serbia has full recognition at the Peace Conference with delegates to advance the monarchical cause. Then there is the case of Montenegro and King Nicholas.

Was the meeting which was held at Podgoritza dethroning him and declaring for absorption by Serbia legal? Does it express the wishes of the Montenegrins? Dr. Philippe Dobretchitch, delegate at large for the dynasty and member of the Montenegrin Parliament, declares that it does not. He says in a manifesto:

> Montenegro was the first to declare war against Turkey in 1912, and she suffered huge sacrifices for the liberation of her enslaved brothers. In the second Balkan war she sent ten thousand soldiers to help the Serbian Army against the Bulgarians, and of these the greater part were killed or wounded. As soon as Austria declared war against Serbia Montenegro did not hesitate one moment to help the Serbian people, although she was quite exhausted and deprived of all supplies after two horrible Balkan wars.
>
> For one year and a half she fought in this war against Austro-Germans, and several times she had splendid successes; especially in the Autumn of 1915 she protected the retreat of the Serbian Army through her own land and Albania to the shore of the Adriatic Sea, rendering thereby a great service to Serbia and the Allies. Meanwhile after the Balkan catastrophe and the invasion of Serbian territory by the enemy, Montenegrin troops remained in a desperate situation, and, finding it impossible to effect a retreat, they were encircled and overwhelmed from all sides by much stronger forces of Austro-Germans. In such circumstances they were captured, when help from the Allies could not reach them.
>
> As in the old days, when Montenegro had to fight for the liberty of all Serbians and Jugoslavs, so it was for the same high ideals and for the unity of the Jugoslav race that she entered into this great war. Montenegro is not opposed to unity with the Jugoslav countries, as some of the Balkan statesmen wish to prove, but she is against the manner of settling the question which they try to impose upon her with a view to bringing about the annexation of her territory. Montenegro as a free allied country voluntarily came into this struggle; she is entitled to a free hearing and to fair play, and should be directly represented at the Peace Conference.
>
> From reliable information received from Montenegro I can say that the meeting which was held at Podgoritza was quite illegal and unjust, for all the deputies elected for that meeting and who participated in it were under the influence of agents and partisans of Montenegro's adversaries, and so were compelled to vote for unity with the Jugoslavs and the deposition of the King. Under the Constitution of Montenegro it is only through the Parliament elected before the war, or through a new one legally chosen at a new election, that the people can decide their destiny. * * * The form and organization of our future common State will be settled after the Peace Conference, leaving it to the Jugoslav countries to settle the matter by self-determination as to whether they will have a federation of united States, a monarchy, or even a republic.

A new paper called the Novo Doba, started at Belgrade, espouses the cause of a Greater Serbia. La Serbie, published during the war at Geneva, rather

leans toward a Jugoslavia. La Serbie, which is edited by Dr. Marcovitch, formerly a Professor at the University of Belgrade, stands for a united Jugoslavia with maximum claims to the eastern Adriatic littoral. Its attitude toward Bulgaria is similar to that of the Athens press.

Peace Issues in Neutral Countries

New Problems Faced by Holland, Scandinavia, Luxemburg, Switzerland, and Spain

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 15, 1919]

As the discussions of the new arrangement of Europe proceeded in Paris during January and February the claims of the few nations which remained neutral throughout the long struggle became more definite and their future position more clearly outlined. Some stood to gain considerably by the readjustments, others could expect nothing, and one at least saw its chief problem in retaining what it had. This last was Holland, whose position throughout the war had been the most difficult of any neutral, and for whom the armistice has brought no relief. Blockaded by the Allies during hostilities, threatened and bullied by Germany, Holland has become the unwilling host of the former Kaiser, the camping ground of various German agents, and in addition sees a determined effort on the part of Belgium and France to have a new adjustment of the boundary questions which were settled so much to the displeasure of Belgium by the treaty of 1839. After a brief pause The Hague became a hotbed of intrigue, crowded with missions from Central European States, who hoped somehow to get in touch with the allied representatives in Paris. The most celebrated of these agents was Dr. von Kühlmann, former German Foreign Minister, the father of the notorious Brest-Litovsk treaty with the Bolsheviki.

THE FRONTIERS OF HOLLAND

But Holland had trouble of her own with the Peace Conference. The demands for territorial adjustments for the benefit of Belgium, which began soon after the signing of the armistice in newspaper articles in the French press and some few organs of public opinion in Belgium, took a strong tone in the first weeks of February. These questions commanded the most serious attention of the Dutch press, although the Government has not taken notice of them officially. Newspapers in the principal Dutch cities devoted a large amount of space to arguments against any cession of territory of Holland, together with expressions from societies in the disputed territory in favor of retaining their bonds with Holland. The territory in question, as described in the preceding issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, is the peninsula of Maastricht, or Dutch Limburg, and the south bank of the river Scheldt, or Dutch Flanders. The New York Times correspondent at The Hague telegraphed on Jan 16:

> The case of Van Groendal, the member of the first chamber who is accused of treason in favoring the annexation of Limburg to Belgium, continues to be the subject of discussion and official investigation. According to the Limburgsche Koerier, Van Groendal said that most Limburgers desired the separation from Holland, as Limburg did not belong to the latter, but that geographically and ethnologically it was a part of Belgium, and that propaganda in favor of annexation showed this. Moreover, he said the towns of Wert and Maastricht were in favor of this plan.

Social disturbances in Holland, predicted for the latter part of January, failed to materialize. David Wijnkoop, a Socialist leader, positively asserted that a revolution would be carried out on Jan. 20. Nothing happened. The Haag-

sche Post stated that 4,000,000 gulden had been sent into Holland for Bolshevist propaganda. A correspondent at The Hague said:

> The people of Holland were greatly surprised at the final outcome of the last uprising. The great royalist demonstration at the time was the feat of the Catholic Party, with the help of the capitalist and Court circles. The oldest and most aristocratic families turned out to cheer the Queen on Amalie Field at The Hague, but big demonstrations of this sort can hardly be repeated.

Holland is greatly interested in the new colonial settlement. The question of the sale of her American possessions to the United States was discussed in the period under review. The Haagsche Post raised the question of the sale of Surinam or Dutch Guiana to the United States, and Holland's share of the Island of Borneo to England, leaving Holland free to concentrate on her rich possessions of Java and Sumatra.

AIMS OF SWITZERLAND

Switzerland was the only neutral to put all her cards on the table and come out with an official statement of her views on the peace settlement. President Ador of the Swiss Federation arrived in Paris on Jan. 22, and at once gave out the statement of the Swiss Federal Council, which was to be laid before the Peace Conference. The text of the document follows:

(1.) Switzerland expects to be admitted with other States to the peace negotiations as far as they will deal with her own special interests or with problems of general importance. Exclusion from deliberations on problems of the League of Nations would be considered by the Swiss people as inconsistent with the principles of democracy. Neutral States, not having been called upon to make as heavy sacrifices as belligerents, have, nevertheless, suffered severely in consequence of the war. All have been able, especially in the case of Switzerland, to render considerable service to humanity.

(2.) Switzerland highly approves of the creation of a League of Nations for preserving peace, and expects from it a complete reform of international relations. Consequently, the maintenance of peace should not really depend upon the observation of a procedure of inquiry previous to a declaration of war, but must be founded upon a general interdiction to parties in conflict not to resort to arms. International conflicts must, as far as their character allows, be solved either by arbitration tribunals formed by the free consent of the parties, or else by a permanent international court offering every guarantee of political independence. All other international disputes must be submitted to a procedure of mediation through which lasting settlements on the basis of equity and justice can be arrived at.

(3.) Switzerland recognizes the necessity for action which may ultimately consist of military pressure within the system of the League of Nations. Nevertheless, Switzerland is determined not to abandon her neutrality, which is laid down in the Swiss Constitution, and based on the tradition of 400 years of peaceful politics. This neutrality is necessary for Switzerland, considering the composition of her population, as well as on account of her being in a particularly exposed strategical position. In case armed conflict should, after all, occur under the reign of the League of Nations, the existence of the several permanently neutral and inviolable States would be a great benefit also for the League itself. The institution of the Red Cross must be based on the existence of such neutral territory if it is to be able to entirely fulfill its task.

(4.) Freedom of production and commerce is of vital importance for Switzerland. The Swiss people hope peace will re-establish the principle of commercial freedom. As far as limitations will be imposed concerning importation, exportation, and free passage of goods and raw materials, all States should mutually accord each other most-favored-nation treatment.

(5.) Switzerland as a landlocked country mainly dependent upon its share of the world's commerce, highly approves of the principles of free access to the sea. First of all, Switzerland attributes great importance to the maintenance and improvement of the existing international waterway of the Rhine from Basle to the North Sea. Switzerland fully expects, besides, that it will soon be possible to come to an understanding with France and Italy for opening the Rhine and Po-Ticino Rivers for navigation on a big scale, and obtain recognition of such similar principles regarding these rivers as are in vogue for already internationalized waterways. It is also of vital interest to Switzerland to obtain the right of passage over railroads to the sea and through European States eastward.

(6.) The political, legal, and economic principles formulated by President Wilson are so entirely in conformity with the traditional wants of Switzerland that she will adhere to them, whatever difficulties may lie in the way of their realization.

AFFAIRS IN LUXEMBURG

Following the revolution in Luxemburg and the abdication of Grand Duchess Marie Adelaide in favor of her sister Charlotte, the council of the Grand Duchy introduced a bill in the Chamber providing for a referendum to decide whether the people preferred to change the form of government to a republic. The new Grand Duchess made a statement of friendship and gratitude toward the Entente and announced that appointments to her personal staff would all be native Luxemburgers. The former Grand Duchess went to Switzerland.

American Army Headquarters issued an official denial of the report spread abroad that the American forces on entering Luxemburg suppressed a movement against the reigning house. L'Independance Luxembourgoise, organ of the Republican Luxemburgers, published a story to the effect that at the time of the change of rulers the French forces prevented the setting up of a republican Government in Luxemburg. The paper charged that General de la Tour of the French Army by clearing the streets in the neighborhood of the Parliament building prevented the people from carrying through their plan for a complete overthrow of the Nassau house instead of merely changing Grand Duchesses. The French soldiers also prevented the people from neighboring villages from getting into the capital to share in the demonstration, the paper declared.

Belgium suggested to the Peace Conference that the people of Luxemburg be allowed to vote on their annexation to the Belgian Kingdom, a union that was greatly desired when Belgium was being formed, 1831-39. There was no sign that the powers favored this change.

SCANDINAVIAN INTERESTS

The following summary of the aspirations of the Scandinavian countries was made by The Associated Press correspondent at Paris on Feb. 8:

The territorial aspirations of the three Scandinavian powers are considered modest. Denmark wishes to annex that part of Northern Schleswig inhabited predominantly by Danes, but has not asked to regain the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein, taken from Denmark by Prussia in the war of 1864, or to extend her frontiers southward to the Kiel Canal.

Norway has certain aspirations to Spitzbergen, or a part of it, but is not pressing these claims energetically.

A strong Socialist movement in Sweden favors the union with Sweden of the Aland Islands, which are regarded by the Swedes as the naval key to Stockholm. Swedish interests in this connection are in conflict with those of Finland. Sovereignty over the islands has belonged to Finland since the fall of the Russian Imperial Government. Nothing has been heard since the collapse of Germany of earlier Finnish plans to obtain an outlet by the annexation of parts of Russian Karelia, lying between Finland and the Murman coast, and even of adjacent Finmark, which belongs to Norway. This contention on the part of Finland led to the landing of allied troops at Murmansk to prevent the establishment of a German submarine base in the northern seas.

In the case of Denmark there was an extension of the movement in Schleswig for union with the Danish Kingdom. The Danish claim was for only the northern part of Schleswig, but in Central Schleswig, where the population is mixed, the Danish inhabitants of their own accord demanded their right to determine their future allegiance and complained that the German authorities were preventing the free expression of opinion. Complaints against the Councils of Soldiers and Workmen in Northern Schleswig said that the Danish inhabitants were being despoiled of their food supplies and their live stock to such a point that it seemed the intention of Germany to hand over to Denmark "only an empty shell."

On Feb. 5 an event occurred of first importance for Norway, the resignation of the Knudson Cabinet, which had been in office for six years. It was the most radical Government anywhere outside of Russia, but it had lost nearly all its popular support. The party lost twenty-two seats in the Autumn elections for the Storthing, while the conservatives gained twenty-nine. The new Parliament is notable for the number of prominent Norwegian business men in it.

Sweden is contesting with Finland for possession of the Aland Islands, basing the Swedish claim on self-determination for the people of the islands. Hjalmar

Branting, writing in the Social-Demokraten, says:

> The primary point of the Swedish claims is the application in this particular case of the right of peoples to a Government of their choice. The Government of Finland will see itself soon obliged to make known its attitude publicly, and one may hope that its obscure manoeuvres will have less success now that our Government maintains the right of the people to the Government of their choice, which was proclaimed by the victors in the world war, the Government receiving in this question the unanimous support of the Swedish people.

The two other Scandinavian countries support Sweden in the claim to the Aland Islands, as in the case of the Schleswig annexation for Denmark.

SPAIN'S AWAKENING

Although slow to awaken to the new currents of the time and the issues at stake in the world war, there are increasing signs that the Spanish Government is making energetic efforts to put the country in touch with the victorious Entente Powers and the League of Nations idea. King Alfonso XIII., in an interview with a Spanish journalist, said:

> We are today in the presence of the results of the world transformations which have come about during the four years of the war; unfortunately we have been a little late in taking account of the situation, and we must make up for lost time.
>
> It is a positive fact that Spain no longer constitutes a corner of Europe. She has become the passage way of world transit. It is, therefore, necessary and urgent that we improve our lines of communication with the rest of Europe, with Africa and America.
>
> If we do not do this for ourselves, it will be forced on us, or rather it will be done for us. I have on this subject a clear opinion, and it is for this reason that I propose the establishment of an electrical railroad direct from Madrid to the frontier, by which Madrid will be not more than seventeen hours from Paris. Moreover, I am particularly concerned to assure rapid communication by railway from Madrid to Valencia, from Madrid to Saragossa, from Ax to Ripoll, from Madrid to Algeciras. All these lines should have a gauge of 1.40 meters, the international gauge. It will also be necessary to take up the question of canals, roads, and ports.

Details of the new statute for the autonomy of Catalonia were announced in Barcelona on Jan. 22. The statute provides for a State comprising the present provinces of Barcelona, Tarragona, Lerida, and Gerona. The new Catalonian Government will be composed of a Parliament of two chambers and an Executive and a Governor General. Catalonia will no longer recognize the supreme authority of Madrid in matters of administration affecting Catalonia alone. The new Government proposes to assume the direct control of mines, waterways, taxation, and education.

President Poincaré in Alsace-Lorraine

Welcomed by Chief Cities

FOLLOWING the entry of the French troops into Alsace-Lorraine in November, 1918, President Poincaré and Premier Clemenceau made a tour of the recovered provinces and celebrated their reunion with the mother country. They were accompanied by the allied military leaders, Marshals Foch, Pétain, and Joffre, Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, and General Pershing, with the Ambassadors of the various nations and many French Government officials. The party visited the chief cities of Lorraine and Alsace, and everywhere received an enthusiastic welcome.

At Metz, the capital of Lorraine, on Dec. 8, the population indulged in a spontaneous expression of joy, and the Mayor, pointing to the popular demonstrations, declared that they were a sufficient reply to the German Government's pretense that Alsace-Lorraine was content to remain German. He recalled the triumphant entry of the German Emperor in 1871, and asked whether that had been signalized by any such

reception as that given to President Poincaré. Referring to a Deputy's sardonic remark that he would renounce all rights of admission to Paradise if there were any Prussians there, the Mayor declared that the people of Metz felt that they were indeed in Paradise, such was their happiness at becoming a part of the French Nation again.

President Poincaré, in thanking the Mayor for his warm welcome, expressed the gratification of the French people at the return of Metz to its rightful place in the republic. Throughout the centuries, he said, this old Gallic city had retained its Latin name and speech as a witness of its origin; it had been a bulwark in olden times against the constant influx of the Germans; its traditions had been preserved through the Middle Ages, and its French ideals and concepts embodied in its cathedral, built, indeed, by Frenchmen. The President recalled the city's old bond with France; its petitions to the various French Kings to be accepted in fealty, and successive proclamations of Henry II., Henry III., and Henry IV. as sovereigns of Metz. He pointed out that, despite every attempt on the part of Germany to crush the aspiration for freedom, Metz had always persisted in its loyalty to France.

At the Alsatian capital, Strasbourg, President Poincaré met with as eager and hearty a reception as at Metz. The Mayor of Strasbourg received the visiting President on Dec. 9 with a particularly significant address, expressing the deep emotion of his compatriots at the reinstatement of French administration in that city and in the provinces. The Mayor's address was as follows:

> Alsace and Lorraine at last receive their compensation for fifty years of suffering, of which but few among you, gentlemen, know the real extent; repulsive connections, humiliations, constant reopening of old wounds, and impotent indignation at flagrant acts of injustice and numberless brutalities. But that horrible nightmare is now gone, forgotten, buried deep under our great joy, which can only be troubled by the recollection of the price paid for it.
>
> We have been able to prove by our unequaled demonstrations the gratitude we feel for those heroes whom, once more, we can look upon as our soldiers. And our deepest feelings of thanks and admiration are tendered today to the women of France, who held out under the greatest sorrows and hardest trials, enduring the most unparalleled privations and anguish.
>
> We ponder over the French Nation, its unity, its calm heroism, its immovable resolution, which attained to victory through the inspiration of the heroes at the front, and the allied Governments and peoples with their unshakable faith in final triumph.
>
> You have before you yet a great task, that of the reconstruction of the devastated regions, so many of which suffered that we might be free. We, who, thanks to you, were spared in a material way, place all our intellectual, industrial, and financial forces, our practical and moral support, at your absolute disposal.
>
> If our France appears before the world glorified by an unequaled struggle, having accomplished its mission this time, let us not forget those whom her example drew about her for life or death. We must bow low before martyred Belgium and her heroic King, and must welcome those countries returned to the family of nations, Poland, Bohemia, Greater Serbia, and Rumania.
>
> Above all must we turn our thoughts to our two great allies, England, represented here by Marshal Haig, and America, whose representative, General Pershing, led the last-born of our great armies, whose fresh and irresistible valor brought nearer the dawn of peace, saving hundreds of our brothers from death and preserving Alsace and Lorraine from destruction. And, finally, we turn in tribute to one of the greatest figures of the times, America's glory, making complete the group of leaders for her three great wars, Washington, Lincoln, and Wilson.
>
> We did not realize the real significance of Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty until Mr. Wilson directed its rays upon Europe, cutting our shackles and casting them among the heap of fallen crowns. It is indeed not a mere matter of chance that this great allegory of liberty lighting the world, now become an actuality, is the handiwork of an Alsatian.

President Poincaré, receiving the keys of the municipality from the Mayor, responded to the latter's speech of welcome, saying in part:

> Rest assured that France, which is receiving the keys of Strasbourg from you, will hold them safely in trust and will never let them pass again into other hands. On Sept. 27, 1870, the French colors were lowered from the tower of your cathedral. They were again run up on Nov. 25, 1918, the joy of the latter date effacing the horror of the former.
>
> For forty-eight years Germany remained in Strasbourg, but like a passing traveler.

Never was she at home here. And the day that she departed, never to return, she admitted her astonishment at the realization that all her efforts of years to enforce her rights of conquest and her attempts at Germanizing the provinces had been futile.

Strasbourg has remained what she always had been—a city cherishing through the centuries justice and liberty. She has retained all the characteristics of those times when she vigorously stood upon her traditional rights, opposing to all attempts of the Holy Empire to reduce her to a subservient position her municipal franchises, which always protected her against German aggression and drew her to the French. What she was forty-eight years after the Treaty of Westphalia, when she intrusted her destiny to France, accepting Louis XIV. as her King, Strasbourg has remained through the years. She has remained what she was in 1790, when she celebrated the first Federation, raising along the shore of the Rhine the first Tricolor, inscribed, "Here Begins the Land of Freedom." What Strasbourg was in the days when Rouget de Lisle composed here his immortal hymn of the "Marseillaise," she remains; she remains, indeed, what she was when in 1840 she raised a statute to Kléber as a witness of her admiration for the great soldier and for the glory of the French.

Germany's National Assembly

Story of the Historic Gathering at Weimar Which Shaped the Machinery of the Provisional Republic

GERMANY was engrossed during the early weeks of 1919 in voting for delegates to the forthcoming National Assembly. The Government decided that this momentous body should meet on Feb. 6 at Weimar, capital of the Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach. For the purpose of the election Germany was divided into thirty-eight districts, which theoretically would elect 433 representatives. But as elections were not held in Alsace-Lorraine, the number was reduced by twelve from this cause, and it was still further reduced by the fact that, as Posen was occupied by Polish troops, elections there were impossible; and in Schleswig political leaders had passed a resolution against participating in the election, anticipating unity with Denmark. In voting, electors were permitted to strike out a name or names, but could not insert others to replace them. The German plan was based on proportional representation, so that each party elected representatives in proportion to the vote cast.

From the outset returns indicated heavy defeats for both wings of extremists. While the Pan-Germans were promptly ousted from their strongholds the Spartacans met with practically no popular support. This was held to demonstrate that the bulk of the people desired a democratic republic freed of monarchical or Bolshevist influences. Mainly the current ran strongly in favor of the Majority Socialists.

In the new order of things women everywhere cast a heavy vote, thirty-four women being elected to the National Assembly. Among notable political figures early elected were Count Posadowsky, Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, former Chief of Police Eichhorn, Hugo Haase, Friedrich Ebert, Philipp Scheidemann, Herr Dielsch, Foreign Minister of Baden; Herr Rüchert, Traffic Minister, and Ludwig Haas, Minister of the Interior.

For the most part the elections were conducted in an orderly manner, though there were reports of Spartacan disturbances from Berlin, Hamburg, Dinslaken, and some other interior places. In Berlin the Government had taken strong measures to suppress Spartacan interference; voters exercised the franchise under the protection of a machine-gun squad at each polling place. At the close of the voting troops occupied the polling places to protect the count. Subsequently a futile attempt by Spartacans to destroy ballot boxes led to some street fighting in Wilhelmstrasse and elsewhere.

ELECTION RETURNS

Final election returns by parties are given in the following table:

Present Name.	*Old Name.*	*Description.*	*Delegates.* 1917.	1919.
Majority Socialist	(Same)	Moderate Socialists	89	164
Christian People's	Centre	Clerical	91	91
Democratic	Progressive	Bourgeois Radical	46	77
	National Liberal	Moderates	44	
German National	Conservative	Monarchists	45	34
	Pan German		26	
Minority Socialist	(Same)	Radical Socialists	19	24
Guelf	(Same)	Hanover Separatists	4	4
Bavarian Peasants' League	Independent	Agrarian-Socialist, Catholic	—	4
Württemberg Bourgeois		Anti-Socialist	15	2
Peasants' and Workers' Democratic League		Republican	—	1
———	Polish	———	18	—
Total			397	401

The surprise of the election was the strength of the Democratic Party. A correspondent cabled on Jan. 22:

> At the same time the pendulum has not swung as far to the right as had been anticipated, and the sweeping success of the German Democratic Party is the surprise of the elections. Having a prospect of holding a position of great importance in the new Parliament, this group comprises former Progressives of the left wing and National Liberals, with hitherto unorganized radical elements, supported by, among others, Prince Max of Baden and Dr. Solf.
>
> The Democratic Party includes in its ranks the best of the moderate bourgeois, with a good leavening of "intellectuals." Its success is even greater than its leaders expected, and gives to German radicalism an importance in the State it never before possessed. It is estimated that the Majority and Minority Socialists combined have got a mandate of 40 to 50 per cent. of the electors. If, therefore, they are unable to form a majority of the Government, then the Democratic Party, by virtue of its personnel, as well as its members, will really constitute the most influential group in the State and leave the strongest mark on the new Constitution.

It was announced that as the present Government considered its existence at an end with the convening of a Constituent Assembly, the first business before the Assembly would be the formation of a Provisional Government. The Assembly would then take up the adoption of a Constitution. A draft of a Constitution was submitted by the Minister of the Interior merely as a preliminary suggestion to form the basis of discussion. The obligatory task of the Constituent Assembly would be finished with the adoption of the Constitution, but as it had the right to make itself a constituted, instead of a constituting body, this probably would be done. In that case the Assembly would be obliged to regulate tax and financial questions by legislation.

BERLIN'S DISSATISFACTION

The Government's selection of Weimar for the seat of the National Assembly, under pressure of the South German States, was received in Berlin with something like consternation as a likely removal of the capital. This, however, was presently lost sight of in the plan for the division of Prussia into several States. Overnight of Jan. 25 this aroused a storm of indignation among all the reactionary elements. They immediately made it a main issue in the approaching elections for the Prussian State Convention.

Elections to the Prussian State Convention took place Jan. 26 in sharp wintry weather. This was said to have been the cause of the noticeable smallness of the vote in comparison with that cast for the National Assembly a week previously. There was no disorder. The Independent Socialists made gains, apparently as a result of propaganda carried on after the shooting of Dr. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. After counting the votes on Jan. 28 it was conceded

that the Democratic Party, led by Philipp Scheidemann, would be the strongest body in the Prussian Parliament. At Potsdam the ex-Crown Princess and Prince Eitel Fritz claimed the right of citizens to the franchise and voted.

PREPARATIONS IN WEIMAR

The transformation of Weimar from a literary shrine and unimportant provincial town into the seat of the German National Assembly presented considerable physical difficulties. It was wholly unequipped for accommodating an important political gathering and attendant demands. More than 1,000 telegraph and telephone experts were put at work to establish needed communication, and to arrange quarters for the delegates with private families. The residence of the former Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar and the National Theatre were requisitioned for the conference.

A threat by the Spartacans to attack the National Assembly from Erfurt, Eisenach, Halle, and Gotha hastened the Government in sending troops to Weimar. An advance detachment of 100 Chasseurs, which arrived on Feb. 2, was met by the local Soldiers' Council of the 94th Regiment, and ordered to disarm. This demand was complied with. Thereupon the officers of the Chasseurs were arrested. Later, on the arrival of the main body of Chasseurs, the local Council explained their action as due to fear of being expelled from their own barracks. Arms were then returned, and the arrested officers released. The People's Commissioners subsequently gave orders to find other quarters for the Chasseurs.

Premier Ebert, accompanied by the People's Commissioners, left Berlin for Weimar on the morning of Feb. 3. On departing Ebert thanked the soldiers for defending Berlin so effectively, and expressed his conviction that they would continue to do so during the absence of the Commissioners. Additional troops were collected east of Weimar, and the situation there soon showed marked improvement. The Government had taken up residence in the palace, and later held a Cabinet meeting.

By Feb. 5 some 3,000 political leaders had gathered in Weimar. Arrangements for their reception had been so perfected that living and eating quarters were promptly assigned to each accredited visitor. Faithful to German method, a card system was introduced, which began with a pink card admitting delegates and journalists to Weimar and places in the National Theatre. A gray card was issued for lodgings, stating price, and a yellow card indicated the place of eating. A booklet of pink, blue, and green slips represented breakfasts, luncheons, and suppers, together with gray, red, brown, yellow, maroon, and blue tickets for edible supplies. Strong patrols of cavalry and infantry were in evidence as a warning to the Spartacans.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The German National Assembly was convened at 3 P. M., Feb. 6, in the beautiful Weimar Court Theatre. The interior was brilliantly lighted and transformed into a creditable imitation of a legislative hall. The orchestra chairs had been shifted to writing desks, while the entire first and second balconies, holding the press representatives, had been so altered that each newspaper man had a small bit of table.

The stage had been changed by the addition of a platform, on which the presiding officer sat in an enormous high-backed chair upholstered in leather on which the German eagle was emblazoned. It was the old Reichstag Presidential chair.

The theatre, especially the tribune of the President and the Government benches, was fairly buried in red, pink, and white carnations. The rear portions of the first and second balconies and the gallery were thronged with privileged visitors, including neutral diplomats in Germany who had come from Berlin.

Delegates arrived early and presented the appearance of a democratic crowd, well though plainly dressed. Nearly 300 of the 397 who answered the roll call were new to political life. The 28 women delegates of all ages scattered through the house were regarded as a curiosity, and provided the only mirthful note in embarrassed responses to the calling of their names. Premier Ebert made the

opening speech, which occupied half an hour. Members of the Government stood grouped about the tribune, just in advance of and below the President's seat on the stage. Ebert spoke loudly, slowly, and distinctly, his voice carrying to all parts of the theatre. It shook with emotion as it touched upon what he deemed essential points, and rose high in rebuke above interruptions.

PREMIER EBERT'S SPEECH

Herr Ebert began with the declaration: "We have done forever with Princes and nobles by the Grace of God." The German people, he continued, were now ruling themselves. The revolution would decline responsibility for shortage of food and the defects in food management in Germany. Need had delivered Germany to her enemies, but he protested against being a slave to Germany's enemies for thirty, forty, or sixty years. "Our enemies declare that they are fighting against militarism," he went on, "but militarism has been dethroned."

The Premier next took up the armistice terms and declared them to be unheard of and ruthless. "Like General Winterfeldt," (who had resigned from the Armistice Commission,) he added, "the whole German Government might also eventually be forced to renounce collaborating in the peace pourparlers and throw upon its adversaries all the weight of responsibility for the new world organization." He protested against the expulsion of Germans from Alsace and the sequestration of property. The Assembly broke into a storm of wrath when reference was made to the 800,000 prisoners still held in captivity. All this, he said, displayed anything but a spirit of reconciliation. "We warn our opponents," he cried, "not to drive us to the uttermost. Hunger is preferable to disgrace, and deprivation is to be preferred to dishonor."

The Germans, he maintained, had laid down their arms with confidence in President Wilson, and the present free Government of Germany believed it was only its right to enter the League of Nations and work with real energy. "We turn, therefore," said the Premier, "to all the peoples of the world for justice. We ask that our economic life be not destroyed. The German people have fought for inner self-determination. It cannot be perfected from the outside." Herr Ebert was cheered when he proposed a union of Germany with Austria, that the bonds sundered in 1866 might again be sealed. Following a strong appeal for German unity, the Premier declared that the Provisional Government had been the executor of a bankrupt régime. "We will call on the old spirit of Weimar," he concluded. "We will be an empire of justice and truth."

The Assembly adopted the old standing orders of the Reichstag as temporary rules of procedure, and adjourned until the following day.

SECOND SESSION

The second session of the Assembly on Feb. 7 was marked by as large an audience as on the previous day. By a vote of 374 out of 399 cast, Dr. Eduard David, a leader of the German Social Democratic Party, was elected President of the National Assembly. Fehrenbach, a Clerical and former President of the Reichstag; Haussmann, a Democrat, and Dietrich, a Conservative, were elected Vice Presidents by overwhelming majorities. Dr. David's address to the Assembly was practically a repetition of Ebert's speech. Dr. David was loudly applauded when he said that "self-discipline was a pre-condition to self-determination," and that "the Assembly should be the headquarters of the free world." He evoked great enthusiasm when he declared Alsace-Lorraine should have the right of self-determination.

On Feb. 8 the National Assembly passed the first reading of the Provisional Constitution by acclamation. Hugo Preuss, Secretary of the Interior, who had drafted the document, explained its provisions at length. It empowered the Assembly to adopt a permanent Constitution and to enact "such national laws as were urgently necessary." It provided for the choosing of a national President by a majority vote, and for the creation of a "Committe of State" to

occupy the position of a quasi-second chamber. The instrument made no attempt to anticipate the permanent Constitution except as to a single vital feature. It included a provision that the territory of the German States should not be altered without their consent. This was to allay the storm raised by the plan to divide Prussia into several States. An unexpected development of caucus proceedings was a majority sentiment in favor of transferring the National Assembly to Berlin after the Easter holiday.

EBERT ELECTED PRESIDENT

Friedrich Ebert was elected Provisional State President of Germany on Feb. 11 by a vote of 277 out of 397, and the Provisional Constitution was adopted. An agreement was also reached on the composition of the new Cabinet, to consist of fourteen members. Philipp Scheidemann was selected as Chancellor, Dr. August Müller as Minister of Economics, Herr Bauer as Minister of Labor, and Herr Landsberg as Minister of National Defense and Justice. Dr. Eduard David resigned the Presidency of the National Assembly to accept a portfolio in the Ministry. He was succeeded by Konstantin Fehrenbach, Vice President. Mathias Erzberger entered the Cabinet without fortfolio, and Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau as Foreign Minister. According to political parties, the new Cabinet was composed of seven Socialists, three Democrats, three Centrists, and Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, anti-Socialist.

In electing the Provisional State President, Count von Posadowsky-Wehner received forty-nine votes, Philipp Scheidemann and Mathias Erzberger one each. Fifty-one delegates abstained from voting. After the announcement of Ebert's election Dr. David extolled the Provisional State President's "skill, activity, and firmness to protect their new freedom from every danger, either from the Left or Right." Herr Ebert in accepting the Presidency made a short speech in which he declared his purpose would be to dispense justice without favor or prejudice. He continued:

> I will administer my office not as the leader of a single party, but I belong to the Socialist Party and cannot forget my origin and training. The privileges of birth already have been eliminated from politics and are being eliminated from social life.
>
> We shall combat domination by force to the utmost from whatever direction it may come. We wish to found our State only on the basis of right and on our freedom to shape our destinies at home and abroad. However harsh may be the lot threatening the German people, we do not despair of Germany's vital forces.

President Ebert was accorded a great ovation by the packed galleries and by the crowd outside when he left the Assembly building.

ADOPTING A CONSTITUTION

In the somewhat acrimonious debate on the Provisional Constitution, which followed, "secret agreements" formed the main point of contention. The Independents strove to amend a paragraph of the sixth clause, which read:

> As soon as the German Empire is represented in the League of Nations, with the aim to exclude secret agreements, all agreements with the nations allied in the League must have the acquiescence of the National Assembly and the State Commission, [Second Chamber.]

The Independents proposed to alter this paragraph so that Germany would unequivocally go on record as legally bound to enter into no secret agreements regardless of what other States would do in the future. Dr. Hugo Haase and Dr. Cohn led for the Independents, and Herr Landsberg, Dr. Dernburg, and Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau for the Government and allied parties. After rejection of the amendment obstructionist tactics were resorted to by the Independents. It was remarked that the House showed excitement for the first time since the opening of the Assembly. The House rose after voting to limit the President of the Republic's salary to 1,000,000 marks.

With the exception of the Rote Fahne and Freiheit, organs of the Radical Left, and the Lokal-Anzeiger, representing Kaiserism, the Berlin newspapers were united in hailing Ebert's election as President with satisfaction. At least confidence was expressed in "his willingness and ability to administer his

high office to the best possible advantage of Germany in the tragic circumstances." Quotations from Vorwärts and from Theodor Wolff in the Tageblatt reflected general public sentiment as applied to the character of President Ebert. Varwärts said:

> Saddler Fritz Ebert is the natural President. This means victory for himself, victory for the proletariat, victory for socialism. The bourgeois parties, which during the election campaign proclaimed loudly that the Social Democracy had proved its inability to govern, have elected a Socialist President. They know in their hearts that only the Social Democracy can govern Germany now.

Herr Wolff wrote in the Tageblatt:

> Ebert is no shining light, nor has he studied as much as some others, but he is the embodiment of good, common sense. When after a day's work he sits behind a good bottle of wine, his hands folded over the table, this natural wisdom shows to the best advantage.
>
> There is nothing stiff and dry about him, but everything is cordial and round, like his person. He possesses that indefinable astuteness and tenacious perseverance without which even in revolutionary times no harnessmaker can become President. The German labor movement has created no powerful individualities, but a vigorous, bright, critical spirit. On such ground as Ebert's they have a ground that lies midway between the tropics and the arctic regions. * * *
>
> Least of all have the Monarchists cause to say that Ebert's personality is anything but royal, because they were always ready and their principles commanded them to pay homage to the most insignificant, incompetent, foolish personage, only because by a mere stupid accident of birth he grew up in a princely palace.

At the meeting of the National Assembly on Feb. 14 Herr Huitze introduced a resolution containing the declaration that the German people would never accept a peace of violence, and protesting against the "exaggerated" conditions of the armistice as tending to ruin Germany.

SPARTACAN REMNANTS

During this whole period the Spartacans continued sporadic efforts, both in Berlin and in the provinces, to intimidate the Government. For the most part these efforts took the form of strikes and local brigandage. While Foreign Minister Rantzau, General Gröner, and the most prominent People's Commissioners were in session at the Chancellor's palace debating "no nonsense" measures to overcome the strike epidemic, together with murder and burglary rampant in town and country, the lights went out and the meeting had to adjourn in darkness. This was the beginning of the electric strike, which caused much suffering and danger to life. A correspondent stated that it was typical of the whole situation: "Hardly does the Government master one calamity when it is overwhelmed by another from an unexpected quarter."

So exasperated, however, had law-abiding citizens become with these tactics, that the plan was adopted of meeting strike with strike. Thus in Bremen, still in the hands of the Spartacans, the physicians announced they would at once cease all activity, private or in hospitals, if the supply of food, coal, gas, or electricity should be endangered again by strikes, or if the Bremen Government should continue to make arrests for political reasons. The members of the Bremen Druggists' Association indorsed the physicians' attitude, declaring they would close all the chemists' shops if the Spartacan proceedings continued. The physicians and druggists of Berlin, Leipsic, and other large cities threatened to follow the example of Bremen, as well as other professional men and whole classes of administrative officials. This threat of a "bourgeois strike" against the Bolshevist strike had a sobering effect.

LIEBKNECHT'S LAST APPEAL

What was probably the last formal appeal to the outside world for the support of Bolshevist doctrines sent out by Dr. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg was published in the Berlin Tagwacht, Dec. 26. The manifesto was also signed by Franz Mehring, the veteran Socialist, politician and historian, and Klara Zetkin, the leader of the German Socialist women for many decades. The document breathes the usual fiery invective leveled at both imperialism and capitalism. The following extract from it may be taken as conveying the burden of the whole:

> The great criminals of this fearful anarchy, of this chaos let loose—the ruling classes—are not able to control their own creation. The beast of capital that conjured up the hell of the world war is not capable of banishing it again, of restoring real order, of insuring bread and work, peace and civilization, justice and liberty, to tortured humanity.
>
> What is being prepared by the ruling classes as peace and justice is only a new work of brutal force from which the hydra of oppression, hatred and fresh, bloody wars raises its thousand heads.

The funeral of Dr. Liebknecht and thirty other Spartacans killed in the Berlin riots took place on Jan. 25, without a breach of public order. The Government had prepared for any overt contingency by concentrating formidable bodies of troops in strategic places, and the display of both field and machine guns. At threatened points the military posted signs: "Stop or you will be shot." Pedestrians were observed to conform with alacrity. Some 40,000 Spartacan sympathizers followed the funeral procession to the Friedrichsfelde Cemetery. Enormous masses of sightseers lined the route, anticipating another revolt; but the Spartacans were in no mood for fighting.

SPARTACANS SURRENDER

On Jan. 30 it was announced that the Spartacans at Cuxhaven and Bremerhaven had surrendered. The determination of the Government to restore law and order throughout the country took the form of a picked division of troops under Colonel Gerstenberg. It comprised all arms, especially artillery, and departed in eighteen trains for Bremen on Jan. 28, as the first objective. On Jan. 31 it was reported approaching Bremen on both sides of the Weser. The rebels occupied the City Hall and other important buildings, with the intention of offering a desperate resistance. The non-Spartacan elements, however, were encouraged by the approach of Government troops to strike against Spartacan rule. At Wilhelmshaven and Hamburg conditions were improving.

On Feb. 2 the People's Commissioners at Bremen consented to resign if the Berlin Government wished them to do so. The armed workers declared their readiness to deliver their arms to the Bremen Ninth Army Corps upon guarantee that the disarmament should be complete and order restored. Thereupon the Majority Socialists requested the immediate withdrawal of Colonel Gerstenberg's division, as its mission was finished. Gerstenberg consented not to occupy Bremen unless the other side should receive reinforcements, as had been threatened. Meanwhile, von Pretzwitz, a young Prussian Junker officer on the staff of Colonel Gerstenberg, who had conducted the negotiations with the rebels, carried these proposals to Berlin. He was immediately sent back to Bremen with the following ultimatum:

> The Bremen Council of People's Commissioners must resign at once. On Monday a new Government must be formed on the basis of the vote cast for delegates to the National Convention. Immediately after the new Government has assumed office all arms must be delivered to the division of General Gerstenberg. If these conditions are unreservedly adhered to, the division of Gerstenberg will not occupy Bremen.

The conditions named were not fulfilled and a number of clashes followed. On Feb. 4 Gerstenberg's division of Government troops bombarded Bremen and, after severe fighting, entered the city. They captured the Town Hall and the Stock Exchange and drove the Spartacans in retreat toward Gropsingen. Many persons were reported to have been killed and much material damage done during the bombardment, especially to the old cathedral.

The method of counterstriking on a big scale against Spartacan terrorism was first adopted at Düsseldorf on Feb. 5. Officials, clerks, and other employes in the service of railways, posts, telegraph, telephone, and surface lines, together with bankers, lawyers, physicians, teachers, and other members of professions, called a "walkout" and quit work. Theatres and restaurants were forced to close, industrial plants shut down, and all professional activity ceased. On the same date the Ebert Cabinet threatened to take military measures against the Soldiers' Council at Erfurt unless the arms illegally abstracted from the local arsenal and distributed among civilians were returned within four days. This

measure was taken upon suspicion of a plot to attack the National Assembly at Weimar.

It was noted that money flowed in profusion in support of Spartacan activity, and that the Spartacans were able to equip volunteers with arms and munitions without difficulty. Threats of Spartacan attack upon the National Assembly from Erfurt, Eisenach, Gotha, and Jena determined the Government to bring the pick of Berlin's secret police to Weimar. A dispatch of the 7th announced the success of the Düsseldorf official and professional strike against Spartacan terrorism. Most of the points in dispute were conceded and all imprisoned bourgeois delegates liberated.

Berlin dispatches of Feb. 9 and 10 reported an outbreak of Spartacan disorders. Soldiers and sailors occupied Alexander Platz, and in a conflict with Government troops six persons were killed and fourteen wounded. Another encounter took place on Brunnenstrasse, the Berlin Bowery. A Spartacan attempt to resort to their previous guerrilla tactics of housetop fighting was promptly suppressed.

THE GERMAN ARMY

By the new regulations issued Jan. 24, relative to the control of the German Army, the power of the Soldiers' Councils was greatly diminished. The Prussian Minister of War, through the army officers, was charged with responsibility for the employment and leadership of the new. He became Supreme Chief of the army, and he alone possessed power to promote officers and soldiers. Soldiers' Councils, formed by all garrisons or regiments, would watch over the activities of officers and see that military authority was not used against the Government. They were also to be consulted as to permanent regulations relative to feeding the troops, the granting of leave, and discipline, but beyond that they were under strict limitations. To this was added an order that in future officers would wear a dark blue stripe on the left sleeve, all other distinctive marks having been abolished. The obligation to salute was reciprocal, though abolished in the big cities.

This order of Colonel Reinhardt, the Prussian Minister of War, aroused open revolts on the part of Soldiers' Councils in the German Armies. The Council of the 9th (Bremen) Army declared that it would not obey the order. The Government replied that it would find means to enforce it. The Council at Lübeck, with whom Colonel Reinhardt was sent to discuss the matter, ordered him to leave the city within twenty-four hours. The councils of many army corps, as well as a great number of local councils, gave notice that the order would not be obeyed.

In accepting the freedom of the town of Cassel Feb. 2, Field Marshal von Hindenburg said that it was not a time for diplomas and honors, but for work, and that the defense of Germany was threatened in the East. The Field Marshal on leaving Cassel went to Kelsberg, which was the headquarters of the German Armies operating against the Poles and the Bolsheviki. A Copenhagen dispatch of Feb. 3 stated that Sven Hedin had returned to Stockholm from visiting General Ludendorff at Hesleholm. Sven Hedin was assisting the General in translating his book of personal defense into Swedish.

A remarkable statement in reference to the German Army was made by Hugo Haase, the German Independent Socialist leader, previous to his leaving the Berne Socialist Congress to take part in the National Assembly at Weimar. Herr Haase said:

> Under the pretense of defending the Prussian border against the Bolsheviki and the Poles a volunteer army of 600,000 is being organized by Hindenburg in Pomerania and Eastern Prussia. In reality there is no menace of invasion by the Bolsheviki or the Poles which warrants the concentration of so large a force. Hindenburg's headquarters are at Tolberg, on the Baltic coast, one of the chief strongholds of junkerism, militarism, and Pan-Prussianism.

All over Germany calls for volunteers to swell this eastern army were posted in public places and published in the newspapers. These posters and advertisements attempted to revive the patriotic and military instincts of the Germans by reminding them of the great deeds of their ancestors, such as their re-

lease from Napoleonic rule over 100 years ago. Apart from this appeal to sentiment, the volunteers received a promise of five marks a day, good food, and new uniforms. Since similarly favorable conditions of existence were scarcely obtainable in civil life today, said Herr Haase, it was natural that thousands of men should enlist. After a few skirmishes with the Poles or the Bolsheviki, he intimated, this new army might be a willing instrument in the hands of the German reactionaries, and at the word of command it might march on Berlin or even against the allied army of occupation.

The Former German Emperor

A French official report on the penal responsibility of the former German Emperor was drawn up by Ferdinand Larnaude, Dean of the Paris Law Faculty, and Dr. A. G. de Lapradelle, Professor of the Rights of Nations in the same Faculty. The authors gave a longe argument against the bringing of the ex-Emperor before a tribunal of common law, because his will commanded, but his hand did not execute. They contended he was not the principal offender, and therefore he could only be punished as an accomplice. To this end an international tribunal must be found, an entirely new jurisdiction must be created. With reference to the ex-Emperor having willed acts of terrorism by his soldiers, the report quoted a letter written by William II. to the Emperor of Austria:

> My soul is torn asunder, but everything must be put to fire and blood. The throats of men and women, children and the aged must be cut, and not a tree nor a house left standing.
>
> With such methods of terror, which alone can strike so degenerate a people as the French, the war will finish before two months, while, if I use humanitarian methods, it may prolong for years. Despite all my repugnance, I have had to choose the first system.

On the eve of the ex-Kaiser's sixtieth birthday, Jan. 26, a special New York Times cable gave an account of his daily life at Amerongen:

> He rises about 8 o'clock and follows an ordinary routine. His bath, however, is followed by a thorough massage, to which he has been accustomed since his university days. After his bath he has an extremely simple breakfast, sometimes in his own rooms and sometimes with the Bentinck family.
>
> After breakfast he receives reports from the chief of his servants, who lays before him clippings from various newspapers, severely censored, and what remains of the censored mail. A walk in the garden comes next and, in fine weather, wood sawing for the castle fires. Another bath is taken before lunch, which is also a frugal meal.
>
> After lunch the former ruler occasionally takes a short nap, after which he gives himself to writing or dictating to his private secretary, a former officer. Tea is served in the English style at 5 o'clock and then the exile reads until dinner, at 8 o'clock, after which there is frequently music in the parlor until bedtime.
>
> The former Emperor never wears uniforms nowadays, although many uniforms, including those of all the German guard regiments and several General's outfits, were brought across the frontier when he left Germany. He wears civilian clothes made by the local tailor at Zeist.
>
> Those who have not noted the gradual change in his appearance scarcely recognize the elderly civilian with the short, whitish Van Dyke beard and somewhat thinned gray hair, which, however, is still in good condition considering his age.
>
> Enormous quantities of baggage were brought across the frontier when the former Emperor fled, but many of the trunks are still unopened. Little use is made of the silver dinner set for twenty-five covers which was also brought along.

His birthday was celebrated at the castle by a dinner party, at which his host, Count von Bentinck, wore the robes of a Knight of St. John of Jerusalem by way of compliment to his guests as head of the order. Great numbers of floral tributes, together with piles of letters and telegrams, arrived at Amerongen. A proposal to engage the village church choir for the event was dropped, owing to much adverse comment in Holland. In Germany only the reactionary journals mentioned the ex-Kaiser's birthday, taking it as a text to preach a return to the monarchical system.

A declaration of the official Dutch attitude regarding the ex-Kaiser was made

Facsimile of the Kaiser's Abdication

Ich verzichte hierdurch für alle Zukunft auf die Rechte an der Krone Preussen und die damit verbundenen Rechte an der deutschen Kaiserkrone.

Zugleich entbinde ich alle Beamten des Deutschen Reichs und Preussens sowie alle Offiziere, Unteroffiziere und Mannschaften der Marine, des Preussischen Heeres und der Truppen der Bundeskontingente des Treueides, den sie Mir als ihren Kaiser, König und Obersten Befehlshaber geleistet haben. Ich erwarte von ihnen, dass sie bis zur Neuordnung des Deutschen Reichs den Inhabern der tatsächlichen Gewalt in Deutschland helfen, das Deutsche Volk gegen die drohenden Gefahren der Anarchie, der Hungersnot und der Fremdherrschaft zu schützen

Urkundlich unter Unserer Höchsteigenhändigen Unterschrift und beigedruckten Kaiserlichen Insiegel.

Gegeben Amerongen, den 28. November 1918.

The above is a reproduction of the facsimile of Kaiser Wilhelm's formal abdication as it appeared in a Dutch newspaper a month after it was signed. The translation is as follows:

"I hereby for all the future renounce my rights to the crown of Prussia and the associated rights to the German Imperial Crown.

"At the same time I release all officials of the German Empire and Prussia, as well as all the officers, noncommissioned officers and men of the navy, of the Prussian Army, and of the federal contingents, from the oath of fealty which they have made to me as their Emperor, King and Supreme Commander. I expect of them that until the reorganization of the German Empire they will help those in possession of actual power in Germany to protect the German people against the threatening danger of anarchy, famine, and foreign domination.

"Given under our hand and our Imperial Seal,

"Amerongen, 28 November, 1918.

WILHELM."

by Premier Ruys de Beerenbrouck. The Dutch Premier revised his copy of the statement and authorized its publication as follows:

We are reproached for having given hospitality to the Kaiser and his son. But, to put it bluntly, these gentlemen fell like a brick on our heads. How could we act otherwise than we have done? I would like to know what any one else would have done in our place.

You know the circumstances: On Sunday, Nov. 10, at 4 A. M., the Sergeant on guard duty at Eysden perceived the arrival of a train of automobiles. Officers of the rank of General stepped out and demanded that he accord passage to the

Kaiser. The Sergeant refused. Then one of the Generals declared: "Everything has been arranged with the Dutch Government and the Kaiser is expected." The Sergeant, as a mere noncommissioned officer, allowed himself to be overcome by this "war lord" of high rank, and the Kaiser entered Holland.

At 9 o'clock that morning, on my return from church, I was informed by my colleague, M. Van Karneback, Minister of Foreign Affairs, that he had received at 7 o'clock a telegram from our representative at Brussels, M. Van Hollenhoven, transmitting a request that the Kaiser be allowed to pass the frontier. Almost at the same hour the Commander in Chief of our army received a notification from the post commander of Maestricht of the event that had occurred at dawn—that is, the Kaiser's entry. We were face to face with a fait accompli.

What attitude were we to adopt? The Kaiser's act of abdication was only dated Nov. 11, but on Nov. 10 on two separate occasions he affirmed that he had come to Holland solely in the definite quality of "a simple private person," of a plain citizen asking for hospitality. It was difficult, even dangerous, to refuse.

To receive him was to render a service to the Allies. The world knows now where are the chiefs of the imperial family and that they are unable to do any harm.

This unexpected arrival forced us to seek a place to lodge the visitor. After much ado and with a great deal of telephoning we found it on the property of Count Bentinck, who has been subjected to a lot of vexation in consequence—the breaking off of long-standing friendships with Englishmen and annoyances of all kinds. His position, like our own, has been completely misunderstood.

In reply to the Frenchman's question as to the possibility and desirability of the extradition of the members of the imperial family responsible for the war, which might, as it were, mark Holland's entry into the League of Nations, the Premier said:

I can only repeat to you what I said in Parliament: We shall act in accordance with the existing laws and treaties. But believe me, when feeling on the subject runs less high, the world will appreciate the legality and usefulness of the attitude taken by the Netherlands.

In Germany the imperial family might have formed the centre of a moral and intellectual agitation. Nothing of the kind is possible here.

A dispatch of Feb. 4 stated that societies to "save the Kaiser" from being handed over to the Allies were being organized in Germany. Further, that Eitel Friedrich, second son of the former Emperor, had written a letter to Premier Ebert, demanding that the Government assist in the plan. Kurt Eisner, the Bavarian Premier, attending the Berne Socialist Conference, granted an interview to an American correspondent, Feb 7, in which he said regarding the former Emperor's guilt:

Emperor William was undoubtedly directly to blame for precipitating the war, but the military caste was responsible to a greater extent for bringing it about. They must all be tried, but by a German tribunal. I am in favor of all stolen property being restored and the robbers severely punished.

An Amerongen message of Feb. 8 indicated that the ex-Emperor was maintaining close communication with his former supporters.

The Revolt in the German Navy

Beginning of the Revolution

THE revolution which overthrew the Kaiser's Government and established a republic in Germany had its inception in increasing movements of mutiny among the men in the German fleet at Kiel, which culminated in their successful revolt on Oct. 31, 1918. As early as the Spring and Summer of 1915 there were a succession of minor mutinies on different German warships. Various documents relating to them have been found in the archives of the Imperial Naval Department. On Sept. 7, 1915, the Kaiser addressed to the officers of the Imperial Navy a special order marked "Streng geheim," ("strictly secret,") exhorting them not to be too severe in maintaining discipline, but to adopt toward their men a benevolent attitude calculated to keep

the crews in a safe frame of mind. But discontent in the German Navy increased. In March, 1916, there was a mutiny on one battleship, and a few weeks later there was a more formidable affair, which ended in the condemnation to death of more than thirty of the men who were regarded as the ringleaders of the movement.

In the Spring of 1917 a serious mutiny occurred among the sailors of the High Sea Fleet. The Captain of a battleship was thrown overboard and drowned, and other officers were wounded by the rebels. The outbreak was soon quelled, and 190 men were executed after being found guilty of war treason.

THE REVOLT

These various uprisings were forerunners which prepared the way for the final attempt. Early in the morning of Thursday, Oct. 31, the Admiral commanding the German High Sea Fleet gave the signal to be ready to put to sea. This action was interpreted by the men of the various vessels as a last desperate attempt to fight the British Navy. The Captain of the battleship Thuringen committed the indiscretion of turning this suspicion into certainty. Assembling the whole crew of his vessel, he addressed to them a highly patriotic speech which ended thus: "We will fire our last shot and then we will perish like heroes with our flag flying." But the crew of the Thuringen had no desire to perish heroically; on the contrary, they were determined not to allow themselves to be dragged into this mad adventure. First they sent a deputation to their Captain to remonstrate; while this was taking place, all fires were extinguished and the engine holds were flooded with water, and communication was established with the crew of the battleship Helgoland next in line. Soon after sunrise on Oct. 31 the whole of the crews of the Thuringen and the Helgoland were in open mutiny.

The Rear Admiral commanding the First Squadron of battleships, flying his flag on the Ostfriesland, sent boats alongside the two rebel ships to take off the officers, who were allowed to depart unmolested. The Admiral then signaled the Thuringen and Helgoland that both would be torpodoed unless they surrendered immediately. The other battleships were withdrawn to a distance, and two large torpedo-boats, B-97 and B-112, appeared on the scene ready to discharge their torpedoes on receiving the expected signal from the flagship Ostfriesland. The crews of the two torpedo-boats, whatever they may have felt, showed no signs of refusal to obey the order to blow up their comrades on the two battleships, numbering more than 1,500. At this critical moment the Thuringen signaled her surrender, and the Helgoland immediately followed suit. All the mutineers were transferred to transports and conveyed without delay to Wilhelmshaven to await their trial.

NAVAL BASES SEIZED

On the same day, Oct. 31, there were smaller troubles on other ships of the High Sea Fleet which revealed the impossibility of putting to sea. Twenty-four hours later most of the crews and the whole of the marine garrison of Wilhelmshaven were in open revolt. Their reinforcement on Nov. 2 by the crews of the Third Battleship Squadron, which had been sent from Kiel to Wilhelmshaven to quell the movement, and by large numbers of men just brought back from the coast of Belgium, made the rebels masters of the situation. Emissaries were sent to Kiel, and all the fleet men at that port joined the movement with enthusiasm. These events succeeded each other rapidly on Oct. 31, Nov. 1 and 2. Cuxhaven, Brunsbuttel, Emden, and Lübeck fell successively into the hands of the mutineers; everywhere the officers were powerless to stem the tide, and for the most part they submitted without open resistance. In a few cases officers who resisted were shot and their bodies thrown into the sea.

By the evening of Nov. 2 nine-tenths of the German fleet and all the naval ports from Kiel to Emden were in the hands of the mutineers, and Germany's navy had for all practical purposes ceased to exist. Prince Max of Baden,

who was then Chancellor, seems to have used his influence to prevent the dispatch of troops to attack the rebels, acting thus under the influence of Scheidemann and Erzberger, who advised strongly against violent measures. The Radical member of the Cabinet, Herr Conrad Haussmann, was sent to Kiel to try to negotiate with the men, but he returned to Berlin within a few days without having achieved any result. The rebel seamen, with a view to strengthening their position and preventing reprisals, quickly sent emissaries to Berlin, Munich, and the other large towns to stir up the Socialists and to stimulate other revolutionary movements in the different centres, and it can now be stated as an established fact that the men of the fleet not only carried out their own revolt successfully, but were mainly instrumental in spreading the contagion of sedition to the civilian population inland and to the army at the front.

REVOLUTION IN BERLIN

When the mutiny in the German fleet brought things to a head, Berlin was already ripe for a revolutionary movement, which had been organized during the preceding months. The Scheidemann Socialists took no part whatever in these preparations. They were made by the Independent Socialists, and not by the recognized leaders of the party, but by some of the lesser members, who formed its left wing, and by the Spartacus Communists, who still, in name, belong to the Independent Socialist Party. The preparations for an armed rising, which had been begun in the Spring of 1918, were redoubled after the victories won by the allied armies in July and August. One of the local leaders of the Independent Socialists, Emil Barth, succeeded in securing a considerable quantity of arms and munitions, which were distributed secretly to trusted adherents and kept in concealment in expectation of the moment to strike.

The imperial authorities had knowledge of these preparations and, toward the end of October, elaborate preparations were made to suppress the expected rising. Secret orders, copies of which have been found in the archives of the Great General Staff, were issued to a number of commanding officers, directing them to select with great care picked bodies of officers and men who could be absolutely trusted to fight uncompromisingly against any popular rising. Picked troops were chosen and supplied with an elaborate equipment, which included heavy artillery, field artillery, machine guns, gas bombs, hand grenades, gas masks, and so forth. At the end of October these special corps were ready for action, and from the day on which the first troubles in the fleet occurred they were held in readiness in some of the Berlin barracks and at Spandau and other places close to the capital.

This was the state of affairs when the emissaries of the fleet mutineers arrived in Berlin to bring their message of revolution to their friends among the Independent Socialists, who, after hurried consultations, fixed Nov. 11 as the date of a general strike. Under the disguise of a general strike they intended to make revolution. It was on the eve of this effort that the Scheidemann Socialists suddenly changed their attitude and decided to join forces with the Independent Socialists if the latter would accept their co-operation. Till that moment the Scheidemann Socialists had been docile supporters of the Government, headed by Prince Max of Baden. But Scheidemann, the arch-opportunist, perceived that the revolutionary movement had become really formidable, and that there was probably more to be gained by joining it and seeking to direct it than by opposing it. Discontent with Scheidemann's methods of subservience to imperialism had been growing among the rank and file of the Majority Socialists since the beginning of the series of the Allies' victories on the western front, and Scheidemann realized that a considerable section of his party would desert and go over to the Independent Socialists unless he and the other leaders came into line with the revolutionary movement.

SOLDIERS JOIN REVOLT

After coming to a temporary working arrangement with the leaders of the Independent Socialist Party, Scheidemann

and his colleagues acted with determination and rapidity. Prince Max of Baden was persuaded that none but a purely Socialist Government could avert a civil war, with the result that he abandoned the Chancellorship precipitately. Scheidemann, not yet sure of the results of the revolution, refused the Chancellorship for himself with a gesture of noble self-sacrifice, and thrust his colleague Ebert into the supreme post.

Almost before the new Government had been formed, the Majority Socialists and the Independent Socialists had taken joint measures to secure the support of the soldiers of the Berlin garrison, and especially of those special corps formed for the express purpose of suppressing any revolutionary movement. Trustworthy emissaries were sent first to the barracks near the Belle-Alliance-Platz, where the troops rallied without hesitation, and, indeed, with great enthusiasm, to the revolutionary movement. One by one the regiments in the other barracks declared their adherence to the movement. Even the officers offered no more than a normal resistance. Within a few hours it was evident that the entire garrison of Berlin, including the special corps formed to combat the revolution, was on the side of the new Socialist Government, headed by Ebert. This was the decisive factor. If the troops in Berlin had remained faithful to the old régime the revolution would have been crushed in an hour. The seamen started the revolution. The soldiers of the Berlin garrison insured its success in the capital. The Socialist workingmen, notwithstanding all the noise they made, played only a subordinate part.

Last Cruise of the German Fleet

Diary of a Naval Commander

THE commander of one of the German destroyers surrendered under the armistice kept a diary of his impressions on that last cruise of the German High Seas Fleet and published it in the Täglische Rundschau of Dec. 24, 1918. A characteristic portion, dealing most directly with the surrender, is here translated. The red flag referred to was the flag raised by the sailors when they mutinied at Kiel and refused to obey the order to go out and sacrifice themselves in a last battle:

Sunday, Nov. 17—Clouds of smoke and soot lie over the war harbor. If one walks through the streets one arrives home quite black; the fleet is getting up steam. The Wilhelmshaven people are accustomed to this dirt. It was often so during the war when the fleet was suddenly going out for some undertaking or the enemy was reported out at sea by our aircraft and advance patrols. But today it is quite different; the High Sea Fleet is beginning its last cruise—surrendering to the enemy! For four years I have shared victory and want with my crew, and I won't leave them in the lurch at the end. Going on board is hard. The red flag is still flying there, a sign of all that has collapsed in these last weeks. The crew is serious and quiet; most of them feel how great is the disgrace.

Monday, Nov. 18—In the Schillig Roads. Coming through the locks we have hoisted our war flag and pennant once more. Every one on board has the feeling that it looks better and more dignified than the red flag. * * * The undefeated German fleet is going out to meet the enemy who anxiously avoided it for four years, and says to him, "Here, take us; you have won the game only too brilliantly and as you cannot have imagined in your wildest dreams." I wept, and I am not ashamed of it.

Tuesday, Nov. 19.—Soon after noon we put to sea. Not racing ahead as before, but crawling slowly. We must save as much fuel as possible. The North Sea is seldom so calm at this time of year. No look-out for submarines now, and no manning of the guns. At night there is a bright stream of light from every ship, and I no longer have to gaze into the darkness trying to espy the enemy. * * * I cannot stop asking myself how we have earned such an end, and whether all our brave seamen are lying for nothing at the bottom of the sea. Who can give an honest answer? What is the truth?

Thursday, Nov. 21—On Wednesday morning one of our destroyers struck a mine and sank. Many are already lying down there, and many more will follow when the mine-sweeping begins again. At 8 o'clock we are at the appointed place. The first English destroyer soon comes in sight. My heart beats furiously. If we had still had our torpedoes on board I think that that de-

stroyer would have known it. So it is a good thing that we left every weapon behind. The destroyers surround us on every side; we are a procession of prisoners. Our large ships are convoyed in the same way by the English battleship and cruiser squadrons. The English stood at their battle stations with gas masks on. They simply could not understand that we should surrender without a blow. The English ships are freshly painted. The men are in their best clothes. Everything is arranged to impress us. Slowly we proceed to our anchoring place in the Firth of Forth. Nothing to be seen of the land; typical English fog. Airmen circle round us, playing all sorts of games. One of them who intended to make a particularly bold movement falls straight into the sea. An airship also, wabbling clumsily, feels it necessary to show us—how well built our Zeppelins are.

Friday, Nov. 22—The search commission is on board. I speak with the English officers only to say what is absolutely necessary. With me they will have no occasion to disobey their strict order not to fraternize with the Germans. Apparently they are less concerned to discover whether we really have no ammunition and weapons on board than to spy out our equipment. They have little luck in this. All the things which they would so much have liked to see and about which they constantly asked—instruments for measuring distance, electrical apparatus, and especially the "smoke" apparatus—stayed behind at Wilhelmshaven. So they can only observe that we have very pretty guns. For a long time they racked their brains about certain other parts of our armament, the use of which they do not understand. "Unhappily" I do not know enough English to explain. Today my English is for the most part limited to "yes" and "no."

Sunday, Nov. 24—The German fleet is being taken to Scapa Flow. There is no further question of our going to a neutral port. If it must be an English port I like Scapa Flow best, for up there there is at least no mob to laugh at us.

Monday, Nov. 25—Scapa Flow is a splendid harbor, well protected on all sides. The entrance is secured by nets and mine barriers. On shore the huts of the natives are about as high as a good German dog's kennel. The English have been lying here for four years. That must have been pretty uncomfortable. It is all the stranger to see how little this naval base has been developed. There is only one miserable little dock and a few small workshops; there is no pier for destroyers. * * * I am relieved by the order that only one officer and nineteen men are to remain on board every destroyer. So I must leave with most of the crew. Almost all those who stay behind have volunteered—partly out of affection for the destroyer and partly because they hope not to return to Germany until conditions there are normal again.

Monday, Dec. 2—An English battleship lies not far from us. We see the English sailors on board parading from 9 to 12. We did not do that even in times of deepest peace. Our men are astonished. Those, then, are the sailors who, as we were told, had turned back from an undertaking against Germany and had hoisted the red flag! * * * Tomorrow the German steamer will arrive which is to take us back to Wilhelmshaven.

Russia's Struggle With Bolshevism

Narrative of Military Operations in the Archangel and Other Regions---The Invasion of Esthonia

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 15, 1919]

ALL through the earlier part of January the Soviet troops continued to shell the allied positions in Northern Russia. Later in the month they began a systematic offensive aimed at driving the Allies out of the interior of the country. On Jan. 25 they forced the detachments of Americans, British, and Russians to evacuate the town of Shenkursk. Large stores of provisions fell into the hands of the Bolsheviki. The latter had previously achieved slight successes east and west of Shenkursk. Two days later the allied forces, including an American detachment, retired from Shegovarski, situated on the Vaga River, as is Shenkursk. In comparison with the allied position on the Vaga on Jan. 20, this constituted a retreat of about seventy-five miles northward. Subsequent attacks forced the allied troops to withdraw from Tarasovo and retreat a distance of forty miles due north, (Jan. 30.) The withdrawal was preceded by a week's fighting in this sector.

The Bolsheviki continued to attack the

new American positions on the Vaga and the allied positions on the Dvina, at Tulgas, but were everywhere repulsed with heavy losses. The allied forces also retired under Bolshevist pressure along the Pinega River, to the southeast of Archangel. On Feb. 7 a detachment composed of Americans, Britishers, and Russians started an offensive south of Kadish, to prevent the flanking of the American positions. The allied forces advanced five miles. Allied airplanes greatly harassed the Soviet forces in the Vaga sector. On Feb. 10 the Bolsheviki succeeded in occupying temporarily several allied blockhouses in this sector. According to advices to the State Department at Washington, made public on Feb. 12, the Bolsheviki obtained large stores of various supplies and munitions along the Dvina River. On Feb. 12 they were forced to retreat southward in the region of Sredmakrenga, and they were also repulsed at Kadish.

In the middle of January the War Department received a message from Colonel George E. Stewart, commander of the American troops in the Archangel sector. The Colonel reported that the Americans scattered over a wide front had "performed most valiant service," that their clothing and equipment were "ample and excellent," and that the living conditions and rations were good. He estimated the total number of deaths, up to Jan. 12, at 6 officers and 121 enlisted men.

On Feb. 1 the War Department made public the following figures regarding the composition of the Allied Expeditionary Force operating in Northern Russia:

	Men.
Britishers, approximately	6,000
Americans, approximately	4,500
French, approximately	1,500
Russians, (under British officers,) approximately	1,200
Other soldiers, approximately	1,000
Total	14,200

The Soviet forces in Northern Russia were estimated at 25,000 men, with 151 machine guns, 66 field guns, and 9 six-inch guns.

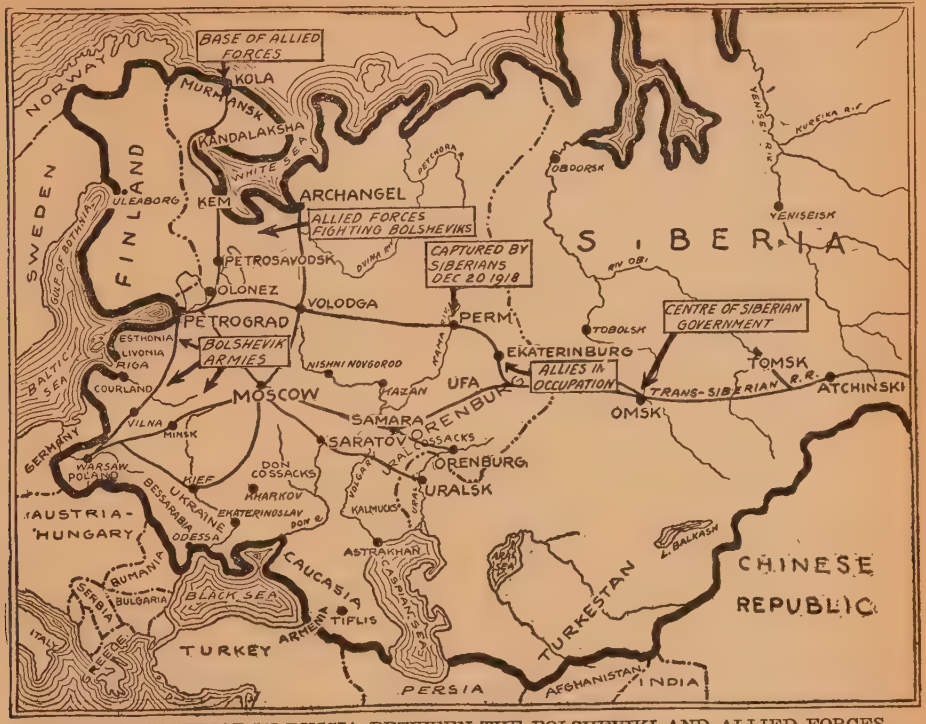
The military operations were by no means confined to the region of the north. The advance of the Soviet troops in the western and southern directions continued with varying success during the month under record.

INVASION OF ESTHONIA

Early in January the Esthonian Government at Reval addressed an urgent request to the British Government asking for the immediate dispatch of weapons and ammunition, without which, the message said, the Esthonian troops, assisted by Finnish volunteers, would not be able to resist the Bolshevist advance. The Bolsheviki were overrunning the richer parts of the country. A Bolshevist Government was set up at Dorpat. It issued a manifesto proclaiming the fall of the "bourgeois" Government at Reval, ordering a general mobilization and decreeing the immediate confiscation of land, industrial plants, and banks.

British troops were again landed at Riga in the second week of January and successfully fought the Bolsheviki in the vicinity of that city. A few days later the Bolsheviki took Mitau and several small towns in the region west and southwest of Riga, but had to evacuate Narva under the pressure of Esthonians assisted by Finns. According to a statement made by an Esthonian delegate to the Peace Conference, the Bolsheviki had committed many atrocities during their brief occupancy of the latter city.

On Jan. 24, Lithuanian troops defeated the Soviet troops near Koszedary, midway between Kovno and Vilna, taking 6,500 prisoners. Routed at Narva, the Bolsheviki marched on Libau, but were halted by German volunteer forces. The latter were reinforced by Swedish and Finnish troops, which arrived in Libau on Feb. 1 to fight the Soviet forces in the Baltic provinces. The next few days witnessed the capture of the City of Valk, Livonia, by Finnish-Esthonian troops, and the occupation of the town and harbor of Windau, and also of Vilkomir, Lithuania, by the Soviet armies. A dispatch of Feb. 10 stated that the Lithuanian forces had succeeded in arresting the Bolshevist invasion. Most of the members of the Lithuanian Cabinet, including the Premier, had previously gone in quest of safety from Libau to



SCENES OF CONFLICT IN RUSSIA BETWEEN THE BOLSHEVIKI AND ALLIED FORCES

the Danish Island of Bornholm in the Baltic.

ESTHONIA'S STORY

The Esthonian Government, which has its seat at Reval, sent M. Poska, its Minister of Foreign Affairs, to England and France to enlist the aid of the Allies, and to secure their recognition of the independence of the Esthonian Government. Upon his arrival at Paris, M. Poska made the following statement on Jan. 14, 1919:

My fellow-citizens have at this moment but one aim, which dominates everything else: peasants, workmen, and middle-class people all seek to protect themselves against the Bolshevist invasion. The Government of which I am a member is a national coalition ministry including patriots belonging to all parties.

The Bolshevist invasion started during the first two weeks of November, immediately after Germany had signed the armistice. The German troops, not content with retreating before the "Red Army" without any resistance, split into two parts, forming a sort of passageway for the invader. At the same time the German authorities systematically forebore to arm the Esthonians. The Germans have not, as yet, taken away their war material. Part of it they abandoned or sold to the Bolsheviki, but, in general, they destroyed what remained rather than give it to us. We found ourselves possessed, in all, of 5,000 rifles and twenty cannon of an old type of Russian make. We did not even have any money, for the Germans had taken away our only reserve of rubles. And we had to face a large Bolshevist army which had been organized for months, which was well equipped and supported by strong financial resources.

On Dec. 12, 1918, a British squadron finally arrived before Tallinu, (the Esthonian name for Reval) which guaranteed us protection on the coast. It brought us, in addition, several thousand rifles, and, best of all, machine guns, which we lacked so badly. Three bodies of volunteers from Finland also came to aid us. These volunteers fought for the first time on Jan. 8, and in that engagement their 4th Company distinguished itself brilliantly, taking two villages. After having seen two-thirds of our country invaded by the Bolsheviki, we were enabled to resume the offensive. During the days of Jan. 4, 6, and 7 the Esthonian troops continued to force back the Bolsheviki all along the coast, while turning their flank at another point and cutting their communications with Walk. The communiqué of Jan. 9 announced the capture of two small Bolshevist headquarters companies, as well

as some machine guns and cannon. New successes followed on the 10th and 11th. But, despite all our efforts, the struggle remains extremely unequal.

We have almost no cannon. We have absolutely no airships, machine guns, automobiles, or tanks. We have always been in need of money, save for the small loan which we were able to obtain in Finland. We have appealed now to France and Great Britain. We expect them to hear our plea. If the Allies desert us our first successes will have been things of yesterday, and we will succumb, without even having been able to arm the people in our villages.

Early in February, almost the whole of Eastern Ukraine, including the cities of Kharkov, Poltava, Yekaterinoslav, and the Donetz mining region, as well as Zhitomir, in Volhynia, was under Bolshevist control. The presence of allied warships in the Black Sea ports was apparently the only circumstance which prevented the Bolsheviki from spreading their authority to the Black Sea littoral. The Ukrainian Government was reported to have moved to Vinnitza and a Soviet Government was set up in Kharkov. Early in January, General Denikin's forces were said to have inflicted a defeat on the Bolsheviki in the Caucasus.

SITUATION IN SIBERIA

About the middle of January the French General, Jules Janin, was appointed supreme chief of the allied forces in Russia, for the purpose of inaugurating unity of command on the Siberian front. On Jan. 20, the city of Ufa fell to the Bolsheviki, and the associated Czech and Russian forces retreated to Zlatoust, 140 miles to the northeast. The defeat was ascribed to the failure of supplies to arrive from Vladivostok, owing to the interruption of traffic over the Trans-Siberian. The next important city to be captured by the Soviet army was Orenburg. General Duter, commander of the anti-Bolshevist forces there, fell back in a northerly direction. Small contingents of French and British troops were sent to his assistance. On the other hand, Siberian troops took Saranpol, Province of Tobolsk, killing 200 Red Guards and annihilating two divisions of Bolsheviki at Kungur, fifty miles southeast of Perm.

A cable from the headquarters of the American Expeditionary Forces in France, received in Washington on Feb. 12, estimated the total American casualties in Siberia at ten officers and 314 men, of whom three officers and 133 men died from various causes.

Few changes occurred in the position of the Siberian Government at Omsk, headed by Admiral Kolchak. The Omsk Government was recognized by General Denikin, anti-Bolshevist leader in Southern Russia; General Krasnov, the Hetman of the Don Cossacks, and General Filimonov, the Hetman of the Kuban Cossacks. Much dissatisfaction, however, was aroused among the democratic elements of the Siberian population by some of the measures of the Omsk Government; for instance, by the orders forbidding political discussion at the convention of delegates of Zemstvos and town Dumas, which met at Vladivostok in the latter part of January.

An agreement was reached between the United States and the Allies for joint control of the Siberian railways. According to an announcement made on Feb. 12 by Acting Secretary of State Frank L. Polk, the Siberian Railway system, including the Chinese Eastern Railway, is to be supervised by an interallied committee headed by a Russian and comprising representatives from the United States, Japan, Great Britain, France, Italy, and China, while the economic and technical management will be centred in a board presided over by John F. Stevens, head of the American Railway Commission to Siberian "The purpose of the agreement," the announcement says, "is to assist the Russians in Siberia in regaining their normal conditions of life and has been reached upon a definite understanding that the railways are to be operated for the interests of the people of Siberia."

ADMIRAL KOLCHAK'S COUP

The authentic story of the coup d'état of Nov. 18, 1918, which led to the establishment of Kolchak's dictatorship, was told by Nikolai Avksentyev, head of the overthrown Omsk Government, and Vladimir Zenzinov, a member of the Directorate of Five, elected at Ufa. The

coup d'état, it appears, was effected by a number of reactionary army officers, assisted by some of the members of the Government itself. The two narrators, together with Rogoski, the Minister of the Interior, were arrested at the home of the latter, at Omsk, by a group of drunken and arrogant officers, and taken in a motor truck to Colonel Krasilnikov's barracks, where they were kept under lock for two days. This was done with the knowledge of several members of the Government and of Admiral Kolchak. The prisoners were released for one evening, arrested again the next morning, and hurried in a special train to the Chinese frontier.

On the day when the members of the overthrown government were deported from Omsk, the officers who had arrested them were subjected to what Mr. Avksentyev calls a mock trial. The officers were acquitted and commended for their act. Mr. Zenzinov closes his narrative with the following words:

> A group of adventurers, blinded madmen and traitors, raised their hands against the lawful government because they were dissatisfied with its impartiality and nonpartisanship. They thought that the great country, with the democratic forces which have awakened to a new life after the overthrow of Czarism, could go back to the old forms of life—to reaction and monarchy. The facts already indicate that they were wrong. The Government of Kolchak is experiencing more hardships than the all-Russian Government, because the Kolchak Government has brought new chaos into the order we established and thus has complicated the problem of the regeneration of a great and free Russia.

THE RED ARMY

The Moscow Government has succeeded in shaping a considerable armed force and subjecting it to a rigid discipline. This army, the so-called Red Army, which gave place to the Red Guard and to regiments of freebooters, is recruited by conscription and officered partly by officers of the old army, partly by graduates of Bolshevist military schools. According to the Allied Intelligence Department at Archangel, the old régime army officers serving in the Soviet army are controlled by Military Commissaries, and in case of desertion their families are held responsible. Conscription is enforced rigidly, and there is systematic military training and instruction.

A Helsingfors dispatch of Feb. 4 quoted a Bolshevist decree ordering the mobilization of all men between the ages of 29 and 45 years. It was reported from London on Feb. 13 that new schools for officers and aviators were being opened. According to information furnished by a Russian delegate at Berne, the entire strength of the Red Army which is operating in Siberia, the Caucasus, the Don district, the Ukraine, Poland, and Lithuania is estimated in Moscow at 750,000 men, including 60,000 Chinese soldiers. The command is nominally in the hands of Trotzky, but the military operations are controlled by General Vacetis, Commander in Chief of the Soviet forces, who is a Lett by birth and a notable strategist, and by several subordinate Generals of considerable efficiency, including Antonov, a veteran of the Russo-Japanese war; Horokin, a former school teacher, and Stupin, an old régime General. The General Staff headquarters are at Arzamas, near Kazan.

During the second half of 1918 the Soviet Commissariat of War spent 7,773,000,000 rubles, while during the first half of the year the military budget of the Soviet amounted only to 644,000,000 rubles. The financial report covering the entire year showed a probable deficit of 43,000,000,000 rubles, the total expenditures being 47,000,000,000 and the income, owing to the Government's inability to collect property taxes, not exceeding the sum of 4,000,000,000 rubles.

Red Russia Described by Eyewitnesses

Senate Inquiry Into Bolshevism

THE investigation by the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate, begun Feb. 11, 1919, shed some new light on the Red régime in Russia. Two of the principal witnesses at the hearing were Dr. W. C. Huntington, who from 1916 until the early Fall of 1918 was in Russia as the Commercial Attaché of the American Embassy at Petrograd, and Dr. George S. Simons, Superintendent since 1907 of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Russia and Finland, one of the last Americans to leave Russia.

Dr. Huntington said that not more than 8 per cent. of the Russian people were in favor of the Bolsheviki. They were held in submission, he added, by terroristic means and by a mercenary force of soldiers made up principally of Letts and Chinese. He said that he left Moscow on Aug. 16 last, accompanied by officials of other allied nations, in each instance the nation concerned leaving one official behind to care for its affairs and nationals. In the case of the United States the official left behind was Consul General Poole.

In answer to a question as to the extent of murder by official order in Russia, Dr. Huntington produced a copy of an order addressed to all Soviets in Russia, which called for the slaughter "en masse" of all persons who failed to support the Bolshevist régime. The order was issued by M. Petrovski, the Bolshevist Commissiary for Home Affairs. It was dated Sept. 5, 1918, and read:

> To all Soviets—The murder of Volodarski and Uritski, the attempt on Lenine and the shooting of masses of our comrades in Finland, Ukraine, the Don, and Czechoslovakia, the continual discovery of conspiracies in our rear, open acknowledgment by the Right Social Revolutionary Party and other counter-revolutionary radicals of their part in these conspiracies, together with the insignificant extent of serious repressions and shooting of masses of White Guards and Bourgeoisie on the part of the Soviets, all these things show that notwithstanding frequent pronouncements urging mass terror against the Social Revolutionists, White Guards and Bourgeoisie no real terror exists.
>
> Such a situation should decidedly be stopped. An end should be put to weakness and softness. All Right Social Revolutionists known to local Soviets should be immediately arrested. Numerous hostages should be taken from the Bourgeoisie and officer classes.
>
> At the slightest attempt to resist or the slightest movement among the White Guards, shooting of masses of hostages should be begun without fail. Initiative in this matter rests especially with the local Executive Committees.
>
> All branches of the Government must take measures to seek out and arrest persons hiding under false names and shoot without fail anybody connected with the work of the White Guards. All the above measures should be put immediately into execution, and indecisive action on the part of local Soviets must be reported to the People's Commissary for Home Affairs. Not the slightest hesitation or the slightest indecisiveness in using mass terror. PETROVSKI.

FOOD CONDITIONS

Three letters were read into the record by Dr. Huntington, all from a person of the highest standing, still in Russia and whose name for that reason was not disclosed for publication. These letters painted a terrible picture of conditions in the Russian capital. The first, in part, reads:

> I am glad you are not here just now. Living conditions are awfully hard. Have you ever seen people dying in the streets? I did three times, two men and one old woman. * * * They were not sick, just horribly thin and pale.
>
> It's awfully hard, and I would not have believed it if I had not seen it myself. These three cases illustrate conditions in Petrograd better than description. People are dying quietly, horribly quietly, without groan or curse, poor, helpless creatures, slaves of the terrible régime of today.

The next letter was dated Sept. 20 last. In part it reads:

> Today Mr. Poole (American Consul General at Moscow) left Russia. He was the last link between your human world over there and the madhouse here. You cannot imagine what is going on in this

country. Everything that is cultured, wealthy, accomplished, or educated is being persecuted and systematically destroyed.

We all live under a perpetual strain under fear of arrest and execution. Yesterday bulletins appeared on the corners of all the streets announcing that the Allies and the bourgeoisie have been spreading cholera and hunger all over Russia and calling for the open slaughter of the latter. * * *

People here are starving in accordance with four categories. The first category, the workmen, get one-fourth of a pound of bread and two herrings every two days. The second category, the workmen who do easy work, get one-eighth of a pound and two herrings every two days. The third category, the people who "drink other people's blood," that is, people who live by mental work, get two herrings every two days and no bread, while the fourth category, the others who "drink other people's blood," sometimes get two herrings, generally nothing at all. I inclose the slip from the official paper which mentions these four categories.

People who have a little money run away from Russia. They sell all they possess and just run. They go mainly to the Baltic provinces and to the Ukraine. And you know it is the German Consulate there which helps them to get permits and tickets.

The third and last letter, dated about Oct. 1, tells of four new decrees, the first, concerning the seizure of bourgeois lodgings; the second, forced hard labor for the bourgeoisie; the third, requisition of warm clothes for the Red Army, and the fourth, concerning the distribution of food.

INDUSTRIAL CHAOS

Dr. Huntington said that all papers other than Bolshevist organs were suppressed. When asked what were the results of the nationalization of industries he replied that in nearly every case the factories had come to grief. Among the committees of workmen that had been placed in charge of the various factories when the decree of nationalization was issued, factions had sprung up, and friction and quarrels developed over details, with the result that few of the factories, if any, continued to run. Dr. Huntington added:

The principal industry left in Russia now is printing paper money. I have seen the complete overthrow in Russia of all that we know in human life as it exists here at home. I have seen a condition of absolute chaos in all human relations develop in Russia. I have seen conditions attained that amount to nothing less than a reign of absolute terrorism.

Those in authority take any measures they see fit, no matter how unscrupulous. Men and women are held as hostages. Their army is made up principally of Lettish mercenaries and Chinese. They are also using some Austro-Hungarians. To the so-called army have been added other citizens who are forced to serve through threats against their wives and little children.

The armies they are reported to have are not fired by loyalty to a great cause but are to a large extent made up of men whose condition is such that they have joined in order to be clothed and fed.

Dr. Huntington said that 85 per cent. of the Russian population was of the peasant class, and that 7 per cent. of the population were workmen. This 92 per cent., he said, no longer sympathized with the revolution, and was held in check by the terrorist machine.

MILLIONS FOR PROPAGANDA

That the Bolshevist group in Russia is spending millions of dollars in propaganda in other countries was asserted. In this connection Major Lowry Humes, the Judge Advocate in charge of the examination of witnesses, produced an official translation of a Bolshevist Government order appropriating 2,000,000 rubles for propaganda purposes in enemy, friendly, and neutral countries. The order, which is said to be one of many, and was placed in the record as official proof, was dated December, 1917. It reads:

Order—

For the appropriation of 2,000,000 rubles for the requirements of the revolutionary internationalist movement.

Whereas, The Soviet authority stands on the ground of the principles of the international solidarity of the proletariat and the brotherhood of the workers of all countries; and

Whereas, The struggle against the war and imperialism can lead to complete victory only if conducted on an international scale.

The Council of People's Commissaries considers it absolutely necessary to take every possible means, including expenditure of money, for the assistance of the Left Internationalist wing of the workingman movement in all countries,

whether these countries are at war or in alliance with Russia or are maintaining a neutral position.

To this end the Council of People's Commissaries orders the appropriation for the requirements of the revolutionary international movement, to be put at the disposal of the foreign representatives of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, of 2,000,000 rubles.

LENINE.
TROTZKY.
GOUCH-BRUEVICH.
GARBUNOV.

Dr. Simons, who was before the subcommittee on Feb. 12, declared that the Bolshevist ascendency in Russia was due, in the main, to the influx of agitators from the east side of New York City. He said:

I should like to make it plain that among my best friends and among the finest Americans I have known are men of Jewish blood. The unpleasant facts that I shall have to disclose in nowise refer to them. The persons that have gone into Russia and joined in this diabolical thing over there are apostate Jews, men who deny their God and who have forsaken the religion and the teachings of their fathers.

Dr. Simons testified that a catechism of atheism had been added to the curriculum of the Russian public schools. He declared:

The Bolshevik is not only an atheist but he also seeks to make all religions impossible. They assert that all misery is due to the superstition that there is a God. One of their officials told me: "We now propose to enlighten our children, and with this purpose in view, we are issuing a catechism on atheism for use in all the schools." The man who told me this was the Commissary for Enlightenment and Education.

In reply to an inquiry as to what part the Germans had in the forwarding of the plans of the Bolsheviki, Dr. Simons stated that all the German newspapers in Russia which had been suppressed by the old régime reappeared simultaneously with the accession of the Bolsheviki to power, and that everything German or pro-German was fostered. Upon being asked the real attitude of the Bolsheviki as regarded the two groups of belligerents in the war, the witness said:

Lenine and Trotzky were always saying bitter things against the Allies. They scattered posters in which they described the Allies as the "blood-drinking and flesh-eating Allies." They named France and England, but, as I recollect it, did not specify the United States, the reason, in the opinion of the allied diplomatic representatives, being what may be described as a sort of strategical trick. They figured it out that in the event Bolshevism failed, as they knew it might, they would need a land of refuge, and they wanted the United States to be their asylum.

Dr. Simons told of the wholesale murder of innocent civilians, the outraging of young girls by the Red Guard, the seizure without legal process of all property, the urging of young girls to go into the streets to follow a life of prostitution, the tying together of helpless people and throwing them into a river to drown, the absolute suppression of free speech and a free press, and the official starving of those who do not indorse Bolshevist teachings and programs.

On Feb. 13 two American Vice Consuls, Ralph M. Dennis of Chicago and Robert F. Leonard of Minneapolis, who had recently returned from Russia, were heard by the investigating committee. Mr. Dennis declared that in the ten months that he spent in Russia under Bolshevist rule he had visited many of the large cities, and during that time had never seen a single carpenter or mason at work, and that everything was allowed to go to destruction. Farming still continues, but, according to estimates, only about 10 per cent. of the normal acreage is under cultivation.

Mr. Leonard stated that the Bolsheviki aimed at free love and hoped to do away with marriage, planning for the establishment of contract marriage. He told of the organization of what is known as Committees of the Poor, in order to control those who possessed anything. He said:

These committees were put up by the Central Government. Their members are drawn from the riff-raff, the men who drank up all they had, the utterly worthless. The old Soviets, owing to the fact that the peasants in them owned land, could not be controlled, so they put these committees in power to handle the situation. I know of villages in which there were no eligibles for these committees, and in such instances Lenine sent in "poor eligibles" to take the positions.

The witness told of the condition to which the City of Petrograd had been

reduced by Bolshevism. Before the ascendency of the Bolsheviki, Petrograd had been a city of 2,000,000 inhabitants; at the time of his departure, Nov. 13, 1918, its population numbered about half a million.

MME. BRESHKOVSKAYA'S STORY

Mme. Breshkovskaya, who is known all over Russia as the "Grandmother of the Revolution," and who has been exiled by the Bolsheviki, appeared before the Senate Committee on Feb. 14. Among other things she said:

In the little more than one year of Bolshevist rule there have been twice as many Russians, men, women, and children, killed as there were soldiers killed at the front during the almost three years that Russia was actively in the war. For instance, there were 2,000 officers in one prison who were killed at one time. Every man, woman, or child who opposes Bolshevism in any way risks his or her life.

Everything that made life worth while has gone. Every day trainloads of supplies and valuable things leave for Germany from Moscow. In Russia there is no industry, the schools are closed, and if they were open there would be no books, not even any ink, for the pupils. All over Russia there are no schools now. There is no food to amount to anything, no clothes, nothing at all. Transportation is paralyzed. We have no tools or implements of any kind, not even scissors or knives.

Two years ago, when the Czar was overthrown, we were happy. We expected, and had reason to expect, excellent laws, we expected peace and political and social freedom. None of these things has been realized. We thought we were going to get a National Assembly and a Constitution, and we got neither. For six months we were free, and then came those German-dominated Bolsheviki.

The Germans had been preparing for years—we know it now—for this very thing. Their spies have been everywhere in Russia for a long, long time. It was out of German spying and intrigue that Lenine and Trotzky came. Trotzky and Lenine and the group supporting them received millions from Germany for propaganda, and they carried it to a gruesome success. In the Autumn of 1917 we saw the clouds gathering, and we hoped and prayed that our allies would come.

* * * Today Russia is in ruins. If you had given us 50,000 good soldiers there would have been no Bolshevism. The peasants are against the Bolsheviki, but they have no arms. The Bolsheviki rule with an army of Letts, Chinese, Magyars, and Germans.

[Further important testimony given before the Senate Judiciary Committee in the later days of this investigation will be published in the next issue of CURRENT HISTORY.]

LETTER FROM AN ARCHBISHOP

The Archbishop of Canterbury made public in London on Feb. 14 a letter from the Archbishop of Omsk, President of the Supreme Administration of the Orthodox Church in Russia, which gave these further facts:

Having seized supreme power in Russia in 1917 the Maximalists proceeded to destroy not only the cultivated classes of society but have also swept away religion itself, the representatives of the Church, and religious monuments venerated by all.

The Kremlin cathedrals of Moscow and those in the towns of Yaroslav and Simferopol have been sacked and many churches have been defiled. Historical sacristies as well as the famous libraries of the Patriarchs of Moscow and Petrograd have been pillaged. Vladimir, Metropolitan of Kiev, twenty Bishops, and hundreds of priests have been assassinated. Before killing them the Bolsheviki cut off the limbs of their victims, some of whom were buried alive. Religious processsions followed by great masses of people at Petrograd, Toula, Kharkov, and Eoligalitch were fired upon.

Wherever the Bolsheviki are in power the Christian Church is persecuted with even greater ferocity than in the first three centuries of the Christian era. Nuns are being violated, women made common property, and license and the lowest passions are rampant. One sees everywhere death, misery, and famine. The population is utterly cast down and subjected to most terrifying experiences. Some are purified by their sufferings, but others succumb.

Only in Siberia and the region of the Ural Mountains, where the Bolsheviki have been expelled, is the existence of the civil and religious population protected under the aegis of law and order.

Events in the Republic of Poland

Under Paderewski's Government

[Period Ended Feb. 15, 1919]

THE course of events in the new-born Republic of Poland during the early weeks of 1919 was marked by desultory fighting on four different fronts. In Eastern Galicia the clash with the Ruthenians (Ukrainians) continued. The fighting was centred about the Cities of Lemberg and Przemysl, which the Poles took possession of late last year. The new year found these two cities besieged by the Ukrainians. It was reported on Jan. 14 that two thousand persons were killed at Przemysl as a result of the bombardment of the city by Ukrainians. A week later the two cities were still holding out, although completely surrounded and fiercely shelled by land and by air. According to a Warsaw report of Feb. 3, the Poles were holding the enemy in check in the region of Lemberg.

Soon after the conclusion of the armistice the Poles of Posen (Poznan) began to take things into their own hands. The Prussians at some points offered resistance, and fighting ensued. Severe conflicts, with varying results, on the banks of the Netze and at Wissenhoche were reported on Jan. 10. About the same time the Germans reoccupied Lakel, west of Thorn. According to a Paris dispatch of Jan. 28, the German General Staff dispatched two army corps to the Polish front. On Jan. 30 the German troops took by storm the town of Kulmsee, a railway junction of considerable importance. Ten days later the Polish forces were said to have captured the towns of Schubin, Netzwalde, and Gruenthal. They were also reported to be threatening the railroad from Thorn to Berlin.

In view of these developments, the British Government requested Germany to refrain from further provoking the Polish population of Prussia, Posen, and Silesia. In reply, the German Government pointed out that it was forced to take military measures to restore order in response to appeals coming from the German population, and that it could not suffer "ambitious imperialism" on the part of the Poles "to reign supreme." A Copenhagen dispatch of Feb. 8 reported the conclusion of a German-Polish armistice, to include the territory of German Poland and to become effective the next day.

Poland was also at war with the Czechoslovak State. On Jan. 24 the great powers associated at the peace table issued to all Europe and Asia a warning that hostilities must cease everywhere and that all territorial claims would be prejudiced by attempts to back them up by military force. On that very day the Czechoslovak forces wrested two Moravian towns from the Poles.

The fighting has gone on ever since, the results, upon the whole, favoring the Czechs. The latter took possession of the mining region of Karvin, on which Poland depends, to a large extent, for its mineral resources. According to an Amsterdam dispatch of Jan. 31, the Czechoslovak troops occupied the whole of Austrian East Silesia after a series of fierce clashes with the Poles. Premier Paderewski entered a protest against the Czechoslovak invasion of Silesia.

At its session of Jan. 29 the Peace Conference took up the situation in Poland, especially with reference to the conflict between the Polish and Czechoslovak troops in Silesia. An opportunity was given to the representatives of the two nations to state their views. The Polish spokesmen said that Poland laid claim to the territory she possessed before the partitions, including Posen and Thorn, and that she wished to have free access to the sea by way of Danzig, as well as a strip of territory to protect the road to that port. They further asked for the return of the Polish Army, then in France, and they assured the conference

that their country could raise a large army to deal adequately with either the Germans or the Bolsheviki. They also argued that the population of the Duchy of Teschen, Austrian Silesia, was 55 per cent. Polish, and that the district therefore ought to belong to Poland. The Czechoslovak delegates maintained that the district contained coalfields which were indispensable to the industrial development of their country.

The Peace Conference notified the delegates that acts of hostility between them must be ended, and that, pending the final establishment of a Czech-Polish frontier, the disputed zone would be occupied by allied forces. To this the representatives of both nationalities agreed.

It was also decided to send an allied commission to Silesia for the purpose of adjusting the conflict between the Poles and the Czechs over the Teschen coalfields. This commission succeeded in arranging a truce between the two nations. A Warsaw dispatch of Feb. 7, however, reported that, in spite of the truce, the Czechoslovak forces were advancing through Silesia. According to information received by the Polish National Headquarters at Paris, the Czechoslovak troops invaded Poland from the south, crossing the Galician and Hungarian frontiers.

The northeastern frontier of Poland continued to be threatened by the advance of the Russian Soviet troops. It was reported in the middle of January that the Bolshevist forces, estimated at 30,000, were converging on Warsaw over three railway routes. Later the march of the Soviet Army slowed up. Polish contingents were fighting the Bolsheviki in Lithuania and elsewhere in Western Russia.

The outstanding events in the inner political life of the country during the month were the formation of a Coalition Ministry and the convocation of the Constituent Assembly. It became known on Jan. 19 that Ignace Jan Paderewski had formed a complete Ministry as follows:

Premier and Foreign Minister—M. PADEREWSKI.
Minister of the Interior—M. WOJCIECHOWSKI.
Minister of Commerce—M. HONCIA.
Minister of Finance—M. ENGLICH.
Minister of Public Health—M. JANISSEEWSKI.
Minister of Communications—M. EBERHARDT.
Minister of Posts and Telegraphs—M. LINDQ.
Minister of Agriculture—M. JANICKI.
Minister of Arts—M. PRZESMYCKI.
Minister of Labor—M. IVONOVSKI.
Minister of Food—M. MINKIEWICZ.
Minister of Justice—M. SUINSKI.
Minister of Public Works—M. PRUCHNIK.

This Provisional Government of Poland was accorded recognition by the United States. The following message, made public on Jan. 29, was sent to Premier Paderewski by Secretary Lansing from Paris:

> The President of the United States directs me to extend to you, as Foreign Minister and Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Polish Government, its sincere wishes for your success in the high office which you have assumed and his earnest hope that the Government of which you are a part will bring prosperity to the Republic of Poland.
>
> It is my privilege to extend to you at this time my personal greetings and officially to assure you that it will be a source of gratification to enter into official relations with you at the earliest opportunity. To render to your country such aid as is possible at this time, as it enters upon a new cycle of independent life, will be in due accord with that spirit of friendliness which has in the past animated the American people in their relations with your countrymen.

Reports from Poland indicated that the various factions were united. The new Government announced its decision to summon the Constituent Diet on Feb. 9. At the elections to this assembly, the party led by Paderewski and Dmowski obtained 50 per cent., the Socialist Party only 15 per cent., of the total votes. The number of eligible voters amounted to 435,000.

The actual voters numbered 320,000, many women among them. The franchise was also accorded to the Jews and a warning was issued against attacks upon them. The program of Paderewski's party includes defense of the frontiers and re-establishment of order, immediate provisioning of the country, regulation of State finances, protection of the working classes, and

development of industry. The party favors distribution of land purchased by the State, but opposes confiscation.

The Constituent Assembly met on Feb. 9. It included about 200 members, one woman among them. The seats were distributed as follows: National Democrats, 91; Polish Peasants, 51; Peasants' Union, 19; Socialists, 14; Workmen's Unions, 7; Jewish Party, 8; United Polish Peasants, 6; German Colonists, 2. The Paderewski Government has introduced conscription and abolished the Soldiers' Councils. Military instruction is conducted by former German officers of Polish descent, while the higher ranks of the army consist mostly of Russian Poles. There exists a Polish Vistula fleet of motor boats and small steamers, with a base at Modelin.

CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

[Period Ended Feb. 18, 1919]

German Austria's National Assembly

ON Sunday, Feb. 16, German Austria held a general election, about 4,000,000 men and women voting for delegates to a National Assembly, which is convening in Vienna on March 4 with 255 members. The Assembly will frame and adopt a national constitution and decide whether there shall be incorporated therein a measure providing for union, federation, or alliance with Germany. For these reasons the life of the National Assembly will be two years. The German National Assembly at Weimar took provisional action to admit German Austria with the status of three States into the "Imperial Republic" of the Fatherland.

There is one party in Austria which is opposed to a Great Germany. This is the Party of Christian Socialists which, although having 73 seats in the old Reichsrat out of a total of 516, has now greatly augmented its forces under the slogan of "Austria for Austrians," and includes the anti-Semites, merchants, and several conservative labor factions.

The leading party is the Social Democratic, which in the Reichsrat had only forty-nine seats but later absorbed most of the radical members of the German Nationalists, who held 100 seats. And there is still the German Nationalist Party, now, as always, for union with Germany, and the new Bourgeois Democratic Party.

For electoral purposes all German-speaking Austria was divided into thirty-seven districts, each entitled to from one to twelve delegates. But eight of these districts, with seventy-one seats, are located in Bohemia (Czechoslovakia) and seven, with fifty-two seats, are in Carinthia, Styria, (organized as part of Jugoslavia,) and in Tyrol, (the Trentino organized by Italy,) so no elections were held there. Vienna, with seven districts, elected forty-eight delegates.

The election was on the principle of proportional representation, or one delegate to every 100,000 of the population. Every Austrian citizen who was 20 years old on Jan. 1 and was on Dec. 13, 1918, a resident of the German Austrian State, was entitled to vote by equal, direct, and secret ballot. The election regulations provided that no intoxicating liquor should be sold on election day or on the day preceding.

* * *

Deporting Seditious Aliens

OLE HANSON, Mayor of Seattle, in the heart of a remarkable statement describing how he had put down a treasonable revolt in his city, said on Feb. 8:

> I take the position that our duty as citizens stands ahead of the demand of any organization on the face of the earth. The union men, the business men, the churchmen, must first of all be citizens. Any man who owes a higher allegiance to any organization than he does to the Government should be sent to a Federal prison or deported. Let the National Government stop pandering to and conciliating the men who talk against it.

Even as he wrote the National Government was already making answer. For from the Far West there was proceeding toward the Eastern seaboard two carloads of undesirables—all potential anarchists, Bolsheviki, members of the I. W. W. Their status as aliens permitted them to be deported to the countries whence they came. Most of them were destined for Italy.

Before the Senate committee competent witnesses testified that the principal features of the Bolshevist conspiracy were hatched in New York's east side.

The trainload of undesirables arrived in New York on Feb. 11, and the human cargo was transferred to Ellis Island, there to await outgoing steamers. Writs of habeas corpus were issued only to be declined by the judicial authorities, for the fifty-four delinquents had been regularly tried, convicted, and sentenced to deportation by Federal courts, sitting all the way from Seattle to Chicago.

Immigration authorities state that although there will be no wholesale deportations there are in custody about 6,000 undesirable aliens who will, as circumstances permit, be returned to the lands whence they came.

* * *

Six Billions a Year in Taxes

THE War Revenue bill which passed the House on Feb. 8 with a vote of 310 to 11, the latter being seven Democrats and four Republicans, affected every phase of life, every sort of individual, socially as well as industrially. It broke all records and was the greatest revenue raiser in history. It levied alike on incomes and profits, on necessaries and luxuries, and in its multitude of minor assessments it reached down into every pocket. It was estimated that it would produce $6,070,000,000. The income tax, concerning the individual, the corporation, excess profits, and estates, would produce, it was estimated, over $4,000,000,000; then came the excise taxes on luxuries—from jewelry to sporting goods, from automobiles to yachts—which are expected to produce over $1,000,000,000; and somewhere near the latter sum is looked for from a series of special taxes covering practically everything concerning human enjoyment and comfort that has not been already scheduled.

* * *

A New British Embargo

EARLY IN January, 1919, the British Government established an embargo against certain articles imported from other countries. The articles were, in the main, those which during the war had required a license in order to be imported, but which, with the signing of the armistice, had been placed on the free list. The articles affected by the embargo fell into two classes. The restrictions on one class were scheduled to begin after March 1, 1919. The articles contained in this group were chiefly in the nature of machine tools and machinery driven by power. The category of goods on which freedom to import was scheduled to begin July 1, 1919, consisted of food and raw materials. The British Government declared that it was forced to subject these again to license on account of the international situation, as it was well known that there was a worldwide shortage in them and the general subject was under discussion at Paris. Members of the United States Senate belonging to both political parties attacked the British embargo on the ground that it would injure American industries. It was later modified in some particulars.

* * *

Rifle Strength of the Allies and of Germany

THE United States War Department, on Feb. 5, 1919, made public official estimates of the rifle strength of the Allies and of Germany during the war. Rifle strength was defined as the "number of men standing in the trenches ready to go over with the bayonet."

When Germany struck its great blow in the Spring of 1918 it had about 1,500,000 men so classified, against an allied total of about 1,250,000. By June 1 the Germans reached their peak with 1,639,000 rifles. The allied strength on June 1 was 1,496,000. Shortly afterward the Allies reached a total of 1,547,000, composed of 778,000 French, 515,000 British, and

254,000 American. America's contribution had risen from 65,000 in April. On July 1 Germany's power had begun to wane, and for the first time it was definitely inferior in rifle strength, with 1,412,000, compared with 1,556,000 for the Allies.

In mid-October the American strength had risen to an estimated force of 350,000. On Sept. 1 the allied line was at its greatest strength, with 1,682,000, against Germany's 1,339,000. While the Allies had shrunk in rifles to 1,485,000 on Nov. 1, Germany's last hope was gone, as she faced that army with only 866,000 bayonets.

The following table, prepared by General Pershing's staff, shows the comparative rifle strength of the armies for the eight months covered:

	Allies.	Germany.
April 1	1,245,000	1,569,000
May 1	1,343,000	1,600,000
June 1	1,496,000	1,639,000
July 1	1,556,000	1,412,000
Aug. 1	1,672,000	1,395,000
Sept. 1	1,682,000	1,339,000
Oct. 1	1,594,000	1,223,000
Nov. 1	1,485,000	866,000

The sudden decline of the German forces, beginning in June and again apparent in the swift drop during October, was accounted for by the fact that Germany had drawn into the lines during the Spring every available reserve, expecting to smash her way to victory before Winter came. These reserves were used up in the German attack and the allied assaults which followed, while the American force continued to increase.

In a rough way, the American rifle strength represented about 20 per cent. of the total American force in France continuously. This accounts for the fact that with a total of more than 2,000,000 men in France on Nov. 11 the rifle strength in October was estimated at around 350,000 men.

The total strength of the United States Army on Nov. 11, when the armistice was signed, was 3,703,273 officers and men, including the Marine Corps on duty with the army in Europe. On Nov. 11 the American Army in Europe numbered 80,842 officers and 1,868,474 men, while 1,162 officers and 21,072 men were at sea en route to Europe. The marine contingent in the expeditionary force on that date was 1,002 officers and 31,383 men, making the total European army strength either in France or en route there 2,003,935 officers and men.

In the United States on that date were 1,634,499 army personnel, and in the insular possessions, the Canal Zone, Alaska, &c., 55,735. The total strength of the Siberian expedition on that date was 298 officers and 8,806 men.

A table prepared by the War Department giving these figures follows:

	Officers.	Men.	Total.
Army personnel in Europe	80,842	1,868,474	1,949,316
At sea en route to Europe	1,162	21,072	22,234
Total	82,004	1,889,506	1,971,550
Marines (on duty with army in Europe)	1,002	31,383	32,385
Total, including marines	83,006	1,920,929	2,003,915
Siberian Expedition	298	8,806	9,104
Total A. E. F. in Europe and Siberia	83,304	1,929,735	2,013,039
In United States	104,155	1,530,344	1,634,499
In insular possessions, Alaska, &c.	1,977	53,758	55,735
Grand total in army, excluding marines	188,434	3,482,454	3,670,888
Grand total in army, including marines	189,436	3,513,837	3,703,273

* * *

Socialist Conference at Berne

THE International Labor Congress, failing to find asylum in either Paris or Lausanne, finally convened in Berne, Switzerland, on Feb. 3. Neither the American Federation of Labor nor the Belgian Society of Workers is represented. Mr. Gompers, the head of the first, declined to give his sanction to Federation delegates meeting Germans while this country was still technically at war with them. The Belgian Government acted from similar motives. Frank Bohn, an American, was in attendance. The Executive Committee of the American Socialist Party selected Algernon Lee, a New York Alderman, and James O'Neal, editor of The New York Call, as delegates; they were given passports by

the State Department. It was announced that 125 delegates were in attendance, representing twenty-five nations.

Despite the denials of Arthur Henderson, the British delegate, and notwithstanding the backslidings of the German Socialist Democrats, the idea prevailing at Berne was that the Internationale should supersede individual national allegiance. This fact indicated the difference between the mental attitude of the Berne conference and that of the Labor Commission of the Peace Conference at Paris.

Mr. Henderson opened the Berne Congress and Hjalmar Branting, the Swedish Socialist leader, was elected President. The latter said that while the conference at Paris " represented the ruling classes, he hoped Berne would represent the working classes." The German delegates made several speeches sympathizing with the war sufferings wrought in Belgium and Northern France and partially blaming their own military masters for the war, but they indicated opposition to any punitive demands and refused to acknowledge that their country was responsible for the war.

The French and German delegates to the International Socialist Conference concurred in approving a plebiscite for Alsace-Lorraine to decide whether the inhabitants desired to be under French or German rule.

The International Trade Union Conference adopted a motion insisting on the prompt and definite re-establishment of the international trade union body and calling for the summoning of a new international trade union conference not later than next May. The resolution was adopted by a majority of twenty-three votes, nearly all the delegates to the conference voting.

On motion of Camille Huysmans, a Belgian delegate, a resolution was adopted declaring that as allied prisoners were returned home from the Central Empires, German prisoners also should be returned, independently of legitimate complaints against Germany.

Demands for presentation to the Paris Peace Conference were agreed upon by the International Labor Conference. The demands include the establishment of an eight-hour day, with an uninterrupted rest period of thirty-six hours weekly, insurance against accidents and unemployment, the forbidding of night work in all countries for women workers, and of the employment of children under 15 years of age, and a six-hour day for youths between 15 and 18 years. The conference appointed delegates to present its demands to the Peace Conference.

Chronology of the Armistice Period

Jan. 21 to Feb. 16, 1919

UNITED STATES

The War Revenue bill, estimated to raise $6,000,000,000 during the fiscal year, passed its final stages.

Army discharges in demobilization reached a total of 1,174,545 officers and men on Feb. 14, and the total number assigned for demobilization was 1,501,000. Up to Feb. 11, 305,000 soldiers abroad had embarked for home.

ARMISTICE

General von Winterfeldt resigned as Chairman of the German Armistice Commission.

The Peace Conference on Feb. 13 decided on new armistice terms to be presented to Germany.

PEACE CONFERENCE

The Supreme Council adopted President Wilson's proposal to ask all Russian factions, including the Bolsheviki, to meet the allied and associated Governments at Princes' Islands on Feb. 15. The Soviet Government, and the Governments of Ukraine, Crimea, Esthonia, the Lettish Republic, and Lithuania agreed to participate. William Allen White and George Davis Herron were appointed to represent the United States.

A resolution to create a League of Nations was adopted Jan. 25, and President Wilson was named Chairman of the commission to draft a plan. The completed draft of the constitution was read to the

conference by President Wilson on Feb. 14. The next day the President sailed for America.

RUSSIA AND SIBERIA

Ufa, in the Urals, was captured by the Bolsheviki on Jan. 20, and the Russian and Czechoslovak forces fell back 140 miles to Ziatoust. A severe defeat for the Reds in Northern Russia was reported Jan. 22, and Trotzky gave orders not to defend Zinovieff. American and Russian troops on the Vaga River repulsed fierce attacks.

On Jan. 26 the Reds began an offensive to drive the Allies into the White Sea and capture Shenkursk.

Orenburg was taken by the Bolsheviki on Jan. 25.

Tarasevo was evacuated by the Americans Feb. 1, after a week's fighting, and the entire allied column was forced back forty miles.

The Soviet Government sent a note to the United States Government asking for a conference to discuss the withdrawal of American troops from Russia, Jan. 18.

Ensign Krylenko was arrested when he attempted to enter the anti-Bolshevist army of General Krasnoff for espionage purposes.

General Denikine, General Krasnoff, and General Filimonoff announced their adherence to the Omsk Government.

Sweden expelled the Soviet representatives at Stockholm, Jan. 25.

The Allies agreed on a plan for the control of Siberian railroads.

UKRAINE

Soviet forces occupied Ekaterinoslav Jan. 27, and on Feb. 3 they took Kiev.

The Germans transferred the control of Brest-Litovsk to the Ukrainians.

POLAND

Oderberg was captured by the Czechs from the Poles, Jan. 26.

Premier Paderewski protested to the Czechoslovak Government against the invasion of Silesia by Czechoslovak troops.

President Wilson recognized the Paderewski Government, Jan. 29.

The Peace Conference laid down rules for the temporary administration of the Teschen mining district, for which Poles and Czechs were fighting, and ordered the Poles and Germans to stop military operations against each other in Posen.

JUGOSLAVIA

The United Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was recognized by Secretary Lansing, Feb. 7.

GERMANY

Spartacan revolutionists were ousted from Bremen on Feb. 4, after heavy fighting. Eighty-five persons were killed and several hundred wounded. Majority Socialists established a new Government in the city.

Serious disorders broke out in Magdeburg, the capital of Prussian Saxony, Feb. 6, and the Reds fomented riots at Kiel, Hamburg, Düsseldorf, and other localities. Six persons were killed and fourteen wounded in Spartacan riots in Berlin, Feb. 8.

The National Assembly opened at Weimar, Feb. 6. Friedrich Ebert was elected President of the German State and the new Government established.

IRELAND

Twenty-five members of the Sinn Fein Society elected to the British House of Commons assembled in Dublin, Jan. 21, and formally constituted themselves the Irish Parliament. They adopted a declaration of independence and an address to the free nations of the world and appointed a committee to present the claims of Ireland to self-determination to the Peace Conference.

TURKEY

The Cabinet resigned, Jan. 20, as a result of allied demands that Turkey restore property carried away during the war from occupied territories and cease drastic measures against Greeks and Armenians.

PORTUGAL

A royalist revolt ostensibly in behalf of former King Manuel failed.

LABOR

An International Labor and Socialist Conference convened at Berne, Feb. 3. The American Federation of Labor refused to take part in it.

Serious strikes occurred in Great Britain. The Clyde shipyards, the South Wales coal mines, and the railroads were affected. Practically the entire city of London was tied up.

In the United States the demand for shorter hours led to strikes in the textile mills of New England and New Jersey. A reduction in the wages of copper miners caused serious disturbances in Butte, Mon., and a demand for higher wages by shipbuilders in Seattle resulted in strikes which affected every industry in the city and necessitated the calling out of troops. Philadelphia shipyards were also affected by strikes. The silk workers and textile strikes were adjusted by shorter hours; the Pacific ship workers' strike failed.

TRADE

Great Britain established an embargo against certain imports, to become effective March 1. The fear that it would seriously

affect American industries was voiced in the United States; later it was relaxed in some particulars.

The Allies lifted the embargo on the importation of many commodities to Holland and Scandinavia, and arranged for the return of a large part of the shipping under charter to the United States Shipping Board. The new arrangement provided that all guarantees against reexportation of commodities to enemy countries should continue in effect.

Drastic reduction in shipping rates by Great Britain was followed by similar reductions on the part of the United States Shipping Board.

Solving New Shipping Problems

Germany's Whole Merchant Fleet Used to Carry Returning Soldiers and Food for Europe

A THREE DAYS' conference was held at Treves from Jan. 15 to Jan. 17, 1919, between civilian delegates from America, Great Britain, France, and Italy and Germany to arrange for the transference of the German merchant marine to the Allies. Edward N. Hurley, the head of the United States Shipping Board, was elected Chairman by his allied associates. As a result of the conference and subsequent meetings, it was agreed that America and the Allies were to receive 3,000,000 tons of German shipping then in German ports, the tonnage to be devoted to carrying food to Europe —including Germany—and returning American and Australian soldiers to their home countries. Of the 3,000,000 tons, 2,300,000 were set aside for cargo-carrying purposes and 700,000 for passenger accommodation. All passenger tonnage was ready for use at the time of the agreement. Of the cargo-carrying tonnage to be handed over to the Allies, 1,000,000 tons were ready for immediate use. The German ships allotted to the United States for the return of American troops included the giant Hamburg-American liner Imperator, which is 5,000 tons less than the United States transport Leviathan, formerly the Vaterland. The steamships known to be in German ports at the time included seven large Hamburg-American liners and three belonging to the North German Lloyd Line. In addition there were several large German ships under construction and nearing completion.

Mr. Hurley, returning from Europe on Feb. 11, made the following statement in regard to the tonnage which the conference at Treves decided Germany was to hand over to the Allies:

> From information now at hand it appears that the total available German passenger tonnage suitable for carrying troops is more than 600,000 gross. This estimate does not include the Bismarck of 50,000 tons gross, which is not yet completed, nor the Imperator, sister ship of the U. S. S. Leviathan, which cannot be delivered for several months. Furthermore, this total does not include other large vessels such as the Tirpitz, Hindenburg, and Columbus, concerning which no reports have yet been received.
>
> The estimate is based upon listed tonnage and upon information obtained from German delegates and from a commission of American engineers on board the scout cruiser Chester and the U. S. destroyer Aylwin, both now at Bremen, and who since Feb. 1 have been making a survey of German steamers in German ports. The United States share of this tonnage should run approximately to 300,000 gross of shipping suitable for the return of American troops. This should give the United States an additional troop-carrying capacity of more than 60,000 men per month.
>
> A number of German ships are ready to put to sea at once. It is planned that these shall be manned temporarily by German officers and crews, and shall proceed immediately to British or French ports under the direction of the Naval Armistice Commission. Upon arrival at such British or French ports, German officers and crews will be returned and the ships turned over to the navy to man and operate for account of the War Department. The Navy Department, in anticipation of these new demands, has made preparations and has already assembled a large number of men and officers and is ready to man and officer all German ships as they may be delivered.
>
> A large portion of the German tonnage

which is to be obtained will be ready to put to sea within the first five weeks. The rest will be delivered subsequently at varying dates. As soon as any of the German ships can be made ready they will put to sea immediately, and after being bunkered and provisioned in allied ports will proceed on their first trip across the Atlantic with United States troops.

Today we have 2,072 seagoing vessels of 6,470,396 gross tons under the American flag, as against 1,329 vessels of 6,364,926 gross tons of foreign shipping trading with the United States.

By Feb. 13, about 750,000 tons, deadweight, of German shipping had been named for the use of the Allied Maritime and Transport Council to be used in repatriating troops and carrying food, according to the following official announcement:

The Maritime Transport Council met Feb. 1, Feb. 4, and Feb. 11. Those present were MM. Clementel and Boisson for France, Signor Crespi for Italy, George R. blee for the United States, and J. A. Salter for Great Britain.

Important decisions were made as to the allocation for management and use of Austrian and German tonnage. Passenger vessels will be mainly employed in the repatriation of troops and cargo vessels for the carriage of food to different ports in Europe, including liberated areas and enemy countries. The vessels are to be divided for the purposes of management among the associated Governments.

These arrangements were made on the understanding that the ultimate disposition of the vessels by the terms of peace would in no way be prejudiced and in order to make this a fact they are being administered in the meantime in trust for the associated Governments as a whole. They will fly the flag of the Allied Maritime Transport Service as well as the national flag of the country undertaking their management.

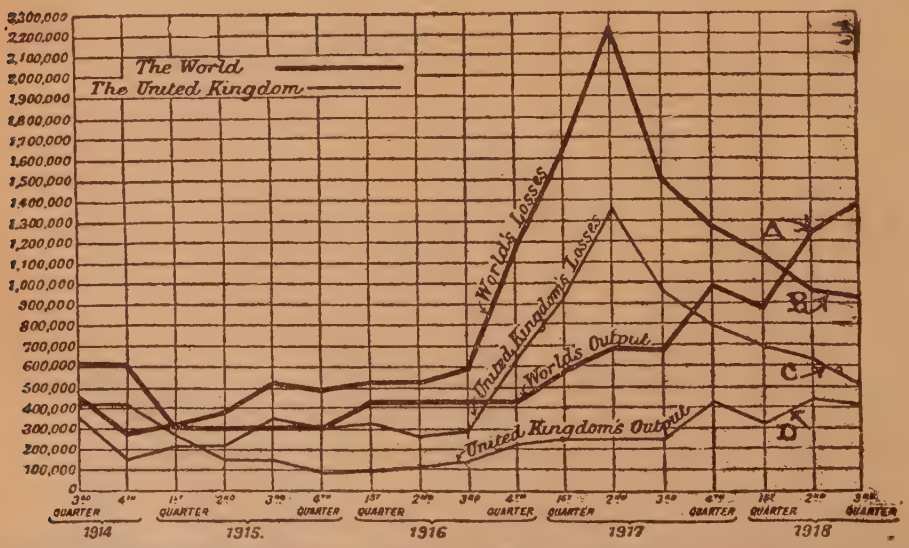
The council appointed delegates to proceed to Spa, together with representatives of the food departments and the naval authorities of the several Governments, to meet the representatives of the German Government Feb. 16 and arrange with regard to the delivery of vessels which the German Government was bound to hand over under the armistice of Jan. 16 and the Treves agreement of Jan. 17.

The preparation of a considerable number of vessels has been proceeding and about 750,000 tons, deadweight tonnage, has been named by the German Government and are now ready to sail. Meantime the associated Governments are making an examination on the spot of other German vessels in German ports.

FOUR YEARS' SHIP LOSSES

Although the United Kingdom was not invaded, Great Britain paid for victory in the loss of more than 9,000,000 tons of shipping, ten times as much as that lost by either France or Italy. The British losses were seventeen times as much as those of the United States.

The British Admiralty at the beginning



MERCHANT TONNAGE LOST DURING THE WAR THROUGH ENEMY ACTION AND MARINE RISKS. THE FIGURES AT THE LEFT REPRESENT GROSS TONNAGE

of 1919 published a statement showing the output and losses of merchant tonnage for the United Kingdom and for the world between August, 1914, and October, 1918. These official figures are shown on the diagram which accompanies this article. For ease of reference the graphs are marked A, B, C, and D, of which A and B show the world's output and losses respectively, while C and D represent the same values for the United Kingdom.

A striking feature of the diagram is the general resemblance of the graphs for the world and the United Kingdom. This is due to the preponderating share of the total world's tonnage and output owned by Britain, which amount before the war was nearly one-half of the total. During the second quarter of 1917, when the U-boat menace was at its height, the world's loss by submarine activity was 2,250,000 gross tons, which is only 500,000 tons less than was built in the world altogether during that year.

Comparing graphs D and A, we see that at the beginning of the war the United Kingdom output was about 420,000 tons per quarter, against the world's output of about 600,000 tons. In other words, the United Kingdom was responsible for about two-thirds of the total shipbuilding of the world. At the close of the war the United Kingdom output was 421,000 gross tons per quarter, (practically the same as at the outbreak of the war,) against the world's output of 1,400,000; thus the United Kingdom is producing now considerably less than one-third of the total, i. e., less than half of its former proportion.

AMERICAN SHIP LOSSES

Fifteen cargo ships, with a deadweight tonnage of 103,692, were lost during 1918 by the Naval Overseas Transportation Service, according to a report made public by the District Supervisor of the Third Naval District. The removal of the ban of secrecy, vital during the war as a shield to these vessels and their crews, disclosed that six ships, aggregating 42,627 tons, were destroyed by enemy activity; five vessels, with a combined tonnage of 44,071, were sunk in collision, and four vessels, totaling 16,994 tons, were destroyed by fire and explosion. Crews of navy cargo ships are said to have endured the greatest hardships of the war. "Not only were these crews confronted with the normal perils of the sea," says the report, "but they faced destruction from torpedo, collision, and other unforeseen accidents that might cause fire in inflammable cargoes." The personnel of the Naval Overseas Transportation Service at the present time includes 5,000 officers and 45,000 enlisted men.

DUTCH VESSELS RETURNED

Because tonnage had steadily increased since the signing of the armistice, the War Trade Board announced on Feb. 2, 1919, that eighty-seven Dutch ships under the control and in the service of the United States would be returned to Holland immediately and unconditionally. The ships were transferred at the conclusion of their current voyages. The War Trade Board issued a statement regarding the circumstances leading to the requisition of Dutch shipping, in which it said:

> In October, 1917, the Holland Government Commission was sent over to this country to negotiate for an economic agreement. Holland agreed to charter the ships to us for a period of ninety days, provided the ships were used only outside the submarine zone. Provision was made in this agreement for a portion of this tonnage to be used in Swiss service and for Belgian relief, and it was agreed that for each ship sent to Holland in the service of Belgian relief a corresponding ship was to leave Holland for our ports. Meanwhile a general agreement in regard to resumption of trade with Holland was under discussion, but was not ratified.
>
> And the provisional agreement of Jan. 25, 1918, was not carried into effect promptly by the Dutch Government. Holland, under pressure from Germany, was prevented from sending back ships to replace those sailing in the service of Belgian relief, as had been specified in the agreement.
>
> On March 20, 1918, the President issued a proclamation authorizing the requisition of all Dutch shipping in our ports. Accordingly, on that day the Dutch ships in our ports were taken possession of by the United States Government, to be operated by the Shipping Board and the Navy Department. There were eighty-seven of

these ships, with an aggregate tonnage of 539,000 tons weight.

The Shipping Board on Feb. 5 also announced its readiness immediately to begin releasing to the Scandinavian Governments the shipping then under charter, or to cancel the contracts and return the vessels direct to their owners. There were under the Shipping Board control eighty-one Danish ships of 373,246 deadweight tons, sixty-one Norwegian ships of 278,495 deadweight tons, forty-six Norwegian sailing ships of 118,427 tons, and thirty-one Swedish steamers of 144,-911 tons.

OCEAN RATES REDUCED

The first steps toward a restoration of normal transoceanic freight rates were taken by Great Britain and the United States in the early weeks of 1919.

The British Ministry of Shipping announced on Jan. 27 that freight rates on vessels free from Government requisition had been reduced 66 2-3 per cent. on shipments from the United States to Great Britain. This applied to all export commodities with the exception of cotton, which usually was classified under a special rating. This ruling also applied to British ships which had from 20 to 30 per cent. of their cargo space available, the rest being under the control of the Ministry of Shipping. This meant that the rate of $3.50 per 100 pounds weight to Europe had been reduced to $1, and by measurement the rate of $1.75 per foot would be 50 cents.

The United States Shipping Board on the same day announced a reduction of about 66 2-3 per cent. in charges between Atlantic and Gulf ports and the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Belgium, and the Netherlands.

To Marseilles, Cette, Genoa, and Naples the new rate was $1.60 per 100 pounds, or 85 cents per cubic foot, against the old rate of $75 per ton, rates based on weight or measurement at ship's option.

The new rate to the United Kingdom was $1 per 100 pounds, or 50 cents a cubic foot, against the old rate of $66 a ton, while the rate to Havre, Bordeaux, Antwerp, and Rotterdam was $1.25 per 100 pounds, or 65 cents per cubic foot, against the old charge of $65 a ton. At the same time the board announced similar rates from Atlantic and Gulf ports to ports in India. On Jan. 31 the United States Shipping Board ordered reductions amounting to about 50 per cent. in the cargo rates from North Atlantic ports to Australia, South Africa, and the Far Eastern ports.

Shipping men expressed the belief that the change would cause a development in the commerce from American ports and tend to hasten the return of the business to normal conditions.

America's Financial Aid to the Allies

By THOMAS W. LAMONT
of J. P. Morgan & Co., New York

[ANNUAL FINANCIAL SUPPLEMENT OF THE LONDON TIMES]

THE financial problems of the different nations of the world have, through the rude workings of the war, become almost inextricably interwoven. The financial situation of no one country can be studied without serious reference to the world credit situation. This statement applies emphatically to the United States, as it never did before the war. Thus it becomes of interest to review briefly America's position in its relation to the rest of the world.

At the close of 1918 there were held by American investors and bankers foreign Government obligations, issued since the war began and as yet unpaid, of approximately $2,100,000,000. The total of such war issues here was, according to our records, made up as follows:

Great Britain $1,308,400,000

France	845,000,000
Russia	160,000,000
Italy	29,000,000
Germany	45,000,000
Switzerland	15,000,000
Greece	7,000,000
Sweden	5,000,000
Norway	8,000,000
China	5,000,000
Canada	370,500,000
Argentina	146,500,000
Chile	6,000,000
Bolivia	3,000,000
Panama	3,000,000
Uruguay	3,000,000
Yucatan	10,000,000
Brazil	5,500,000
Miscellaneous estimates	130,000,000
Total	$3,104,900,000

Of the foregoing issues there have matured and been paid the following:

Great Britain	$456,400,000
France	235,000,000
Russia	35,000,000
Italy	25,000,000
Germany	20,000,000
Switzerland	10,000,000
Norway	3,000,000
Canada	59,400,000
Argentina	73,000,000
Total	$916,800,000

It is probable that in addition to the foregoing Government issues there are in the hands of our bankers and investors, foreign private obligations to the extent of $500,000,000.

Before the war America's investments in foreign Government issues were almost negligible. Her total purchases of Russian and Japanese issues in the Russo-Japanese War were only about $125,000,000, and these issues were almost all resold to England or France. The total American holdings of these issues just mentioned and of Argentines, Mexicans, and Canadians (I am still speaking only of Government, provincial or municipal issues) probably did not exceed, at the beginning of the war, $500,000,000. Hence the purchase of various allied and neutral foreign Government obligations to the extent that I have mentioned—namely, $3,100,000,000 — constituted for Americans a radical and profound departure from their previous ways. I do not have to detail the ways in which this change was brought about. America had been a borrowing, not a lending, nation. It was not an easy task to bring about the change and to effect it as speedily as the pressing financial requirements of the Allies in America made necessary. Every sort of obstacle was placed in the path of those who made themselves responsible in the United States for raising the heavy loans which were necessary to the successful prosecution of the war by Great Britain, France, and their allies. The German propagandist, clever, resourceful, unscrupulous, neither slumbered nor slept. No part of the country was too insignificant for his efforts, no method too unimportant for his hands. But the greatest obstacle of all lay, of course, in the fact that America as a whole, during the early years of the war, did not realize that the fight was one in which America was as vitally interested as any other country and that sooner or later we were bound to get into the fight.

When once America understood the situation and had taken up arms against the Central Powers she left nothing undone in the way of economic and material achievement or of military aid in her anxiety to play her full part in the winning of the war. It may, therefore, be not inappropriate to point out that (up to Dec. 7) in eighteen months, during which there was active American participation in the war, the United States Government had loaned to the Allies a total of $8,220,340,702, made up as follows:

Great Britain	$3,945,000,000
France	2,445,000,000
Italy	1,210,000,000
Russia	325,000,000
Belgium	210,120,000
Greece	39,554,036
Cuba	15,000,000
Serbia	12,000,000
Rumania	6,666,666
Liberia	5,000,000
Czechoslovaks	7,000,000
Total	$8,220,340,702

Secretary McAdoo of the Federal Treasury pointed out toward the end of 1918 that the total of these loans would soon reach $8,500,000,000; and he asked Congress for authority to extend these loans up to a grand total of $10,000,000,000. This figure will give some idea of the prompt and adequate financial aid which America rendered within a year and a half.

Emerging From War Conditions

Progress of the United States Toward the Resumption of Normal Peace Activities

[Period Ended Feb. 15, 1919]

PROBLEMS that sprang out of the sudden cessation of hostilities continued to press for solution in the United States during the first month of 1919. Most of these were concerned with finance and commerce and the demobilization of American forces at home and abroad.

Figures made public by Secretary of War Baker on Feb. 12 revealed that from the signing of the armistice on Nov. 11, 1918, to Feb. 8, 1919, 287,332 American troops in France and Great Britain had embarked for the United States, while up to Feb. 10, 67,454 officers and 1,069,116 men had been demobilized in this country. Total arrivals of overseas troops up to Feb. 7 were 215,749.

Men in France being treated for disease on Feb. 1 totaled 62,561 and those suffering from wounds were 24,484. The aggregate of 87,045 was 4,688 less than in the preceding week and 106,403 less than the number in hospitals overseas on Nov. 14.

Since the ending of hostilities 53,042 sick and wounded had arrived in this country, bringing the total since the beginning of the war to 63,160. On Feb. 1 the occupied beds in hospitals in the United States numbered 60,777, while there were 47,048 beds available for returning cases.

SUMMARY OF FIGHTING FORCES

The Statistics Branch of the General Staff presented on Feb. 5 the following summary of all forces in the United States Army at the time of its greatest strength, Nov. 11, 1918, the figures being corrected up to Jan. 22, 1919.

	Officers.	Men.	Total.
Army personnel in Europe	80,842	1,868,474	1,949,316
At sea, en route to Europe	1,162	21,072	22,234
Total	82,004	1,889,546	1,971,550
Marines (on duty with Army in Europe)	1,002	31,383	32,385
Total, including Marines	83,006	1,920,929	2,003,935
Siberian expedition.	298	8,806	9,104
Total A. E. F. in Europe and Siberia	83,304	1,929,735	2,013,039
In United States	104,155	1,530,344	1,634,499
In insular possessions, Alaska, &c.	1,977	53,758	55,735
Grand total in army, excluding Marines	188,434	3,482,454	3,670,888
Grand total in army, including Marines	189,436	3,513,837	3,703,273

BATTLE DEATH RATE

Statistics prepared by the General Staff and made public by General March on Feb. 15 showed that the battle death rate in the United States Army in France exceeded the disease death rate, something that had never happened in previous wars. The battle death rate for the entire American Army in this war was 20 per thousand per year. In the expeditionary forces it was 57 per thousand per year. The disease death rate was 17 per thousand per year in the expeditionary forces and 16 in the army at home.

Among the American forces, the table showed, the battle death rate was only half that of the British expeditionary forces, which was given as 110 per thousand per year.

General March said that the lower death rate from disease undoubtedly was due largely to the inoculation requirement of the army, and, secondly, to the efficient work of the Medical Corps. But for the influenza epidemic, he said, the disease rate would have been cut in half.

The table of comparative battle and

disease death rates per thousand per year for wars in which the United States has engaged since the war of 1812 follows:

	Battle Death Rate.	Disease Death Rate.
Mexican War	15	110
Civil War (North)	33	65
Spanish War	5	26
Present war (A. E. F.)	57	17

SOLDIERS FROM EACH STATE

A table showing the number of men furnished to the army by each State during the war was also made public at the War Department on Feb. 15. The figures were compiled up to Nov. 11, and the grand total includes the overseas garrisons in Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines and in Alaska, as well as the American Expeditionary Forces and the army at home.

The States furnished the following numbers of soldiers:

New York	367,864	Mississippi	54,295
Pennsylvania	297,891	S. Carolina	53,482
Illinois	251,074	Connecticut	50,069
Ohio	200,293	Nebraska	47,805
Texas	161,065	Maryland	47,054
Michigan	135,485	Washington	45,154
Massachusetts	132,610	Montana	36,293
Missouri	128,544	Colorado	34,393
California	112,514	Florida	33,331
Indiana	106,581	Oregon	30,110
New Jersey	105,207	South Dakota	29,680
Minnesota	99,116	North Dakota	25,803
Iowa	98,781	Maine	24,252
Wisconsin	98,211	Idaho	19,010
Georgia	85,506	Utah	17,361
Oklahoma	80,169	Rhode Island	16,861
Tennessee	75,825	Dist. of Colum.	15,930
Kentucky	75,043	N. Hampshire.	14,374
Alabama	74,678	New Mexico	12,439
Virginia	73,062	Wyoming	11,393
N. Carolina	73,003	Arizona	10,492
Louisiana	65,988	Vermont	9,338
Kansas	63,428	Delaware	7,484
Arkansas	61,027	Nevada	5,105
W. Virginia	55,777		

The total of 3,575,624 included also 16,538 from Porto Rico, 5,644 from Hawaii, 2,102 from Alaska, 255 from the Philippines, 1,318 not allocated, and 1,499 accredited to the American Expeditionary Forces, comprising men who joined the army in Europe.

HEALTH OF THE ARMY

The effect of the influenza epidemic on the health of troops in the United States was shown in the report of the Division of Sanitation of the Surgeon General's Office for the six-month period ending Dec. 27, 1918.

From disease only 32.15 men out of each 1,000 in the service in the United States would have died during 1918 had the death rate of the last six months extended over the entire year. Actually the death rate for the calendar year was 20.09 per 1,000.

Of the 32.15 per 1,000 annual death rate from disease for the six months 30.071 were due to influenzza and pneumonia, leaving 2.081 per 1,000 as the rate for all other diseases. Death due to other diseases than pneumonia during the year ending Aug. 30, 1918, when the total rate was but 6.37 per 1,000, was 2.35 per 1,000. No deaths were reported from influenza in that period. This shows that except for the epidemic influenza-pneumonia, sick and death rates would have remained low.

The United States Department of Labor authorized a statement showing that the intensive campaign of the Naturalization Bureau of the Department of Labor in the army during the war had resulted in making 162,864 new American citizens. This figure covered naturalizations to Jan. 11. This record had been made possible by the relaxation of the rules governing naturalization in the case of men in uniform. It was felt that when a man joined the American forces he thereby had taken out his first papers, so to speak, and all that remained was to complete the formality of inducting him into American citizenship. Examiners and judges had been assigned to the several camps periodically, and the alien soldiers had been naturalized in batches.

FOR A LARGER NAVY

The House of Representatives on Feb. 11 passed the Naval Appropriation bill, which contained the three-year navy construction program proposed by Secretary Daniels and warmly urged by the President in a cable message from France. The program was adopted by a vote of 194 to 142. The bill calls for an appropriation of $600,000,000. A proviso was added deferring the actual construction of the ships until June, 1920,

The United States Shipping Board an-

nounced on Dec. 18, 1918, that henceforth all outgoing vessels, except troop transports, would be manned with merchant sailors. The statement added:

> During the war it was, for military reasons, considered proper that many of the vessels should be under naval regulations, as they were so peculiarly but instruments of our military operations in Europe, and the splendid service rendered by the officers and men of the Naval Reserve Force in this service is fully recognized. There have also been operated through the submarine and mine-infested waters many merchant vessels manned by the usual merchant crews. The board is fully conscious of the great service rendered by these men in a most difficult and dangerous trade, and desires to publicly express its appreciation of the part played by the merchant sailor in winning the war.

The cessation of hostilities saved the nation billions of dollars through the cancellation of contracts and authorizations. In the Deficiency bill reported by the House Committee on Appropriations Jan. 5, contracts for $7,179,156,944 were ordered canceled and authorizations amounting to $8,221,029,294 were withdrawn.

RAILROADS UNDER GOVERNMENT CONTROL

Railroads in 1918 under Government control and unusual war conditions earned about $713,000,000, or $250,000,000 less than in 1917, $370,000,000 less than in the record year of 1916, and about the same as in 1915.

This became apparent Jan. 29 on the basis of definite reports to the Interstate Commerce Commission of earnings of 195 principal railroads—those having annual operating revenues of more than $1,000,000—for eleven months and unofficial calculation of December earnings, which Railroad Administration reports indicated would be considerably smaller though subject to slight revision, the figures afforded the first public view of the results of railway operations last year, so far as earnings are concerned.

Receipts from freight, passenger, express, and other transportation during the year amounted to approximately $4,873,000,000, or $832,000,000 more than in the previous year. Operating expenses jumped to about $3,971,000,000, or about $1,119,000,000 more than in the preceding year.

EMPLOYMENT OF SOLDIERS

Too sudden a glut in the labor market owing to demoblization of soldiers who had no employment in sight was provided against by an order issued by Secretary Baker on Jan. 24. The order follows:

> All commanding officers will take steps to insure that every enlisted man in their command understands thoroughly that the War Department does not desire to discharge any soldier who cannot secure civil employment. It will be made clear to every soldier that where he would normally be discharged under orders for demobilization, he may remain temporarily in the military rervice at his own written request until such time as he can secure employment. The fact that he requests to remain in the army temporarily does not in any way operate to compel him to remain in the army for a long period of time against his will. Any man who would normally have been discharged if he had not expressed his desire in writing to remain in the service, may thereafter be discharged from the service at his own request whenever he thinks he may secure employment. All such men as are retained temporarily under the above authority will be attached to the most convenient unit and where their services will be most useful.

THE PROHIBITION AMENDMENT

The ratification by three-fourths of the States of the "Bone-Dry" amendment to the Constitution was followed by the formal proclamation by Acting Secretary of State Polk that the amendment had become part of the Constitution. The text of the proclamation is herewith given:

> To All to Whom These Presents Shall Come, Greeting:
>
> Know ye that the Congress of the United States, at the second session, Sixty-fifth Congress, begun at Washington on the third day of December, in the year one thousand nine hundred and seventeen, passed a resolution in the words and figures following, to wit:
>
> JOINT RESOLUTION
>
> Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States
>
> Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, two-thirds of each house concurring therein,

That the following amendment to the Constitution be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid as a part of the Constitution when ratified by the Legislatures of the several States as provided by the Constitution;

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

And, further, that it appears from official documents on file in this department that the amendment to the Constitution of the United States proposed as aforesaid has been ratified by the Legislatures of the States of Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, South Carolina, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

And, further, that the States whose Legislatures have so ratified the said proposed amendment constitute three-fourths of the whole number of States in the United States.

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State of the United States, by virtue and in pursuance of Section 205 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, do hereby certify that the amendment aforesaid has become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this 29th day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and nineteen.

(Signed) FRANK L. POLK,
Acting Secretary of State.

The Food Administration announced Jan. 28 that President Wilson signed a proclamation in Paris on Jan. 23 removing restrictions on the manufacture of so-called near beers. No reference was made to the restrictions on the manufacture of beer or other intoxicating brewed beverages. Under Presidential proclamation the brewing of beer, near beer, and other malt beverages had been stopped on Dec. 1, as a wartime conservation measure.

THE FOOD SITUATION

Congress appropriated $100,000,000 for the relief of food suffering in Europe in the latter part of January. On Feb. 2 Herbert Hoover, Director General of Food Relief, issued a statement regarding the foreign food situation which derived importance from his profound study of the subject:

It is little realized in the United States how fully and completely the daily wireless carried the progress of this measure to those peoples now liberated from the German yoke. Immediately after the bill was passed the news appeared in the headlines of newspapers in Bucharest, Sofia, and Helsingfors, and it was known in Warsaw, Lodz, Prague, and Fiume, where thousands of persons have been looking anxiously toward the United States for leadership in the solution of their most imminent danger. * * *

The usual tangible relief to the newly liberated peoples will not be delayed even by the period required to ship foodstuffs from the United States under this appropriation because the War, Navy, and Treasury Department and the United States Food Administration already have 100 ships in European ports or headed toward Europe in addition to our re-established relief in Belgium and Northern France, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia under the old war legislation. The new appropriation by Congress enables us to extend this work by giving credits to those countries for which there was no such legislation.

We have at sea or discharging in the port of Trieste 70,000 tons of food for the Jugoslavs, Serbians, and Czechoslovaks. We have 30,000 tons of food either arrived at or in progress to the Black Sea for Rumania. The Armenian Relief Committee has 7,000 tons on the way to Armenia and Syria as a gift, and we are placing 10,000 tons in Constantinople as a reserve for them. We have 40,000 tons in Poland, on the way or being transshipped from Rotterdam for the Poles, and 20,000 tons in Rotterdam awaiting reshipment to the Finns and other liberated populations in Russia. The Polish Relief Committee is sending a gift of 7,000 tons to the Poles.

Since the armistice the British authorities have distributed about 10,000 tons of food to the Serbians, the Italian authorities some 10,000 tons to the Austrians, and the British authorities have in progress some 12,000 or 15,000 tons of food to the Rumanians. We have since the armistice delivered into Rotterdam 300,000 tons of food for the Belgians and the liberated French, with the support of our Treasury and Belgium and France.

Had this new appropriation been refused we should have sold out these parcels of food to those who could pay real money and would have been compelled to allow the others to starve. In this same confidence that we would be supported by Congress, we have secured a detail of more than 250 men from the American Army and the American Navy for the work of the Food Administration. These men are now actively establishing the administration necessary to secure proper distribution in all of these territories. Our offices have been opened in virtually every capital among the distressed peoples, and with the passage of this act of Congress we are able to do business.

The Allied Supreme Council of Supply and Relief has been organized and equipped with a staff of officials representing the allied and associated Powers in order that we may secure co-ordination and unity of effort from all the Governments who have stood together to secure the freedom of these peoples and who now stand together to see that their distress is ameliorated.

THE ARMY OF OCCUPATION

The task of supplying the eight divisions of the Third American Army at Coblenz with Browning machine guns and automatic rifles was begun in January. The Brownings are to replace the machine guns and automatic rifles with which all the members of the American Expeditionary Forces have been armed. For the army of occupation, approximately 158 cars will be required to transport the weapons from France to the occupied territory. Each division is to have 768 automatic rifles and 224 machine guns.

It was announced that Rotterdam and Antwerp would be used as base ports for the American Army of Occupation. Deep-draft barges seized by the French and Belgians in the German retreats would plow the Rhine, superseding the Bordeaux route to the front by rail. Warehouses were to be erected at Rotterdam and Antwerp, and the ships would be unloaded and reloaded upon barges by Dutch and Belgian civilians. The establishment of the new route released between 1,500 and 2,000 freight cars for the French railroads. It made New York the railhead for the American Army of Occupation. Rations and supplies for the troops leave New York direct for Coblenz. Colonel John S. Sewell was placed in command of the new bases. He is assisted by Colonels Charles C. Zollers, Paul J. Ramsey, and Edward B. Cushing.

TIGHTENING THE REGULATIONS

While no serious disturbances were reported from the Coblenz district, an increase in minor infractions of rules laid down for the civil population made it necessary for the military authorities to adopt stricter methods than they had previously found necessary. Violation of the regulations against fraternizing was visited with prompt punishment, and the number of the sentences against other offenders showed a marked increase.

The Coblenz Gazette featured a compulsory advertisement, by order of the Burgomaster, citing sixty-six Teuton offenders in Coblenz and its suburbs against American military law. These cases were brought in January before an inferior Provost Court. Details of the nature of the offenses and of the penalties inflicted furnished interesting statistics of criminology under American occupation.

The most common offense involved buying, receiving, trafficking in or stealing food or other property of the American Army. There were thirty-two convictions under these charges. Numerically second were charges of selling hard liquor to American soldiers. Thirteen Germans got fines or jail sentences for this conduct. Seven were convicted of selling alcoholic drinks, other than light wines or beer, to German civilians, and five for selling wines or beer out of legal hours.

Penalties for the sixty-six cases amounted in fines to $2,300 and in imprisonment to seven years and five months. Fines ranged from $25 to $250, and jail sentences from 15 days to 190.

Heroism on Torpedoed Transports

Official Stories of the Sinking of the Antilles, President Lincoln, and Covington by Submarines

THE German determination to hinder the successful transportation of American troops to the European battlefields took concrete form in submarine attacks on the first convoy, sailing under the escort commanded by Vice Admiral Gleaves in June, 1917. In his report on the work of the force under Vice Admiral Gleaves, Secretary of the Navy Daniels said, "Convoy duty has not been spectacular, but it has demanded endurance, constant vigilance, and devotion to duty of the highest order under circumstances of the most trying and arduous nature."

The American Navy, realizing all potential dangers, took every imaginable precaution. It was due in a considerable measure to the constant vigil of Britain's Navy in the North Sea that America was able to maintain always a high record of achievement in ferrying troops to France. But Germany's underwater navy was not blockaded, and it is a noteworthy fact that in no Europe-bound American naval troop convoy did a German torpedo ever find its target. Only on homeward trips, when our transports carried comparatively few men, and when escort protection was sometimes not as complete as on the more vital voyage to Europe, were the Germans successful in sinking any of our vessels.

SINKING OF THE ANTILLES

On Oct. 17, 1917, the Antilles was torpedoed and sunk on her homeward journey. This was the first American transport to fall a victim to a German submarine. The report of Commander Daniel T. Ghent on the event is given in part:

"We lost the Antilles two days out from Quiberon Bay, France. She sank in four and one-half minutes. Four of the guns' crew went down with her; sixteen soldiers; forty-five of the merchant crew; a civilian ambulance driver, and a colored stevedore—sixty-seven in all.

"We left Oct. 15 for America with the transports Henderson and Willehad in the convoy, and the Corsair, Kanawha, and Alcedo as escort. All zigzagged, as we knew the waters to be infested with submarines. The second day we were forced to reduce our speed to permit the Willehad, which had been feeling the heavy seas, to regain formation.

"Passing through submarine zones every one is on edge, and when fire was discovered early the following morning on the promenade deck, every one was stimulated to swift action. The fire was soon under control.

"A half hour later, just before daylight, a torpedo was sighted heading for us two points abaft the port beam. It was at least 400 feet distant when sighted. The helm was put hard over to dodge, but the torpedo hit near the after engine room bulkhead on the port side. The explosion was terrific; the ship shivered from stem to stern, listing immediately to port. A lookout on the main top was thrown clear of his five-foot canvas screen and killed. Guns were manned instantly, but no submarine was seen.

"The engine room filled with ammonia fumes from the ice machine and dynamo and it was believed every one on duty in the engine room was instantly killed or disabled except one oiler. Within a few seconds after the explosion the water was over the crossheads of the main engines, which were still turning over slowly. Of the twenty-one on duty in the engine and fire rooms only three escaped. Two firemen got through a ventilator safely.

"That only four boats out of ten succeeded in getting clear was due to several causes—the short time the ship remained afloat, the headway left on the ship due to the fact the engine room per-

sonnel was put out of action, rough seas, listing of the ship, and destruction of one boat by the explosion.

"Behavior of the men was equal to the best traditions of the service. The two forward gun crews remained at their stations while the ship went down and made no move to save themselves until ordered to leave their stations. Radio Electrician Ausburne went down with the ship while at his station in the radio room.

"Ausburne and McMahon were asleep in adjacent bunks opposite the radio room. Realizing the seriousness of the situation, Ausburne told McMahon to get his life-preserver on, saying, as he left to take his station at the radio key, 'Good-bye, Mac.' McMahon, later, finding the radio room locked and seeing the ship was sinking, tried to get Ausburne out, but failed.

"The Henderson made a thick screen of smoke which completely hid her from view as soon as she saw what had happened. The Willehad made off at her best speed. The Corsair and Alcedo circled for two hours, when the Alcedo began the rescue of survivors and the Corsair continued to look for the submarine. The Antilles had 234 on board. Too much credit cannot be given to the officers and men of the Corsair and Alcedo for their work, whole-heartedness and generosity. The work of their medical officer was of the highest.

"An instance comes back to me of the coolness of the guns' crews. One member was rescued from the top of an ammunition box which by some means had floated clear and in an upright position. He semaphored the Corsair not to come too close, when he saw her approaching to pick him up, as the box contained live ammunition."

AMERICAN NAVAL VESSELS SUNK BY THE ENEMY

These tables, from the report of Secretary Daniels to President Wilson, show the number of American vessels sunk by the enemy, their tonnage and the number of lives lost:

NAVAL VESSELS.

From April 6, 1917, to Nov. 11, 1918:

	No. of Vessels.	Tonnage.	Lives Lost.
By submarines	14	103,583	677
By mines	5	45,356	54
By collision	15	30,794	65
Miscellaneous	14	31,128	346
Total	48	210,861	1,142

MERCHANT VESSELS.

From August, 1914, to April 6, 1917:

By submarines	15	53,671	63
By mines	5	10,770	4
By German cruiser Eitel Friedrich	1	3,374	0
Total	21	67,815	67

From April 6, 1917, to Nov. 11, 1918:

By submarines	124	244,385	342
By raiders	6	4,388	0
Total	130	248,773	342
Total number of merchant vessels	151	315,588	409
Total number naval vessels	48	210,861	1,144
Grand total	199	526,449	1,553

TROOPSHIPS.

The Antilles, President Lincoln and Covington were the only actual troopships lost in the war by the cruiser and transport force. The Westbridge, a cargo carrier, reached a French port. The Mount Vernon also got to port. The armored cruiser San Diego was destroyed by a mine laid by a submarine off the American coast.

Ships.	Date.	Gross Tons.	Lives Lost.
*Antilles,	Oct. 17, 1917	6,878	67
*Pres. Lincoln,	May 31, 1918	18,167	26
*Covington,	July 1, 1918	16,339	6
*Westbridge,	Aug. 15, 1918	5,660	4
*Mount Vernon,	Sept. 5, 1918	18,372	36
†Saetia,	Nov. 9, 1918	2,873	0
‡Herman Frasch,	Oct. 4, 1918	3,803	16
§Ophir,	Nov. 11, 1918	7,089	0

*Torpedoed. †Mined. ‡Army transport; collision. §Internal explosion.

THE PRESIDENT LINCOLN

For several months the Germans found themselves balked by the successful manoeuvering of the American naval ship commanders. The next ship that fell a prey to their underseas campaign was the President Lincoln. The story was told in the following words by Commander P. W. Foote, U. S. N.:

"On May 31, 1918, the President Lincoln was returning to America from a voyage to France and was in line formation with the U. S. S. Susquehanna, the

U. S. S. Antigone, and the U. S. S. Ryndam. The weather was pleasant, the sun shining brightly, the sea choppy.

"The ships were about 500 miles from the coast of France and had passed through what was considered to be the most dangerous part of the war zone. At about 9 A. M. a terrific explosion occurred on the port side, 120 feet from the bow, and immediately afterward an explosion occurred on the port side, 120 feet from the stern, these explosions coming from torpedoes fired from a German submarine.

"It was found that the ship was struck by three torpedoes, which had been fired as one salvo from the submarine, two striking practically together near the bow of the ship and the third near the stern.

COURAGE OF GUNNERS

"There were 715 persons on board, including about thirty officers and men of the army. Some of these were sick and two soldiers were totally paralyzed. The alarm was immediately sounded and every one went to his proper station, which had been designated at previous drills; there was not the slightest confusion, and the crew and passengers waited for and acted on orders from the commanding officer with a coolness which was truly inspiring.

"The ship was rapidly filling with water. There was little likelihood that she would remain afloat. Boats were lowered and the liferafts were placed in the water, and about fifteen minutes after the ship was struck all hands except the guns' crews were ordered to abandon ship.

"The guns' crews were held at their stations for an opportunity to fire on the submarine should it appear before the ship sank. Orders were given to the guns' crews to begin firing, hoping that this might prevent further attack. When the guns' crews began firing, the people in the boats set up a cheer to show they were not downhearted. The guns' crews left their guns when ordered by the commanding officer just before the ship sank. The guns in the bow kept up firing until after the water was entirely over the main deck of the after-half of the ship.

"The state of discipline and the coolness of the men is well illustrated by what occurred when the boats were being lowered and were about half way from their davits to the water. At this time there appeared some possibility of the ship not sinking immediately, and the commanding officer gave the order to stop lowering boats. The crews held them in midair for a few minutes until, at a further order, the boats were dropped into the water.

"Immediately after the ship sank the boats pulled among the rafts and were loaded with men to their full capacity and the work of collecting the rafts and tying them together to prevent drifting apart and being lost was begun.

"While the work was under way and about half an hour after the ship sank a large German submarine emerged and came among the boats and rafts, searching for the commanding officer and some of the senior officers whom they desired to take prisoners. The submarine commander was able to identify only one officer, Lieutenant E. V. M. Isaacs, whom he took on board.

"By dark the boats and rafts had been collected, there being about 500 men in the boats and about 200 on the rafts. Lighted lanterns were hoisted in the boats and flare-up lights and Coston signal lights were burned every few minutes during the night.

"At 11 P. M. a white light was sighted, and very shortly it was found that the destroyer Warrington had arrived, and about an hour afterward the destroyer Smith also arrived. The transfer of the men to the destroyers was effected and the destroyers remained in the vicinity until after daylight the following morning, when a further search was made for survivors, but none was found. At 6 A. M. the return trip to France had begun.

TWENTY-SIX LOST

"Of the 715 men on board it was found after the muster that three officers and twenty-three men were lost with the ship, and that one officer,

Lieutenant Isaacs, had been taken prisoner. The loss of the officers was peculiarly regrettable, as they could have escaped. Both Dr. Whiteside and Paymaster Mowat had seen the men under their charge leave the ship, the doctor having attended to placing the sick in the boat provided for the purpose, and they then remained in the ship for some unexplainable reason, as testified by witnesses who last saw them, and apparently these two excellent officers were taken down with the ship. Paymaster Johnston got on a raft alongside the ship, but in some way was caught by the ship as she went under.

"Although the German submarine commander made no offers of assistance, otherwise his conduct was all that could be expected. We naturally had some apprehension as to whether or not he would open fire on the boats and rafts in an attempt to make me and other officers disclose our identity. I noticed some one on the submarine walk to the muzzle of a gun, apparently with the intention of preparing it for action. One of the men in my boat remarked, 'Good night, here come the fireworks.' The spirit which actuated this remark could be none other than that of cool courage and bravery.

"The conduct of the men was inspiring in this period of grave personal peril. Many had been in the navy only a brief period. They displayed the innate courage of the traditional American seaman."

THE COVINGTON SUNK

The Covington, formerly the Hamburg-American liner Cincinnati, was commissioned as a naval transport in July, 1917, and began her first trip with troops in the middle of October. When torpodoed, on July 1, 1918, she was making her sixth trip to France, after having carried 27,000 men across. In reporting the sinking of the Covington, Captain R. D. Hasbrouck said:

"At night on July 1 the lookout on the Covington, which had sailed from Brest with several other transports escorted by destroyers, saw a streak of white 300 yards from the port quarter. The torpedo struck with a terrific detonation, throwing a column of water above the stacks. In an incredibly short time the crew were at their stations awaiting orders from the bridge.

"Engine and fire rooms filled quickly. In fifteen minutes the ship lay dead in the water and listed to port. 'Abandon ship' was bugled. The behavior of officers and men was wonderful.

"Twenty-one of the twenty-seven lifeboats were lowered without lights to guide, with the ship listing badly and without the aid of a single winch, for steam had failed. It was a stirring sight to see the men go down the ladders as though in drill. The destroyer Smith took the men aboard.

"A working party of thirty officers and men remained on the Covington, collecting records, charts, sextants, &c. At 4 A. M. a salvage party from the Smith boarded the Covington. The Smith headed for Brest full speed at 5:20 A. M. Two British tugs and an American tug came up. By 6 o'clock the tugs had the Covington in tow, making five knots. Two more destroyers, in addition to the Reade, which had been standing by, joined shortly after. At 2:10 the salvage party was taken off; at 2:30 the Covington began to sink rapidly by the stern."

Our final transport calamity occurred Sept. 5, 1918, when the Mount Vernon was torpedoed 250 miles off the French coast while returning to America. Thirty-six lives were lost. The vessel, however, was not lost, for through the ingenuity of her officers and men it was enabled to return to a French port despite a big gap in the hull. In the following extract from the letter sent to the commander, Captain D. E. Dismukes, when the Mount Vernon reached Brest in safety, Brig. Gen. George H. Harries expressed his recognition of the achievement:

"Sorrow, mingled with pride, for those who died so nobly. Congratulations on the seamanship, discipline, and courage. It was a great feat you accomplished. The best traditions of the navy have been lifted to a higher plane. What a fine thing it is to be an American these days! The olive drab salutes the blue."

Story of the First American Regulars

Typical Deeds of the Division That Landed First in France and Lost 23,974 Men in Battle

By MAJOR GEN. A. W. GREELY
[UNITED STATES ARMY, RETIRED]

THERE is no division of the American Expeditionary Forces that failed to display in the face of the enemy the qualities of courage, discipline, and efficiency which are acknowledged attributes of the American Army. It is natural and commendable that war correspondents and local newspapers should proudly acclaim the achievements of the military organizations identified with their own communities. It should be borne in mind, however, that certain organizations are entitled to general recognition for their soldierly merits, as they present to the world by the men of their ranks a thoroughly homogeneous army, gathered from all sections and all races of our composite nation. These troops are of the so-called Regular Army, whose ranks are now filled almost to a man by volunteers for service only in the great war. It is not generally known that the war casualties of these organizations—battle and disease—have depleted their ranks from 25 to 100 per cent. of their original personnel. These vast gaps have been filled by drafts from the replacement divisions of selected men, thus making the regulars truly national organizations.

That the public may appreciate the fibre and mettle of these representative troops, formed by such a national consolidation, it appears desirable that the achievements of a typical regular division should be briefly if somewhat inadequately described.

For this purpose the 1st Division is selected, not that its bravery is superior, its discipline better, or its morale higher than mark the others, but because it was the first division to reach France, first to serve in trench warfare, first to fire a hostile shell, first to lose a man, first to capture a prisoner, first to repel a German raid, first to man an independent sector, and first to recapture a town (Cantigny) and hold it against all counterattacks.

THE OFFICERS IN COMMAND

Sailing from Hoboken on June 14, 1917, the 1st Division reached St. Nazaire, at the mouth of the Loire, on the 24th of that month. The division, 27,000 strong, was trained by General W. L. Sibert of Alabama, but went into actual war service under General Robert Lee Bullard, also of Alabama, with Colonel Campbell King of Georgia as Chief of Staff. The 1st Brigade, 16th and 18th Regular Infantry, was commanded by General John L. Hines of West Virginia, and the 2d Brigade by General Beaumont B. Buck of Texas. The artillery brigade, the 5th, 6th, and 7th Regiments of Field Artillery, was finally put under Colonel W. A. Holbrook of Wisconsin. In addition there were the 1st Regiment of Engineers, the 1st, 2d, and 3d Machine Gun Battalions, a headquarters troop of cavalry, Signal Corps, field battalions, and medical units.

Unskilled in methods of modern war and unprovided with field artillery, the division was scattered to suitable camps where they were intensively instructed by experienced officers from the French Army. That such training involved physical hardships, uncomplainingly endured, is evident from Major Palmer's statement that some of the men, in want of new shoes, drilled with their feet wrapped in sacking. The field artillery had to unlearn their own drill and acquire expert skill with the remarkable but novel French gun, the famous soixante quinze, 75mm. A French officer commented on the high intelligence and extraordinary aptitude of his artillery pupils.

Three months later, with coming Win-

ter and almost continuous rains, the division was inducted into trench warfare, serving under French command, a short distance southeast of Nancy. The usual horrors of trench life were experienced, though their vitality and methods prevented any material increase in the sick. Here the first hostile shell was fired by Battery C, 6th Field Artillery, on Oct. 23, 1917. The Germans on Nov. 3 by a barrage cut off the advanced outpost and captured eleven prisoners. The command, rallying, repelled the enemy. Trench service, rendered by battalion detail for ten days each, was marked by 56 casualties—3 killed, *43 wounded, and 11 captured. One German prisoner was taken. The casualties herein given include killed, wounded, gassed, missing, and prisoners, but not by disease, accidents, &c.

The trench apprenticeship was followed by independent service Jan. 15-April 3, 1918, about twelve miles northwest of Toul, in a sector near St. Mihiel. Here the 1st Division relieved the famous Moroccan Division, co-operating with the 69th French. The Toul service entailed constant losses with small chance of reprisal. The front was dominated by the St. Mihiel hills, of which Mont Sec was the key, strongly held by German batteries within easy range. Major Palmer tersely describes the situation: "It was like sitting at the foot of the stairs and having the fellow at the top throw rocks at you from behind a curtain." Occasional incursions into No Man's Land were made, whereby eleven prisoners were captured with machine guns and flame throwers. In this quiet sector the 1st Division had 352 casualties—56 killed, 150 wounded, 127 gassed, and 19 missing.

HASTILY SHIFTED TO PICARDY

The vast and dangerous offensive launched by the German command on March 21, 1918, called the division into extremely active service. On March 28 General Pershing offered the American force in its entirety to General Foch, and a week later the 1st made its great journey half across France to Picardy. It was a test of administrative ability, met successfully by Pershing's quartermasters, to move with the essential accompanying paraphernalia 27,000 men, 1,700 animals, and 1,000 wagons. Turning over its sector to the 26th New England Division, the 1st made this transfer of more than 300 miles, and was in Picardy, near Beauvais, on April 18.

How it was done no one knows, for the railroads were swamped with ammunition, reinforcements, supplies, &c., for 3,000,000 men, while the roads—in awful condition—were jammed with ambulances, motors, fugitives, and troops. It was nearly confusion confounded between withdrawals before the enemy, the evacuation of the occupied provinces, and transfers of troops to meet exigencies. But the 1st got there, both fit and equipped to fight.

Kept for a time in reserve, the 1st occupied the Cantigny front—April 25-July 7—three miles west of Montdidier, then strongly held by the enemy. The operations of the division in this sector are popularly supposed to have been confined, as far as fighting went, to the capture of Cantigny, which was a mere episode involving only one-fifth of the casualties here suffered. The 1st was put in line opposite the very apex of the most advanced German salient, with orders to hold it at all costs. If the front gave way Amiens, a few miles to the northwest, would fall and its railway system be destroyed. The fatal effect would be the diversion to Southern France of all the supplies needful for the British Army, which was then receiving from the Channel ports everything needful for all forces north of the Somme.

Constant fighting, though on a small scale, continued almost daily until early June. The front had to be kept against preponderating and victorious enemies, who, holding both banks of the Avre, were within easy cannon shot of Amiens. The 1st not only gave no ground in the repeated attacks of the enemy, but it made them pay toll, capturing from its columns sixty prisoners and three machine guns. It paid dear, however, as its casualties—omitting those in the capture of Cantigny—numbered 140 officers and 4,183 men; killed, 199;

*For further details about the first three men killed see page 477.

wounded, 1,621; gassed, 1,999; missing, 49. The few missing show that the men fought to the last.

HOW CANTIGNY WAS TAKEN

The division commander viewed with dissatisfaction the occupation by the enemy of the village of Cantigny. Admirably organized and strongly fortified by the Germans, its high ground dominated both the American front and also sections in the rear. Whenever another advance was made, and it was daily expected, Cantigny was an excellent jumping-off place for a great assault. If it could be captured and held its value for a counteroffensive was strikingly evident. Preparations for its capture were systematically made.

At daybreak on May 28 the division artillery opened a terrific bombardment which drove the enemy to their shelters. At 6:30 A. M. the troops went over the top as the artillery fire pulled back to an initial barrage a hundred yards in advance of the moving line. Colonel Ely, with the 28th Infantry, and Lieut. Col. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., with a battalion of the 26th Infantry, moved forward with clockwork regularity, fifty-five yards a minute. Each man had food for two days, ample water, much ammunition, and intrenching tools. The town was taken within an hour, when began immediately the consolidation so essential, as counterattacks were certain. The engineer detachments wired under fierce fire the trenches occupied, while the men of the Signal Corps spread their cobweb lines to insure telephonic communication with the rear.

To take Cantigny was easy compared with holding it. Six counterattacks were made by the exasperated Germans, without success. Fierce artillery fire soon reduced Cantigny to a mass of formless ruins, but the Americans held fast, repelling the enemy, who ceased their efforts after losing over 1,300 men killed and wounded, besides 225 prisoners. The casualties of the 1st numbered 1,067; killed, 199; wounded, 652; gassed, 200; missing, 16. Heroically fighting after being wounded, Lieut. Col. Maxey, Lieutenant Drum, and Corporal Finnegan were killed.

IMPORTANCE OF CANTIGNY CAPTURE

A small affair, seemingly, Cantigny's capture was a matter of great and international importance. There could not have been a more timely victory, for on that very morning the last German success was attained. Going over the top of the Chemin des Dames, their shock troops drove the allied forces down the Marne to Château-Thierry, and thus placed Paris in imminent danger of capture. At this critical and disheartening period it fell to the lot of the 1st Division of the American Expeditionary Forces to prove to the anxious allied nations that a counteroffensive was possible, and that victory was yet to be gained for the free men of the world.

For a few days a part of the 1st Division turned from scenes of war to parade in Paris on July 4.

Three days later urgent orders put the 1st Division on the march. For four days and nights it went on without any regular rest, now on trucks, now hiking. Of the men's physical condition near the end one of its officers writes: "The dismounted men would fall asleep in the gutter at every halt. The mounted men dozed in their saddles, and the animals could scarcely drag one foot after another. When a chance for food came most men hit the hay, though too tired to sleep." The afternoon found them ten miles in rear of the battle line, which they were ordered to occupy, so as to go over the top at daybreak.

Foch had perfected his plans for a counteroffensive. The march to their assigned positions had to be secretly made over unknown roads, through fields and forest, without a gleam of light, lest the enemy note the movement. To add to the troubles, a thunderstorm soaked their clothing and made the shell-ruined roads veritable quagmires. In utter darkness thousands of men, hundreds of horses and motor trucks jammed the road in almost inextricable masses. It was feared that some units could not reach the line in time to go over the top, fixed at 4:35 A. M. One unit barely reached the front at 4:30 and went over almost exhausted.

It was known that the fighting would be desperate, as it involved attacks on fortified heights held by an enemy flushed with victory and confident of continued success. Hundreds of camouflaged nests of machine guns, heavy batteries in positions of natural strength, caused the enemy to believe their terrain impregnable. It rested on the courage and persistence of the American soldier to prove this a fallacy.

IN FOCH'S GREAT OFFENSIVE

The division entered the counteroffensive under its new commander, General Charles P. Summerall of Florida, distinguished as one of the captors of Peking in 1900. It was sandwiched between the 153d French on the left and the veteran Moroccan division on its right with the Foreign Legion.

At 4:35 A. M. the 1st went over the top in extended order of five paces' interval. The artillery, hitherto silent, started a rolling barrage, which, systematically lifted a hundred yards a minute, drove the enemy to their shelters. Advancing as planned, and leaving small parties from time to time to clean up the snipers and machine guns, the main body attained its first objective and halted twenty minutes as allotted. Night found them at the third objective, about three miles advance, having smashed through the wire barricades and fortifications constructed the previous six weeks. Scarcely a thousand casualties, and more than that number of prisoners, with many guns, were the record of the day. The 6th German, 11th and 42d Bavarian Divisions were that night reinforced by the 34th and 28th Divisions, presaging warm work for the morrow.

On July 20 still another German division, the 46th, confronted the 1st. As it had outrun the 153d French in advance, the 1st Division was asked to take the village of Berzy-le-Sec, which had been assigned as a French objective. This village was a fortified place, which dominated the Soissons-Ouchy-le-Château railway, and its capture meant the loss to the Germans of the entire salient. It involved desperate work, and that day failed. The fighting was intense, often at close quarters, when grenades, bayonets, knives, and even clubbed rifles were used. To and fro swayed the struggling masses, with slight and dearly gained advances by our men. The American casualties had now run up to 3,000, about the number of prisoners captured by them. With nightfall Berzy was still uncaptured, and the Moroccan division was relieved, which was also the orders of the 1st. Summerall, however, told the corps commander that he had promised his men that they should go on, and was unwilling to leave victory half gained.

VICTORY ON SOISSONS HIGHWAY

The losses of the 2d Brigade had been enormous among its officers, as nearly all had been killed or wounded. However, on the morning of the 21st General Buck paraded his exhausted and decimated command, and, walking down its front under heavy fire, led them in assault. They swept into Berzy-le-Sec, capturing its men, batteries, and machine guns, and winning the most important objective. Meantime the 1st Brigade had overrun the Soissons-Château-Thierry highway, leaving no hope to the demoralized enemy. Victory then and for the future was assured.

The perfidy and the contemptible methods of the Germans appear from a report by an officer of the division. The moans of a wounded German attracted the attention of an officer in the advance, and in response to his pitiful appeals first-aid treatment was given. The officer went on to join his command, and a few hundred yards further a companion officer called out that he had been shot from the rear. It developed that the German, refreshed by first-aid treatment, had crawled up to the shell-hole, and, resting his machine gun on the edge, opened fire on our troops. Just punishment of the treacherous soldier was rendered needless. A German shell exploded and killed him.

One prisoner was brought in with his high leather boots full of grenades and his right arm adorned with a Red Cross badge.

The captures included 125 officers, 3,375 men, 75 guns, (77mm. and 150mm.,) 50 mortars, 300 machine guns, 2,500 rifles, with much ammunition and sup-

plies. The price paid was the heaviest to date of any division, 7,840 in all—killed, 1,252; wounded, 4,771; gassed, 274, and missing, 1,543. One officer to every sixteen men was killed—an extraordinary proportion.

Many officers and men were cited by division orders, and to other Distinguished Service Crosses were issued by order of President Wilson.

This victory of the 1st against six German divisions was naturally followed by recognition. Buck and Hines became Major Generals and Holbrook a Brigadier. The Chief of Staff, Campbell King, was made Brigadier and succeeded by Colonel John N. Greely, General Staff, who, cited "for distinguished ability while performing duties of grave responsibility," served in that position until the armistice was signed.

ST. MIHIEL BATTLE

Quiet service for assimilation of about 8,000 replacements was had in the Saizera sector during August, the casualties numbering only twenty-one. The St. Mihiel operation, Sept. 12-15, was not entirely the picnic that has been sometimes assumed. Familiar with this terrain from their earliest service, the 1st Division had an important share in the capture of the salient. Against resistance they advanced eight miles in nineteen hours, and their reconnoitring party twelve miles. Their casualties were 11 officers and 761 men. They captured 5 officers, 1,190 men, 30 77mm. and 150mm. guns, and much war material.

Moved up by easy stages, the 1st Division took station at Cheppy, awaiting its fiercest fighting between the Argonne Forest and the Meuse River. A serious emergency arose, and its orders came. Entering this sector, it fought continually from Oct. 1 to Oct. 12, under conditions of indescribable difficulties, over a terrain capable of easy defense and against the best German divisions, who knew that defeat there meant the absolute loss of the war. The situation is best set forth by General Pershing in General Order 201, the only order devoted during the war to a single command. It begins:

> The Commander in Chief desires to make of record * * * his extreme satisfaction with the conduct of the officers and soldiers of the 1st Division in its advance west of the Meuse between Oct. 4 and 11, 1918.

The 1st Division paid a fearful price for its Argonne victory, the casualties numbering 8,554, of whom 117 were officers. Killed, 851; wounded severely, 2,664; wounded slightly, 1,710; gassed, 1,614; missing, (mostly dead, it is thought,) 1,715. One of every three!

Ordinarily this would have been the end of a division for months, but the 1st answered promptly for an emergency in the operations against Nouzon and Sedan, (Nov. 3-8,) where it sustained losses of 1,087 and captured fifty-four men, guns, &c.

Summarized, its war casualties, killed, wounded, gassed, and missing, aggregated 23,974, of whom 715 were officers. Its losses by disease are unknown, but the total replacements slightly exceed 30,000.

The armistice signed, the 1st Division left Abincourt, near Verdun, six days later, and by a march of more than 200 miles occupied the Coblenz bridgehead on Dec. 24. It was the first American force to cross the Rhine.

French Monument to Americans

In Honor of the First Soldiers Who Died Under Our Flag in France

AN imposing ceremony took place at Nancy, in Eastern France, Nov. 3, 1918, when the French people, with the aid of the American Ambassador, William G. Sharp, dedicated a monument erected to the memory of the first three American soldiers who had died in battle under the Stars and Stripes in France. [See CURRENT HISTORY, December, 1917, for funeral.] The monument, designed by a Nancy artist, Louis Majorelle, stands at Barthelémont, in the

Department of Meurthe-et-Moselle, but as it was then in the battle zone the dedication exercises were held at Nancy. It consists of a tall column, on one side of which is sculptured the cross of Lorraine, with the inscription, "France-Etats-Unis, 1917—La Lorraine aux Etats-Unis." On the other side are the names of the three Americans: "Corporal J. B. Gresham, Evansville; Private Thomas P. Enright, Pittsburgh; Private Merle Hay, Glidden." Then follows this sentence in French:

> As sons of their great and beautiful nation they fought for right, for liberty, for civilization against German imperialism, the scourge of the human race. They died on the field of honor.

All the chief personalities of the region were present, including M. Mirman, the Prefect of the department, who had originated the idea of this monument. M. Simon, Mayor of Nancy, made a stirring speech, and then M. Mirman recalled the fact that the first American soldiers in France got their training in Lorraine. The chief address of the day was pronounced by Ambassador Sharp, who said:

> The meaning of the final act in this ceremony pertains not alone to the place where it is taking place, rich as this place is in the emotions it arouses, but belongs among the events of worldwide importance. Does it not express a union that is sacred in its nature because of the immortal principles it emphasizes? For the triumph and perpetuity of these principles, millions of the bravest sons of the allied nations have laid down their lives.
>
> As a touching memorial of this greatest of sacrifices, the citizens of your department have today dedicated an artistic monument built of stones from the quarries of the Meuse. On this monument is engraved in imperishable letters the fact that in the soil of Lorraine rest the three first American soldiers killed by the enemy while fighting under the flag of the United States, Nov. 3, 1917, one year ago today. After that comes a declaration of the principles for which they so nobly gave their lives: "Justice, liberty, and civilization against German imperialism, the scourge of the human race."
>
> The inherent virtue and power of these principles have been felt by the civilized nations in a manner that has given the maximum of vigor to their armies. Their moral invincibility has never admitted of doubt regarding the outcome by arms. In truth, from the day when the invader's foot first violated the neutrality of Belgian soil to this propitious moment, when the allied armies are triumphing on every side, the final account to be adjusted in the affirmation of these principles has never varied. It is a matter of effacing autocracy forever and of establishing firmly in its place free and representative governments among men. * * *
>
> In taking leave of the mortal remains of those whose sacrifice has been commemorated here today, what greater homage can we pay to their memory, and what greater honor can we pay to their fathers and mothers in my distant country, than to recognize thus publicly the debt which humanity, freed from the menace of military domination, will always owe to them!

War Work of the Y. M. C. A.

Story of the Association's Services at the Front in Europe and Asia Through Four Years

By FRANK HUNTER POTTER

[Official Recorder of the Organization's Overseas Work.]

WITH the outbreak of the war the Overseas Department of the Young Men's Christian Association began its operations in connection with the combatant nations, both with the Central Powers and with the Allies. The first work undertaken was with the prisoners. The condition of these men, especially with the Central Powers, was deplorable.

Take, for instance, the case of the British civilians interned at the race course of Ruhleben, in the outskirts of Berlin. The men were housed in the stables, six of them to a box stall, where they were bitterly cold in Winter. They

had no means of exercising either their minds or their bodies. The association built a hut for them where they could be warm, and where they could read and write, have cinema shows, plays, and concerts. It provided instruments for a band, and costumes for the plays. To keep the men's minds busy it encouraged classes of all sorts, and enabled them to go on with their education, even in the higher branches, by providing the necessary textbooks. It created a library, got paints, brushes, canvas, and drawing materials for artists, and promoted industrial work by obtaining tools and materials. Last Summer there was held an exhibition of articles made in the camp, and these included leather, silver, and textile goods, wood carving and inlaid work, boats, bookbindings, and all sorts of miscellaneous articles. Also, it helped to keep these men's bodies in condition by providing sporting equipment and encouraging athletic meets.

WORK WITH PRISONERS

Bad as was the situation of the civilians at Ruhleben, we now know that it was heaven as compared to that of the British, French, Serbian, Russian, and other combatant prisoners in the prison camps, in mines, and in working parties. These men were ceaselessly visited, whenever it was permitted, by the Y agents, who did what they could to help them, and by bringing them books and giving them cinema shows with their little portable machines and music with their victrolas, and by arranging religious services for them, by communicating with their relatives, by sending their photographs, and in any way which presented itself, brought a little light into their lives. And it was the only light there was. At the time this country went to war with Germany there were twenty-nine men working in the prison camps there and in Austria and in Bulgaria, and work was just beginning in those in Turkey.

After the United States entered the war the work did not stop. All the Americans but one—who was left in charge in Berlin, by permission of the German authorities—had to be withdrawn, but their places were taken by neutrals—Dutch, Swiss, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian. There was more need for it than ever, for conditions in the camps grew steadily worse, and now it had a more personal interest, for our own boys were beginning to be brought in. It was the Y. M. C. A. Secretary in Berlin who first visited them. It was he who induced the German authorities to concentrate them so far as could be done in a single camp, and it was he who, when he found them living in unhealthy dugouts at that camp—Tuchel—got them removed to a healthier one at Rastatt. He built a hut for them, provided them with all those articles which prisoners so greatly needed—victrolas and cinemas, books, papers, sporting goods—which helped to make their lives endurable, and he got through for them their first parcels of food.

The fate of the Italian, Russian, and Serbian prisoners was hardest of all. The prisoners' rations were barely sufficient to support life, certainly not sufficient to maintain strength with which to ward off disease. The English, French, and American prisoners were, in some measure, supported from home, but Serbia had been devastated, and after the revolution help from Russia was much diminished, while it was found very difficult to get food to the Italians. The prisoners of these nationalities died like flies. What aid the Y could give it did, and it acted as intermediary for the Red Cross. It also purchased, with funds furnished it by the relatives of Italian prisoners, food parcels in Denmark and other neutral countries, and got them through to the starving prisoners, though this was no part of its original plan.

This is only an outline of what the Y has done for prisoners in the Central Empires. What it has done there it has done in France and England, Italy and Russia for the German and Austrian prisoners there. While this policy was suggested on grounds of humanity, it was necessitated by the fact that unless work were done for enemy prisoners all privileges for work among allied prisoners would be withdrawn by the Central Powers.

In a way the association's work for

prisoners in the allied countries was far easier than it was in the Central Powers, for the treatment of the prisoners was incredibly good. One Y representative in France wrote that though many of the officers in charge of prisoners had been wounded or gassed, or their families and friends had suffered the horrors of invasion, these officers, when he expressed surprise at their kindness, said quite simply that " they treat the prisoners as they would like to be treated themselves."

But in another way its work among the prisoners of the Central Powers was more difficult than that for the Allies, for the latter were at least friends among themselves, and that was not the case with the former. The Germans, whether of Germany or Austria, despised the subject races—Bohemians, Poles, and the rest—neglected them in the distribution of delicacies, such as oranges and the like, when these were sent, and treated them with a contempt which was increased by the arrogance of the officer class. The loneliness of these men was pitiable. When a Czech-speaking Secretary, for instance, visited a camp of them for the first time they fairly wept. " We thought everybody had forgotten us," they said.

The association also maintained a service in Switzerland. It had a number of huts for the benefit of allied interned officers and soldiers there. Some of these were at famous health resorts, for the men who were suffering incipient tuberculosis or were otherwise physically broken down. The Y also maintained a bureau at Berne, which was in active communication with our boys who were prisoners in Germany or Austria. This bureau kept them in touch with their friends, and got through to them sporting goods, footballs, baseball gear and the like, and did whatever could be done to ameliorate their condition.

Of course there was religious work in every prison camp, but the attitude of the association was wholly nonsectarian. The Y huts were used for Catholic or Greek services precisely as the huts in army camps in this country were used for Catholic or Jewish services, and the directors procured sacramental wafers and wine for the Catholic priests and candles and wine for the Greek priests as willingly as they found Protestant pastors for the German Protestants imprisoned in France. Indeed, the association has shown so little sectarian narrowness that it has even, by arrangement with Cardinal Bourne, been helping to defray the expenses of the Catholic services in the prison camps in England.

WORK IN FRANCE

Before the war there were in existence in the large garrison towns in France, like Vincennes, small soldiers' clubs with the title " Foyers du Soldat," (the home of the soldier,) where they could read and write and have quiet, and which were free from any religious influence. After the declaration of war M. Emmanuel Sautter, a Parisian interested in soldiers, borrowed the title, to which nobody laid claim, and established two of these huts back of the front lines in the French Army with money placed at his disposal for the purpose by Dr. Mott. The work was shortly brought to the attention of the Y. M. C. A., which proceeded to finance it.

The work grew, though not very rapidly at first, because of the suspicious attitude of the French Army authorities. They could not be sure as to just what was the nature of the work which the Foyer du Soldat was performing—whether it was religious or political propaganda or what. In the course of time they came to realize that the Foyers du Soldat were simply huts where their soldiers were welcome when they came back from the front, where they were warmed after weeks of shivering in the trenches, where they were supplied with hot drinks, with cinema shows, with concerts, with other amusements; where those who liked to be quiet could sit in peace and toast their feet about the stove and where, above everything else, the warmth and kindliness of the reception which they met restored their shaken morale and where the " cafard " (as the condition of depression which came in the trenches was called) was almost invariably driven away.

During the Winter of 1916-17 the work,

which was increasingly financed by the American Association, and in part manned by them, grew to more than sixty foyers. By this time the French Army recognized fully the value of the work, and during the Summer of 1917 it applied to the Y. M. C. A. of this country to increase it indefinitely. It urged the association to create at the earliest possible moment new foyers to bring the number to more than 1,450.

HELPING MANY NATIONALITIES

To procure the number of workers, French or American, necessary to open all these foyers was impossible, but 1,100 or more were in operation at the time of the armistice. The one-thousandth foyer opened was in the Verdun fortress.

The work of the association in these foyers brought it in contact with men from all over the world. It actually carried on work for Chinese, Annamites, Senegalese, Malgaches, (from Madagascar,) Moroccans, Algerians, Portuguese, Poles, Italians, Russians, and a host of Africans from the interior of that continent. An article in l'Illustration of Paris gave a list of the languages in which were written books found in the foyer libraries—English, French, Italian, Russian, Portuguese, Polish, Turkish, Annamite, Chinese, Japanese, Tonkinese, Classic Arabic and its dialects, Egyptian, Kybele, Magrahin, Moroccan, Sudanese, Tripolitan, Tunisian, Lake Chad, (Peulh,) Guinea, and Bambara, dialects of the Congo, Gbea, Sfumi, (Bateke.) And the list was probably incomplete.

The work of the foyers was carried up to the very front trenches, of course, and it was a matter of pride that it was the only organization which held on to the last with the troops after the advance of the Germans over the Chemin des Dames, the directors leaving their huts only after they were under machine-gun fire, and following up their poilus on the offensive of July 18, remaining with them through the battle till it ended at the Aisne.

Another work in which the association directors were found valuable was that of training the French in American outdoor sports. The French recognized the value of the physical training in our games and are still developing an American sports program for the poilus.

ACTIVITIES IN ITALY

The Y. M. C. A. activities for the Italian Army did not differ materially from those for the French. When the Y work began in Italy in 1917 there were some 150 " Case del Soldato," which correspond in a general way to the Foyers du Soldat. These were under the direction of Don Giovanni Menozzi, Head Catholic Chaplain of the Italian Army. They carried on a general welfare work for the soldiers, and the association's offer of cooperation in the work was cordially welcomed. Several Italians undertook to work out the details, among them Prince Borghese and Father Genocchi, one of the most distinguished Catholic divines in Italy, who has visited this country several times and is well known here.

At the time of the armistice there were some 275 men working in the camps and in huts in cities where there were large concentrations of recruits, like Naples, and where there was great need of decent places for the boys to congregate.

Athletic sports were introduced by the directors as well as hygienic gymnastic exercises for the men recovering from wounds or convalescing from illness. There was also a new field of usefulness for such of the association workers as spoke Italian fluently enough—that of going about the country and delivering speeches to the civilians in order to keep up their morale. No country in Europe, outside of those which have been overrun by the enemy, has been so sorely tried as Italy, and there have been moments of great discouragement, as after the Caporetto disaster, which has been increased by skillful German propaganda.

During the great Piave offensive, which ended with the complete rout of the Austrians, the Y directors were under fire the whole time and accompanied the units to which they were attached throughout the advance. The verdict on their courage and devotion was given by the Italian military authorities when, out of thirty-three association men work-

ing on that front, thirty were decorated with the Italian War Cross.

LABORS IN EGYPT

The problem in Egypt was different from that presented in Europe. Owing to the attack by the Turkish Army on the Suez Canal, that vital line of communication with India and the East, a large body of troops was concentrated along the canal itself and the Red Sea, while danger of attack from the Senussi, the most fanatical body of Moslems now in existence, and having their headquarters south of Tripoli, compelled the maintenance of a number of scattered garrisons on the western frontier of Egypt, in oases, and at points of strategic importance along the Mediterranean. There were at one time more than 200 garrisons in Egypt, and it was the task of the Y. M. C. A. to make life bearable in them.

A description of one will do for all: About 150 miles west of Alexandria, on the shores of the Mediterranean and among the sands of the Libyan Desert, lies Mersa Metruh. The nearest city is more than 100 miles away, wood costs over $25 a cord, and it costs 15 cents a pint to condense fresh water from sea water, the only water they have to drink or wash in. For the soldier there is nothing visible but the sea before him, the desert around him, and above him the pitiless sun. The mail comes only once a week, and not always then. No wonder that each successive garrison sinks into a state of dull apathy, and that men go mad from the heat, monotony, and loneliness. That is the state of affairs, with local variations, in a great number of stations in Egypt.

The association has a hut, in the first place, in each station which is large enough to warrant it, and it has a force of men who go about from place to place, taking new stocks of cinema films, mostly comic, and victrola records, mostly ragtime, to replace those which have become familiar. It is held to the credit of these men, with their films and records, that so few soldiers have gone mad at these outlying stations. At Mersa Metruh, for instance, only one man lost his reason in some two years.

IN THE SUDAN

Conditions in the Sudan and on the borders of the Red Sea are even worse for Europeans because of the climate. In the Sudan the day begins at 5 and ends at 8:30 A. M. For the other twenty hours and a half the men have nothing to do—nothing to occupy their minds. The standard of morality is so low in these towns and cities of Egypt where East meets West, and the worst of both is combined, that there is a crying need for a decent place for white men to go. The Y huts supply that need.

There are large numbers of European and Indian troops cantoned about Cairo, and many wounded and convalescent have been brought there and to the neighborhood to recover. The association has opened huts, has athletic training for the convalescents, promotes sporting competitions at the camps, and tries to give the European soldier a chance to lead something like his normal life.

It works not only for European soldiers, but for the Indian Sepoy as well—Sikhs, Gurkas, Bengali, or what not; trained association workers from India live with these men, and serve them not only in the ordinary ways, but by writing their letters for them, by giving them advice in their difficulties, or even by helping them out of serious trouble.

The African work does not stop with the Sudan. The British forces during the campaign in German East Africa were accompanied by association men, and when they and the British discovered the needs of the great multitude of negro porters who carried the baggage and supplies of the army a call was sent to this country. There are now eight trained negroes from the Southern States working with these porters.

IN MESOPOTAMIA

The advance of the British forces in Mesopotamia was accompanied by the Y. M. C. A., first the English organization, and then, when this country went into the war, by a certain number of American workers, who served under the British Red Triangle. The care of the expeditionary force began back in India, at Bombay, in Calcutta, wherever the Eng-

lish soldier landed, and followed him to the very front. Indeed, the association was proud of the fact that during the advance through the desert their motors would often push ahead and establish posts, so that when the men of the column came up they would find a cooling drink awaiting them and a little shelter from the sun. To give an idea of what cooling drinks mean in this climate, it can be said that last July more than 1,000 gallons of cold drinks were served in one day at the base town of Basra alone, and 300 gallons of tea were served in a day by one worker in the trenches.

There were eighty association men working for British and Indian troops from Basra to the front line, and three days after the capture of Bagdad the association was at work in that city. At last accounts there were 101 workers in Mesopotamia and 100 separate stations. The American Y. M. C. A. has given generously of its money as well as of its workers for this distant war zone.

RED TRIANGLE IN RUSSIA

There was active work in the prison camps in Russia at the time of the first revolution, and this work continued through the Kerensky régime. During the latter period, as the United States had gone into the war, a beginning was made also in doing for the Russian soldier what was done for the Frenchman in the Foyers and for the Italian in the Case del Soldato. Permission was obtained from the Kerensky Government to establish huts at the front, and a number of men were sent by the Y. M. C. A. from America for this work, which meanwhile was carried on by such men as were already in Russia and who could be spared for it from the work in the prison camps. At Tashkent, where it was first carried on, it was exceedingly successful, and showed the amenability of the Russian peasant—who, of course, makes up the army—to such influences as the association can exert. The troops in Tashkent with which the association was working were pronounced, after six months of this work, to be the best disciplined soldiers in the Russian Army.

The bulk of the new men sent from this country arrived about the time the Kerensky Government was overthrown and the Bolsheviki came into power. The Russian Army, deprived of all discipline and without officers, simply melted away, each private filling a gunnysack with provisions, slinging his rifle over his back, and calmly going off to the nearest railroad station without asking leave of anybody, for there was nobody in authority of whom to ask leave. As there was no possibility of the Russian Army's continuing in the war, a few of the Secretaries returned in order to work on other fronts; but the great majority preferred to stay and help the Russian people, for whom they had contracted a very real affection. These men were scattered all over European Russia and Siberia, from Petrograd to Vladisvostok, from Archangel to Tiflis. They composed a body more numerous than our Diplomatic and Consular Corps, Military Mission, Red Cross, and Committee of Public Information combined.

MILLIONS IN MERCHANDISE

The total value of all merchandise shipped overseas by the business department of the Y. M. C. A. from July, 1917, to Dec. 31, 1918, has been summarized as follows by the association's publicity bureau:

France	$22,146,692.96
England	410,848.35
Italy	742,825.09
Les Foyers Du Soldat	194,959.59
Gibraltar—Navy Base No. 9	105,245.04
Russia (Vladivostok)	152,037.44
Russia (White Sea)	68,528.47
Prisoners of war (Copenhagen)	73,370,98
Switzerland (books and magazines)	210.29
Freight and insurance	1,092,282.24
Total	$24,987,000.45

The athletic goods sent to the soldiers in that period alone filled 11,223 cases and were valued at $1,248,854. Flour and sugar shipments totaled $1,169,057 and $1,711,314, respectively, but the cigars amounted to $2,004,549, and the cigarettes—the largest single item—to $6,959,077.

Passing of the Hapsburg Sovereignty

Epoch-Making Events of the Night of Oct. 28, 1918, Which Ended the Rule of Emperor Charles I.

Read in connection with articles in the preceding issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, *(Pages 300 and 302,) the following narrative forms a fairly complete sketch of the inside events which marked the end of the Hapsburg dynasty in Austria-Hungary and the beginning of the attempt to organize Austria and Hungary into separate republics. It was written at Geneva on Jan. 5, 1919, by a correspondent of The London Telegraph who had obtained confidential reports from Budapest:*

DOWN to the very end the Emperor and his entourage refused to believe that the situation was serious, or that there was any real probability of the overthrow of the dynasty. The Emperor and Empress, with their family, were living at the Castle of Gödöllö, near Budapest. They were in close and constant communication with Count Berchtold and Prince Windischgrätz, both of whom assured the Emperor that there was no danger. The latter, when it was suggested that the returning Hungarian troops might not fire on the revolutionaries if an outbreak occurred, replied: "That does not matter; the Czech troops will shoot." This was an answer characteristic of the Hungarian magnates, who were blind to the changes that had taken place in the political situation, and deliberately refused to believe that the existing order of things of which they themselves were, and had been for so long, the centre and the controlling influence, could possibly be ended by a mere popular upheaval. Their obstinacy and mistakes remind one of the events of the French Revolution.

The Emperor himself was not so much to blame. From the time he ascended the throne he was genuinely anxious for peace with the Entente Powers and for the introduction of social and political reforms in his empire. But, unfortunately for himself and his dynasty, he lacked the necessary force of character to impose his will upon the men by whom he was surrounded. If the German attack in the early part of 1918 had been less successful things might have been different, but in the Spring the advisers of the Austrian Emperor had visions of a German victory which would enable them to stave off the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire for another generation. When the German armies were defeated, and the great retreat began, the situation in the Dual Monarchy was beyond hope of recovery. Even then the men about the Emperor Charles refused to face the facts, and misled their sovereign with false hopes and unwise advice.

Toward the end of October the Emperor summoned Count Karolyi to Gödöllö and kept him there for two days, discussing the situation. If his advice had been followed it is possible that the revolution might still have been averted. On Oct. 26 the Emperor and Empress left Gödöllö for Vienna by special train, taking Count Karolyi with them. It was universally believed that the Count was to be appointed Prime Minister, and he himself said so to some of his intimate friends. Arrived at Vienna, the royal couple proceeded to Schönbrun, and Count Karolyi went to a hotel to await, as he thought, the summons to attend at the castle to receive his appointment. The day passed and no message came. Meanwhile the Emperor was surrounded by the old Viennese gang, who urged that the storm would pass. The Emperor, ever swayed by the persons talking to him at the moment, forgot Karolyi and the promise that had been given to make him Chief Minister of the Crown. On the second day of his stay in Vienna the Count heard of the new orientation of affairs, and, losing patience and perhaps hope, returned straightway to

Budapest to await the catastrophe which he now knew to be inevitable.

A TWENTY-FOUR-HOUR MINISTRY

Count Hadik was appointed Prime Minister by the Emperor, on the advice of the group of statesmen who surrounded him at Schönbrun. The Hadik Ministry lasted twenty-four hours, when it collapsed, and revolution broke out in Budapest. The royal children had been left at Gödöllö in charge of their uncle, Prince René of Parma, the Emperor's brother. On the night of Oct. 28, after midnight, a frantic telephone message was sent to Prince René by the Empress herself, directing that her children should be sent at once by motor car to Vienna. The little ones, of whom the eldest is only 11 years old, were roused from their sleep, placed in three motor cars, and brought safely to Vienna. The castle at Gödöllö was watched by Republican agents hidden among the shrubberies in the park. When these saw the windows lighting up one after another as the preparations were made for the removal of the royal children, they sent urgent messages to the city that something was afoot in Gödöllö.

Some eager Republicans were hurrying to the royal residence, and in a short time a big crowd was assembled before the castle. But they came too late. Prince René was aware of the need of haste, and before the earliest of the crowd had reached the neighborhood of the vast pile which formed the chief Hungarian residence of the Emperor, the royal children were well on their way to Vienna. It is not supposed that the crowd had any hostile intention toward the children, but their attitude was disturbing until an old retainer mounted to the roof of the castle and hoisted the Hungarian colors on the flagstaff. The crowd cheered, and then the news spread that the royal children had gone to Vienna. At this the crowd cheered again, and then went quietly away.

When the revolution occurred the Emperor hesitated between abdication and an attempt to subdue the outbreak by force. But at last his entourage had recognized that the long reign of the Hapsburgs was over—for a time, at least; and on the urgent representation of Count Hadik and Baron Wlassies the Emperor reluctantly signed his abdication. Down almost to the very end the unhappy monarch had not been told the real condition of affairs in his kingdom. When at length he found that the only alternatives open to him were abdication and a hopeless attempt to subdue the rebellion, he reproached his Ministers bitterly for the deception that had been practiced with regard to him.

BLIND STATESMEN

Prince Windischgrätz was one of the men who had the largest share in this folly. Even on the eve of the outbreak he communicated over the telephone in a light and airy tone and assured the Emperor that there was no need for anxiety.

It is interesting to know that practically all the communications between the imperial residence and the Ministries in Budapest and Vienna were carried on by telephone. A system of telephones had been long before set up which enabled this to be done, as was supposed, in complete secrecy. But the rulers of Austria-Hungary, blind in this as in so much else, failed to discover that the electricians and operators in the telephone service were heart and soul with the republican movement. Instead of the communications being secret, as the Emperor and his Ministers believed, every conversation passed through a special office prepared by the electricians and was carefully written down in shorthand. Transcripts of the notes so taken were furnished almost hourly to the republican leaders, so that they were familiar with every plan and move of the Government.

Some of these conversations are very interesting. For example, on the day he assumed office Count Hadik telephoned to the Archduke Joseph asking him whether anything had been done to combat a revolution, and what steps should be taken to that end. "Don't ask me," replied the Archduke. "I think it is now too late. Leave me out of it, and do what you think fit!"

Then the Military Governor of Budapest telephoned to the Prime Minister, saying he had a list of the revolutionary

leaders, and suggesting that they should be arrested. The Minister replied: "Certainly, arrest them at once." But nothing was done, because the Governor did not care to act without the direct authority of the King. At 2 o'clock in the morning he telephoned to Schönbrun, asking permission to speak to the Emperor personally. Count Hunyadi, the Royal Chamberlain, who took the message, replied that his Majesty was asleep and he dared not wake him. An hour later the Governor, having received alarming news in the meantime, again rang up the royal residence and commanded the Chamberlain to call the King to the telephone. This time there was something in General Lukachick's tone that frightened the easy-going Viennese courtier, and Count Hunyadi went to the royal bedchamber and summoned the Emperor.

A FATEFUL MESSAGE

The message the Emperor heard, as he stood shivering in his nightclothes with the receiver at his ear, was as follows:

> Your Majesty, the situation in Budapest is exceedingly grave. The public buildings have been occupied by the revolutionaries, and the soldiers refuse to obey orders. A few are faithful, and nothing but force applied at once can save the situation. I want your Majesty's authority to order the soldiers who remain true to shoot the revolutionary ringleaders. If you don't, all is lost.

The indecisive monarch turned to Count Hunyadi, crying, "What am I to do?" Then, without waiting for a reply, he telephoned to General Lukachick: "No, don't shoot. Wait." He stood a few moments longer in hesitation, put down the receiver, and went back to bed.

Half an hour later the Emperor changed his mind, and, rushing to the telephone, asked to be put through to the Hungarian Prime Minister at Budapest, his Majesty's intention being to pass the order for the employment of force through the head of the Government. But matters had been moving in the meantime, and the telephone operator refused to put through the call.

Count Hunyadi, who was standing by the Emperor's side, took the transmitter and ordered the telephone girl, in the King's name, to make the connection to Budapest. "We take our orders now from the Hungarian National Council, and not from Kings or their servants," was the curt reply. The Court Chamberlain stormed and threatened into the telephone receiver, but the operator remained obdurate.

Then the Count changed his tone and said: "Well, at least tell me what is happening at Budapest."

"All power is in the hands of the National Council," was the overwhelming answer.

Count Hunyadi communicated this ominous statement to his helpless Emperor. A hurried consultation took place between the two men. Then the Empress was summoned and told the situation of affairs. Without a word the Empress went to the telephone and asked to be put through to the royal residence at Gödöllö. In that hour of crisis, in the small hours of the morning, the maternal instincts of the woman came uppermost. It was no longer an Empress thinking of her crown, but a woman anxious about her children who was speaking. The other woman in the telephone exchange felt a thrill of sympathy and responded to it. The connection to Gödöllö was made, and the mother, not the Empress, sent the message about her children to Prince René, to which I have already referred, and the little ones were brought in safety to Schönbrun.

In that hour the last Hapsburg ceased to reign over Hungary.

The Hungarian People's Republic

Early Difficulties Encountered

ON the day of the formal proclamation of the Hungarian People's Republic, headed by Count Michael Karolyi, Nov. 16, 1918, the Government sent out a wireless message addressed "To All Civilized Nations," in which it declared the rebirth of Hungary to be an accomplished fact. The proclamation said in part:

> The triumphant October revolution tore from the earth the last roots of the hampering compromise agreement (Ausgleich) of 1867. The work of this revolution was crowned today by the proclamation of the republic, and so, freed from all the institutions, from all the men, from the entire spirit of the past, the nation is preparing itself to create a pleasant home for the people living in Hungarian territory and to lead them again into the society of nations as worthy and respected comrades.
>
> The Hungarian Republic founded in 1849 was the first in Eastern Europe. It had to fall. But now Hungary has again returned to the noble traditions of its past and the young Hungarian Republic turns to all the free peoples of the world with an appeal for support in the hard task of reorganizing Hungary. The sins of the former Governments make this work frightfully difficult. But the Hungarian Republic wants to reshape Hungary in the most complete and purest spirit of democracy based on President Wilson's points, and it is confident that the liberated forces of the people will find on this basis the possibility of joint, peaceful, and fraternal labor. Filled with this hope, the Hungarian Republic turns to all civilized nations today and asks them, in the name of the eternal solidarity of democracy, for their good wishes and their support in its great and holy endeavor.
>
> We request all the civilized nations that are equal members of the society of nations to take cognizance of the forming of the Hungarian People's Republic and to accept it as a member of the community of nations with equal rights, so that the Hungarian People's Republic may be able to enter into diplomatic relations with the other members of this community as soon as possible. The Hungarian People's Republic declares that it will welcome the arrival of plenipotentiaries of the other nations and will always maintain the rights and privileges due them under international law. It asks the same treatment for the representatives that it intends to send to the individual members of the community of nations. For it is its firm intention to resume as soon as possible the peaceful intercourse that binds the nations together and which is the most solid basis of all international law.

The text of the pronouncement adopted Nov. 16 at the plenary meeting of the Hungarian National Council, the body functioning temporarily as the Hungarian Parliament following the formal dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies and the House of Magnates, is as follows:

> The National Council of Hungary has created the following popular resolution in accord with the will of the people:
>
> **I.** Hungary is a People's Republic, free and independent of any other country.
>
> **II.** The Constitution of the People's Republic will be established by the Constituent National Assembly soon to be called and elected on the basis of the new suffrage. The Chamber of Deputies and the House of Magnates of the Hungarian Reichstag are dissolved and cease to exist.
>
> **III.** Until the Constituent National Assembly decrees to the contrary, the People's Government, under the Presidency of Michael Karolyi, exercises, with the support of the Executive Committee of the Hungarian National Council, the supreme powers of the State.
>
> **IV.** The People's Government is to create imperatively needed popular laws for the universal, secret, equal, direct suffrage, including that of women, for national, municipal, and communal elections; for the freedom of the press; for popular courts of justice, with jury trials; for the rights of association and assemblage, and for the supplying of the agricultural population with land and property. The People's Government will imperatively bring into existence laws and put them into effect.
>
> **V.** All legal dispositions conflicting with these resolutions lose their legal force. All other legal arrangements remain in force.

INTERNAL CONFUSION

At the close of 1918 Hungary was a hotbed of political factions, all at odds with each other, and the dominant political power was in the hands of the Ironworkers' Party. About the middle of December the Minister of War, General

Bartha, and the Minister of the Interior, Count Bathiany, were compelled to resign because of the demand made by the soldiers that the Minister of War should thereafter be a civilian and that the army should be constituted upon a democratic basis. Vinzenz Hazy became the Minister of the Interior and Count Karolyi became the nominal head of the War Ministry.

The radical leaders and Social Democrats were seeking to establish a semi-revolutionary form of government by preventing the presence of a strong military force. The Ironworkers' Party was dominated by a Socialist whose desire was to maintain order. In this the party succeeded to a certain extent, but the maintenance of private property rights was not on the program and there were many seizures of private property daily. There were sixteen different soldiers' councils in Budapest, making seizures and requisitions early in the revolution, but subsequently a better balance was restored.

Food conditions in Hungary were good in the country districts, but bad in Budapest and most of the other towns. The transport conditions were appalling, there being a great shortage of cars. There was plenty of money about, but it was of no use, since food was lacking. The State servants were excellently paid. Hungary had eighty State Secretaries, each getting 40,000 crowns ($8,000) a year, with various free privileges and allowances.

INVADED AND HELPLESS

After the revolution the Hungarians signed the armistice with General Franchet, who at the time made a line of demarkation and obliged the troops to disarm and retire from all frontiers. It was promised that American, English, and French troops would occupy the frontiers. In place of this Rumanians, Serbs, and Czechs, following up their respective claims to various parts of Hungary, invaded that country, crossing the lines of demarkation made by General Franchet. Budapest became practically a frontier town, with the Czechs only thirty kilometers away. As the Hungarians had been forced to disarm under the conditions of the armistice, the various invading troops assumed control everywhere. All communication with the regions economically most valuable to Hungary was stopped. Salt, wood, coal, gold, and a large part of the nation's grain and cattle had come from these parts of the country, so that Hungary became economically impotent. The people from all the invaded countries fled to the centre, Budapest, which doubled its population from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 in the space of two months.

Lack of coal especially menaced Hungary with the gravest consequences. Factories were stopped, houses unheated in the Winter months, the streets dark, the shops shut at sundown, and there was no public safety. The Government was obliged to pay the strikers 41 kroner daily in order to combat Bolshevism. The menace of economic Bolshevism grew with the lack of coal, and political Bolshevism spread with the advance of the invading troops, whose unhindered progress caused the Government to lose its prestige, deprived as it was of the support of its armies.

SPREAD OF BOLSHEVISM

By January the spread of Bolshevism into Hungary, superinduced by Russian influences, had begun to be an active disintegrating force. New Year's Eve in Budapest was celebrated with riot and murder in the city's streets. After unsuccessful efforts on the part of the Government to suppress his influence, Dr. Bela Kun, the chief Bolshevist agitator in Hungary, had eluded arrest and incited disturbances among the soldiers in the city. Taking advantage of the lack of coal, the closing of factories, the growth of the food shortage, and the steadily soaring prices of necessities, Bela Kun carried his appeal to those directly affected by the war, the great unemployed elements, and quickly raised a large following.

With the decision of the Workmen's Council in the second week of January that the Ministries of War and the Interior should be headed by Social Democrats, Count Karolyi received the resig-

nation of the members of the Cabinet who represented the moderates, which was followed by that of the whole Cabinet.

The Executive Committee of the National Council was called together to find some manner of clearing the situation. Count Karolyi reminded the committee that the Government had been formed on Oct. 31 of members of Karolyi's party and that he had been charged on Nov. 16 with the direction of the affairs of this Government and the creation of the necessary laws. The Government had fulfilled a great part of its task despite innumerable difficulties, but it was retarded from proceeding to the elections owing to the fact that three-fifths of the country was invaded. With the resignation of the Cabinet Count Karolyi declared that he wished to leave the Government himself, but that he felt constrained by the duties intrusted to him on Nov. 16 to hold his post. The Executive Committee decided unanimously that the supreme power should be lodged in a popular government headed by Count Karolyi until such time as the Constitutional Assembly ordained otherwise. The National Council then intrusted Count Karolyi provisionally with full powers to form a new government, and this he proceeded to do, seeking the support of all the stronger elements.

Organizing German Austria

A Tentative Republic

THE Austrian National Assembly, in its first session, on Nov. 13, 1918, unanimously adopted a resolution presented by the Council of State, demanding that a German Austrian Republic be proclaimed, and that it form a part of the German Republic. Following is the text of the resolution:

A law relative to the type of State and manner of Government to be established in German Austria:

Article I. Austria is a democratic republic. All public powers reside in the people.

Art. II. German Austria forms an integral part of the German Republic. Special laws shall govern the participation of German Austria in the legislation and administration of the German Republic, and shall determine the force of laws and customs of the German Republic in German Austria.

Art. III. All the rights appertaining to the Emperor under the Constitution of the kingdoms and States represented in the Reichsrat are conferred upon the Council of State of German Austria, provisionally, until such time as the Constituent Assembly has established a definite Constitution.

Art. IV. The royal and imperial ministries are dissolved. Their functions and powers in the territory of German Austria are placed in the hands of the ministries of that State. The rights of the other independent States that have arisen on the soil of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy are guaranteed them.

Art. V. All laws according the Emperor and members of the imperial family special prerogatives are abolished.

Art. VI. All officers and soldiers are released from their oath of fidelity to the Emperor.

Art. VII. A law shall provide for the disposition of crown property.

Art. VIII. All political privileges shall be abolished. The House of Lords and the Diet are abolished.

Art. IX. The National Constituent Assembly shall be elected in January, 1919. The Provisional National Assembly will order the manner of holding the elections. The elections will be conducted on the principles of proportional representation and equal and direct franchise for all electors, without sex distinction.

Art. X. Elections in provinces, districts, wards, and precincts shall be held according to the same principles. Local elections will be governed by the Provisional National Assembly. They will take place within three months. Existing local Assemblies shall be made complete by the addition of workmen's representatives.

Art. XI. This law goes into effect on the day of its proclamation.

A certain portion of the Austrians, those who had looked forward to a restoration of Charles I., considered that the constant suggestion to the allied powers of a union between Germany and

Austria was not wise; the Austrian Socialist leader, Bauer, however, gave open expression to the idea by declaring for a union with Germany.

Those who had taken a part in the nation's political life under the old régime hoped to win over the Allies to a plan for a "Danubian Federation," which was to have as its capital, Vienna, and was to be, in reality, a reconstituted Austria. Among the conditions of this arrangement the following stand out: (1) The Tyrol should not be given to Italy; (2) the German regions of Bohemia should not be incorporated into a Czechoslovak State, but should constitute a union of Bohemian provinces, and the Germans in Czech regions should be accorded the same rights for their language as those enjoyed by persons speaking the Czech language; (3) the German States of the south could join this federation; (4) the allied powers should endeavor to effect a reconciliation between the Czechs and Germans in Austria that this project of reconstructing Austria might succeed.

In a note transmitted orally early in January, 1919, to the Diplomatic Corps in Vienna, the German Austrian Government expressed the hope that the existence and liberty of the independent State of German Austria would be recognized by the civilized world and a place accorded it in the Society of Nations. The note defined German Austria as "internal Austria," with German Styria, German Tyrol, German Carinthia, and the German districts of Northern Bohemia. The new republic, it was added, wished to enter into relations with all civilized nations as soon as possible. If Czechoslovakia were to include the abovenamed regions, it would be no lasting advantage to it, the note said; it would be reconstituting ancient Austria with an amalgam of peoples.

The note demanded a plebiscite for towns almost exclusively German, such as Marburg, Radkersburg, Klagenfurt, Villach, Bozen, and Brunex. It asserted that the young republic must form part either of a Danube confederation by a union with other new-born States, or be attached to Germany, and then gave reasons against the former course, declaring that an attachment with Germany was the only possibility.

BOLSHEVISM IN AUSTRIA

Although political developments in the States which formerly composed the empire of the Hapsburgs seemed peaceful enough in comparison with the outbreaks of Bolshevist frenzy in Germany, there were storm signs also in German Austria, Hungary, and even in Bohemia. Attempts were being made by the extreme Socialist elements in Budapest, Vienna, and Prague to effect an agreement between Hungarian, German-Austrian, and Bohemian Socialist parties, with a view to joint political action.

Bauer, the Austrian Socialist leader, was secretly intriguing in Vienna to prevent German Austria from being supplied with food by the Entente. He raised difficulties of all kinds in order to prevent food from reaching Vienna, for the Austrian Socialists feared that the Allies' generous action toward their fallen enemy might influence the population and forestall not only union with Germany but also the establishment of Socialistic rule.

Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, the German Foreign Minister, in an interview in the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, declared that Foreign Minister Pichon of France had announced publicly that France would not tolerate the union of German Austria with Germany. This stand, the Count said, would mean that the German-speaking peoples would have no place in the new world in the upbuilding of which they would like to collaborate. The German Foreign Minister added:

> It is incompatible, however, that the Slav nations should receive the unrestricted right of self-determination while it is refused to German Austria.

The Foreign Minister said that the recent note sent to the Allies by German Austria appeared to him to be permeated with a spirit of sincerity in which the right of self-determination for German Austrians was claimed unambiguously. The German Austrians, he continued, were assured of the full moral and political support of the German Nation and Government.

The Czechoslovaks and Jugoslavs

Methods of the Revolutionists

A staff correspondent of the Paris Temps, A. de Guillerville, writing from Prague in January, 1919, gave this account of the Czechoslovak revolution:

THE revolution that triumphed in Prague and Zagreb (Agram) on Oct. 28 and 29, 1918, had been carefully prepared for many months before the final coup, awaiting only the signal from the recognized Czech leaders in Entente countries.

Bohemia had tried for three centuries, by all possible means, to regain its liberty, lost at the battle of the White Mountain in 1620. All Czech history is but the relation of the long struggle against the Germanic domination of Austria. In all the Bohemian towns the local associations and school societies were the headquarters of an ardent patriotic propaganda movement. These organizations, persecuted by the Austrian police and military authorities, became secret societies at the beginning of the war, the most famous of which assumed the name of the "Maffia," borrowed from Sicily. The conspirators, following the clever methods of the Carbonari of former times, did not know each other, save for two fellow-workers, with whom each member, respectively, carried on his work. Dr. Szarnal, the chief of the Maffia, who became the Mayor of Prague after the revolution, alone knew all of his fellow-workers.

It was this organization—to which belonged Dr. Benes; M. Stanck, the Minister of Labor in the new Government; Dr. Stephanek, who acted as Minister to Paris, and Dr. Borsky, who became Minister to Rome—which assured the Czech patriots at Prague and Vienna communication with the Czechoslovak committee at Paris. Czech women, employes, and even servants, undertook perilous missions, risking life and liberty in order to serve their cause. It should be known also that there were many Czechs in all the Ministries and in all the important administrative branches of the Austrian Government, who stopped at nothing when their cause against the oppressor was called into question.

The "Maffia" had placed a Czech manservant in the home of Count Stürgkh, the President of the Austrian Council, who was assassinated by Fritz Adler. This servant each night gathered up the papers which he found on his master's desk and took them home, where he made copies of them on a typewriter. Women placed these copies in umbrella handles, and in that manner forwarded them to Switzerland or to Paris. They came back to Austria with the instructions of the Czechoslovak committees. The police arrested many suspected persons, among them President Masaryk's daughter and the wife of Dr. Benes, whom they imprisoned among thieves and prostitutes, but the secret was never discovered.

Thanks to this widespread organization, which was on the alert constantly, the Czechs were always informed of the most secret actions taken at the court and at the General Staff Headquarters. Even the decisions reached by Emperors William and Charles at their last meeting were learned. One of the conspirators, Dr. Rambousek, had discovered an invisible ink, and correspondence was exchanged by means of bulletin reviews, which the censorship permitted to pass, messages being written between the printed lines. In spite of all chemical reactions tried, the mysterious ink remained invisible to the police agents. Just eight days before the revolution the police forbade the sending of books and magazines outside of Austria. This did not prevent Dr. Benes from warning his friends at Prague "to prepare for the revolution."

On Oct. 29, when Prague was celebrating the triumph of the revolution, one of the members of the "Maffia" brought the last secret message of Dr. Benes to his colleagues: "Do not lose courage; the Czechoslovak Government is recognized by the Entente, with Thomas Masaryk as President."

JUGOSLAVIA RECOGNIZED

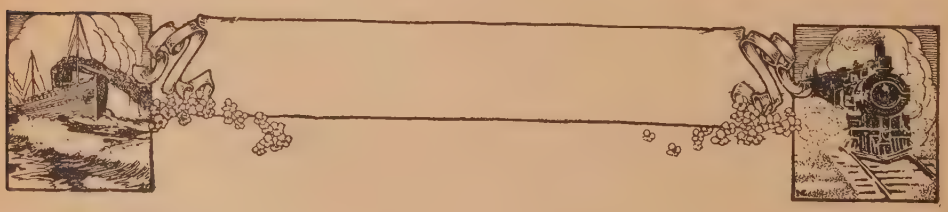
The Union of the Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian peoples was recognized by the United States in a formal statement issued on Feb. 7, 1919, by Secretary of State Lansing. The text of the statement is as follows:

On May 29, 1918, the Government of the United States expressed its sympathy for the nationalistic aspirations of the Jugo-slav races, and on June 28 declared that all branches of the Slav race should be completely freed from German and Austrian rule. After having achieved their freedom from foreign oppression, the Jugoslavs, formerly under Austro-Hungarian rule, on various occasions expressed the desire to unite with the Kingdom of Serbia. The Serbian Government, on its part, has publicly and officially accepted the union of the Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian peoples.

The Government of the United States, therefore, welcomes the union, while recognizing that the final settlement of territorial frontiers must be left to the Peace Conference for adjudication according to the desires of the peoples concerned.

Transporting Locomotives to France

When they learned that British locomotives were being shipped across the English Channel, ready to travel under their own steam on their arrival in France, American Army transport officers decided that American locomotives could be taken over the same way. Accordingly, a fleet of ore-carrying vessels with hatches sufficiently large to accommodate such bulky cargo was commandeered for carrying the big machines. The ships each had three holds, 60 feet wide and 102 feet long, with hatches 39 by 42 feet. Twelve locomotives, each weighing seventy-three tons, were packed into each hold, making a total of thirty-six engines for each ship. The heavy machines rested on a floor supported by 3,000 tons of steel rails. They were braced with heavy wooden timbers against the pitching and rocking of the ship, and baled hay was packed closely into all unoccupied spaces. A second flooring was laid on the hay, and this supported the tenders. Still more cargo was piled on top of the tenders to the deck level, and in some instances crated airplanes were packed into the spaces on the deck. With its cargo of locomotives, other machinery, and supplies each vessel carried a dead weight of 14,000 tons, exclusive of its own machinery, coal, and supplies. The locomotives were taken, fourteen at a trip, on big railroad barges to the sides of the ships, and there 100-ton derricks on floating barges transferred them to their places in the holds. To hoist an engine from the barge, swing it over, and lower it into the hold required about twenty minutes. The whole time consumed in transferring a shipment of the ponderous machines from the factory to the wharf, loading them into the ships, and carrying them to France was a little less than twelve days. Within a few hours after they were unloaded on the other side they were completely assembled and ready to move off under their own power. Within a few months more than 400 of these seventy-three-ton machines were shipped from New York. In addition to this number, 1,200 were shipped in sections, each engine being packed in nine cases.



The Sinking of the Viribus Unitis

Official Report of the Destruction of the Austrian Dreadnought by Two Italian Officers

By LIEUTENANT COLONEL R. ROSSETTI
[Of the Italian Naval Construction Corps]

Two Italian officers, Colonel Rossetti and Dr. Paolucci, aided only by an ingenious apparatus for passing obstructions, swam into the harbor of Pola during the night of Oct. 31-Nov. 1, 1918, and sank the Austrian flagship Viribus Unitis by daring and unprecedented methods. They remained in the water eight hours, and were prisoners on the enemy dreadnought when their torpedo sank it, yet escaped alive. The following narrative is a translation of an official report—written in the form of a diary—by the leader of the expedition, Colonel Rossetti, a Genoese, who is also the inventor of the motor device that was used to get the mine over the formidable obstructions closing the entrance to the harbor, and to penetrate into the heart of this strongly fortified Austro-Hungarian naval base. The Viribus Unitis was the newest and largest of Austria's superdreadnoughts, with a displacement of 20,010 tons and an armament of twelve 12-inch guns, and had cost $13,000,000.

THE operation that resulted in sinking the dreadnought Viribus Unitis in the port of Pola on the morning of Nov. 1, 1918, was carried out in its last phase as follows:

10:15 P. M.,* Oct. 31.—The towrope that connects our special apparatus with the chaser M. A. S. 95 is loosened. We have been in our places for some minutes, have made sure that everything is in perfect condition, and have reported to Commander Ciano† that all is well. The pressure of air in the reservoir is 205 atmospheres—greater than during any of the preliminary experiments. We are in splendid physical condition and of good courage.

We leave the chaser on our left with the parting whisper, "Viva il Re!" Following instructions, I steer half way between the lighthouse on Cape Compare (always lighted) and another far to the left of this, which we believe to be at Punta Cristo. The phosphorescence is unusual; it will force us later on, while working near the enemy sentinels, to move much slower than the estimated speed of two knots.

10:30 P. M.—The obstruction at the extreme end of the jetty is now reached; it is probably a little south of the point indicated on our chart. The obstruction is made of long beams, linked together at the ends by about two meters of wire rope. At intervals are large buoys that keep the obstruction in position. We put our apparatus in line with the beams, and, by pushing against them, drag it slowly forward for more than a quarter of an hour. During this time the searchlight of Cape Compare is flashed once, and lights us up in the ordinary inspection made of the surface of the water and the first obstruction. The light is not thrown again while we are outside the jetty.

At a certain point the beams of the outer edge of the obstruction are submerged, and we can no longer guide ourselves by them. I put the motor slowly into action, and we move toward the right, with the idea of reaching the inner edge of the obstruction or one of the supporting diagonals. We reach the inner side and again alternately pull

*Each officer carried a watch with a luminous dial, protected by a special watertight glass case. Most of the hours noted are, therefore, accurate; where any uncertainty exists the word "about" has been used.

†Lieut. Col. Rossetti and Dr. Paolucci were taken on board the chaser M. A. S. 95 to a point near the harbor of Pola. Commander Ciano remained on board the chaser in charge of the expedition.—TRANSLATOR.

ourselves along and use the motor, for here and there the beams are under water. Finally, to save time, we continue with the motor, but very slowly.

On our left (that is, toward the open sea) I have noticed a submarine with one tower. She is on the surface, and passes, darkened and noiseless, between

LIEUTENANT COLONEL RAFFAELE ROSSETTI

the harbor obstruction and the chaser which had brought us. I can see her like a shadow against the sky, and point her out to Dr. Paolucci.

About 11:15 P. M.—We can distinctly see a red light shining at intervals and moving up and down along the jetty. Probably it is on a patrol boat stationed between the jetty and the outside obstructions. This will not affect us, however, for here we shall be keeping to the outer side of the obstructions.

PENETRATING THE OBSTRUCTIONS

About 11:45 P. M.—We are nearing the jetty and are about 100 meters from it after passing rapidly through the second diagonal. At my request Dr. Paolucci swims off to explore in the direction of the jetty, and returns in a few minutes to say that we can proceed. During this pause I notice that a rather strong current runs northward along the coast. We move on until we reach the jetty, and then work along parallel with it, placing ourselves between our apparatus and the jetty. We have a good hand hold, as the jetty is made of blocks of cement, piled one on another. The current, too, is in our favor. Everything is going smoothly, but we are losing far too much time, so I venture to start the motor once more. This is not really imprudent—notwithstanding the phosphorescence produced by increased speed—for the breakwater, with large intervals between the cement masses, surely cannot be patrolled at night by a sentry. We are in a "dead sector" as far as sentries are concerned.

12:30 A. M.—Still clinging to the jetty, we reach a group of chains that are fastened to the top of the jetty and hang down toward the water. I judge this may be the end of the last diagonal of the first observation, and conclude, therefore, that we must be about 200 meters from the small opening of the jetty. Dr. Paolucci again goes alone to explore the opening. He soon returns with the report that we may advance. We are under way again by about 12:45. When the opening is clearly visible I silence the motor and we proceed hand-over-hand.

PASSING AN ENEMY GUN

About 1 A. M.—We have reached the edge of the opening, always sticking close to the jetty, which now slopes down to the opening and is guarded by a small gun, (of about fifty millimeters,) which is silhouetted against the sky as we pass under it at a distance of about five meters.

A strong current coming from the interior of the roadstead meets the current flowing along the coast and drives us—despite all our efforts—out to sea in the direction of the northern extremity of the jetty. The motor is started into full action and we manage to make a wide loop toward the left, returning to the small opening.

Here, too, we find an obstruction

formed by several sections of floating beams, joined with wire ropes. Here and there points project above the water. Having satisfied ourselves that the obstruction has no submerged nets, we decide to climb over it while passing our apparatus underneath, and the plan is carried out without accident. We follow the inner side of this obstruction back to the jetty—easily recognized by the cannon and sentry-post which we had already seen from the other side. Still creeping along the jetty for a few meters, we find ourselves near the bow of a tug, moored there, and can hear the hissing noise of a jet of steam. A little further off, stern toward the jetty, is a large boat that guards the port. This is indicated on our chart, so we decide to turn toward the inner harbor.

About 2 A. M.—We reach the third obstruction, which runs parallel to the jetty, without encountering that running from the jetty on the right of the guard boat to the large opening of the port. The obstruction now to be overcome is made up of a row of metal cylinders, with tops projecting about twenty centimeters above the water, supporting, about sixty centimeters below the water level, a metal cable to which a net is attached. Given the distance between buoys, and the depth at which the net begins, it is easy to pass this barrier. About ten meters behind it is a second, and then a third, all parallel and of the same type. These are passed without real difficulty, though we have lost time between the second and third series. A boat was moored not more than thirty meters from us, and we had to move with extreme caution and very slowly.

It is easy to know where we are. Ahead and to our left, I can recognize Valmaggiore and the rocky mass near the curve toward the interior of the port. We consult the pocket compass, but it is full of water and will not work. Once past the third section of this obstruction, I steer in an oblique line to the right, the direction in which I believe we shall find the last series of obstructions—those projecting from the north coast and running perpendicular to the jetty.

The first big ships—dark, shadowy forms—are barely visible on our right. Going forward, we can see three other ships, further in, that show lighted cabins and portholes, and that have white deck-lights.

APPROACHING THE FLAGSHIP

About 3 A. M.—We reach and pass, without trouble, a triple series of ob-

DR. RAFFAELE PAOLUCCI

structions similar to the preceding ones. Sure of our position, I steer so as to pass between the north coast and the line of big ships, along which we move for about 200 meters, now always fighting against the current.

It is late, and we fear that the air pressure of 120 atmospheres will not be sufficient to insure our return to the chaser. After consultation, we agree to continue as far as the flagship, which had been pointed out to us as of special importance. After sinking this we will endeavor to land on the north coast, sink our apparatus and dispose of our waterproof suits. Then, in the uniform of Italian naval officers, which we wear underneath the water-proof, we will try

to reach a place called Fontane, near Rovigno, where it has been agreed that a motor boat will wait for us each night from the 2d to the 7th of November.

As we move toward the ship I detach a small device that had been added at the last moment. It is supposed to insure an easy mooring for the propelling apparatus, but fails to work. To rid ourselves of this incumbrance I unsheathe my knife, lose the scheath, and am obliged to stick the knife into the wooden cover of the apparatus. (I mention this merely because it will explain why, later, I was so long under the Viribus Unitis.)

ANXIOUS MOMENTS

At this time an incident occurs that very nearly puts an end to the whole business. We find that, with no apparent cause, our apparatus is gradually, unmistakably, sinking—especially at the stern, where I am. Greatly disturbed, I endeavor to counteract this sinking by crossing my legs beneath the stern, and by accelerating the motor, at the same time working to open the little valve that lets air into the balance tank at the stern. After a hurried examination, I find that the valve for flooding the afterpart is open; how it happened I cannot imagine. The valve is finally closed, and when air is readmitted the apparatus returns to its normal condition. Without doubt these were the most exciting moments of the trip.

We continue slowly and cautiously until 4:30, when we find ourselves at the bow of the Viribus Unitis, the last of the six ships that are drawn up in line. At about 100 meters from the ship's bow the motor is stopped, and I move to the head of our apparatus and prepare the first weapon of offense. The time for the explosion must be calculated from 4:30 A. M., and the mine is so regulated that it will go off four hours from that time. This, however, is changed before sinking the mine.

It takes from 4:30 until 4:45 to detach the mine from our propelling apparatus. Meanwhile the current carries us along parallel to the right side of the ship at a distance of sixty meters. We have drifted too far toward the stern, so, by using our arms as in swimming, and by putting the propeller very gently into action, we succeed in turning our apparatus and in getting back toward the bow of the ship near the lower boom, at a distance of about twenty-five meters from the right side. After another slight change of position toward the rear, on account of the current, I detach the mine, and, swimming, push it before me until it touches the hull.

ATTACHING THE MINE

The ship is lighted up and shows all the movement that is usual during the night. Some one speaks on the bridge, (also lighted;) some one is walking the deck. The spot toward which I am swimming is between the second and third of the 150-millimeter guns—counting from the stern—which corresponds roughly to the position of the principal motors. It is a convenient position for the sure sinking of the ship.

On the weapon of offense is a contrivance for fixing the machine to the hull of the ship. It is connected by a small rope that must be loosened or cut. I set to work, but the knot is intricate and my knife is sticking in the wooden cover of the apparatus. Consequently, as the rope is wet and my hands numb with cold, it takes a long time to untie that knot. Finally, after about twenty minutes, the knot yields. I then attach the device to the hull, and also fasten it to a rope that I find secured to the ship at this point. During the operation (it is about 5:15) I hear the morning bugle —it is sounded repeatedly—soon followed by the noise of all hands on board awake and moving. Ashes are thrown out close to me, and more steps sound on the deck. I must hasten and complete the work. I change the clockwork regulating the explosion from 4 to 2; consequently the explosion should take place at 6:30. I detach the bandage of linen and cork that has floated the mine, and sink it. It is now 5:30.

DISCOVERED BY THE ENEMY

I swim away from the ship as quickly as possible; the sky is cloudy, but in the east are signs of dawn. It is a question whether I can succeed in reaching our apparatus or whether I must swim

ashore and try to make my way to the point where they will be waiting for us. Happily, on my right I soon see Dr. Paolucci and the apparatus about fifty meters from the ship, and I soon reach them.

Again taking command, I send the apparatus as rapidly as possible toward the bow of the ship, and parallel to it, hoping to get away from her and to gain the north coast as we had planned. The ship's crew is now awake, and they must have discovered us by the excessive natural phosphorescence, which was increased by the more rapid movement of our apparatus. Suddenly a searchlight is operated upon the bridge and the light is thrown on us. We remain breathlessly still for a few moments, hoping against hope that we may not be seen. The light remains stationary on us and we move very slowly, for, although no shot has been fired, we understand that we have been discovered and that a boat will now be sent out to us.

Dr. Paolucci, at the bow, now prepares the second mine, while I open the valves that will sink the apparatus. In this way, while a motor boat is leaving the ship and approaching, we abandon our apparatus which drifts slowly forward—sinking—with the mine that will destroy it. Our mission is ended.

CAPTURED BY THE ENEMY

The motor boat reaches us, paying no attention to our apparatus, and they take us on board. It is 5:45. We are recognized as Italians and they take us to the ladder on the port side of the ship. A crowd of sailors receives us at the top of the ladder. We feel it our duty to shout " Viva l'Italia! " This demonstration, contrary to what might be expected, is received in a spirit rather more cordial than hostile. To our surprise we notice the new Jugoslav insignia on the caps. We are asked, in Venetian dialect, how we come to be here. We answer (as Commander Ciano had suggested) that we lighted on the water in a hydroplane which we had afterward sunk. In the meantime they are escorting us aft. The friendly reception and the changed nationality of the fleet cause us to hesitate a bit; we consult and come to a decision, asking to speak with the Captain on a very important and urgent matter. The Captain is called, and it is 6 o'clock when he receives me in his cabin. I give him Dr. Paolucci's knife, which I find myself still holding, and inform him that his ship is in immediate and very serious danger. The Captain inquires the nature of the " serious danger " and asks if other ships are in the same peril. I answer that I cannot disclose the nature of the danger and that no other ship is involved.

The Captain picks up his lifebelt and leaves the cabin at once, giving loud orders in German that all should leave the ship. We follow him up on deck, where he repeats the order—obeyed, scatteringly, by all. I ask the Captain to permit Dr. Paolucci and myself to leave the ship. He consents, and we go down the ladder at the right and swim off toward the ship's stern with the current, but impeded by the great weight of our clothing. Numbers of swimming sailors pass us, as well as boats loaded with members of the crew. Searchlight signals are flashed to the nearest ship, Tegethoff, which sends boats to our assistance.

About 6:20 a boat picks us up and takes us back to the ladder on the right of the Viribus Unitis, where a large boat is waiting for the remainder of the crew. When we reach the deck we are received with threats, though the men are not especially violent. I lose sight of Dr. Paolucci in the crowd. It seems that they no longer believe in our warning or in the danger. A sailor begins to rip up my waterproof suit with his knife; others go through my pockets.

END OF DOOMED SHIP

There is a short, smothered thunderclap; the ship shivers violently, while a crest of foam is thrown up all along her starboard side. External damage is very slight, but the ship heels over to the right, at first very rapidly, then more slowly, but steadily. Most of the crowd has left us; a few, however, now close in, threatening to shut us up on board. The Captain, who stands a few meters off, shows no interest in our fate. I appeal to him, reminding him that we are

DIAGRAM OF POLA HARBOR, SHOWING ROUTE FOLLOWED BY ITALIAN NAVAL MEN WHO SANK THE VIRIBUS UNITIS.

prisoners of war; that what we have done, as belligerents, gives us the right to have our persons respected; that the threatened treatment is contrary to rules of war. The Captain acknowledges the justice of my protest, again gives permission for us to leave, and gives orders in German for a boat within hailing distance on the left of the stern to return and take us off the ship. I succeed meanwhile, with the help of Dr. Paolucci, in ridding myself of my waterproof suit, which had hampered me in swimming and which the sailors had ripped open.

Dr. Paolucci and I let ourselves down into the water on the port side at the stern. We are both pulled into the boat and can watch the end of the Viribus Unitis. She is still settling on the right. When the water almost reaches the deck —although the ship is still high out of the water—she suddenly heels over with remarkable rapidity. In a few seconds nothing is visible save the flat bottom of the keel and the four screws—encircled by smoke, flames, and fragments of shattered wood—while the sea all around is lashed up into frothy waves. One sailor in our boat gives vent to his grief in a most touching manner; all the others appear indifferent. If my calculations are correct not ten minutes elapsed between the explosion and the end.

I have learned with sincere grief that Captain Ianko Vukovic de Podkapelski of the Viribus Unitis was wounded by a fragment of the sunken ship while swimming to a place of safety. He was picked up and carried to the hospital in Palo, but died a few hours afterward. Throughout, he was most chivalrous, and treated us with all the consideration that one could expect from an honorable enemy.

FREED BY THE ARMISTICE

We were landed on the neighboring shore and taken, under escort, on board the Hapsburg. There we were despoiled of our clothing and given Austrian uniforms. Then we were removed to the arsenal, where we arrived at 8. From that moment we became prisoners of war, but for four days only. On the 5th of November, after the signing of the armistice with Austria, Italian naval forces entered Pola—and we were free.

Throughout the expedition we were both calm and controlled, with a perfectly clear perception of details. I noticed that during the eight hours of immersion I felt very well, and, relatively speaking, quite comfortable; much more so than during the long experiments in the Lagoon of Venice that served as training for the undertaking. This excellent physical condition should be attributed, in some part, I believe, to an injection of camphorated oil that Dr. Paolucci thought it well to give me and himself before starting. However, the main cause was the success of the undertaking; to insure that, it was necessary not only to be in good shape physically, but to maintain a spirit of combined serenity and determination.

Before closing this report, it is my pleasant duty to put on record how much I owe to Dr. Paolucci, who behaved splendidly throughout the expedition. I would stress the importance of the two explorations which he made, alone, under the very eyes of the sentinel guarding the jetty, as well as the period (about forty minutes) when he had to wait for me while I secured the mine to the ship. During this time he had to fight against the current, which was carrying him away. Again and again he returned to, or very near, the spot where I had left the apparatus in his care when I swam with the mine to the Viribus Unitis. Moreover, it was Dr. Paolucci who—under the glare of the searchlight, and while we were in momentary expectation of a charge of shot from the ship's guns—had the ready wit and cool hand to put the apparatus of the second mine into action, removing this menace.

R. ROSSETTI.
Lieutenant Colonel, Naval Construction.
Rome, Dec. 4, 1918.

Why Austria's Peace Efforts Failed

Count Czernin's Confession

COUNT CZERNIN, former Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, told an Associated Press correspondent in Vienna on Dec. 10, 1918, that in 1917 he had made desperate efforts to get out of the war, even to the extent of offering to Germany the Austro-Hungarian province of Galicia, the richest coal and oil province of the empire, if Germany would agree to surrender Alsace-Lorraine, but the offer was always rejected. General Ludendorff was the chief obstacle to peace and threatened war against Austria-Hungary if the latter attempted a separate settlement. Count Czernin said in part:

> In April, 1917, I sent the Emperor Charles a letter, of which I have a copy at your disposal, saying that the submarine warfare was certain to fail, that we could never win, and that we must force Germany to peace. I told him that revolution was coming, that the Emperor William would lose his throne as he also would himself, that every Government head must see that we were the losers, that we must try to insure, before we were crushed, that Germany's situation should be the same as ours, that only military men believed it possible to win the war, that America's entrance meant our ruin, and that her influence would be felt within a few months in spite of the belief in Germany that America would never be able to arrive in time. I said that there was nothing more dangerous in politics than to see things as you wished them rather than as they are, that there was only one possible way out, namely, by a general peace and arranging matters between England and Germany.
>
> So the Emperor Charles agreed, and we proposed to the Emperor William to give Germany the whole of Austrian Galicia, and to let her have Russian Poland if only she would cede Alsace-Lorraine to France. I went to Kreuznach on the French front and put the matter before Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, but he was obliged to decline. I don't know if Ludendorff had any hand in this, but the Germans answered that it was impossible to give up Alsace-Lorraine because the German people would never understand the giving up of land which had cost so much blood.
>
> Certainly the position in Germany was

dangerous. Our sacrifice was appreciated and our conversations were pleasant and friendly. When I saw we could not arrange things because Germany was obliged to obey the military party I tried another way. I sent to Berlin, unknown to the Germans, the Austrian Socialist Member of Parliament, Wassilko, who had a talk with Erzberger (Clerical) and Sudekum, (Socialist,) at which he told them why the war must be brought to an end. Both understood and took action in the Reichstag, where they submitted peace resolutions directed against the military party and also against Pan-Germanists. But the German victories began again and the Reichstag did nothing. It was always so. When our chances were very bad the Entente was elated and when ours were good Ludendorff refused to allow peace. I always wanted to use victory as an opportunity to make peace, and several times I had the impression that this would be possible to arrange.

Once I sent Count Mensdorff to Switzerland, but never was it precisely said on what conditions Germany might be willing to make peace, nor do I recall that Mr. Lloyd George last February named any conditions. Germany always assured us that she had never received any definite offers, and I believe this is true. England appeared to have the intention of crushing Germany, with Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Ludendorff always maintaining the same attitude, and Wilson only differing from the rest, while the Emperor William could not bring himself to give up Alsace-Lorraine. My impression is that neither the Emperor Joseph, Count Berchtold, nor the German Emperor wanted war. Anyway, we tried to get out of it in every way except by war with Germany, which would have meant the end of our empire.

Regarding the Brest-Litovsk Treaty Count Czernin said: "I signed it, but we took nothing from it, a fact which is worthy of mention. It was Ludendorff who forced Kühlmann to that peace, always Ludendorff."

GERMANY'S SINISTER PEACE OFFER IN 1914

Revelations made at the Cavallini trial in Rome as to Germany's efforts in November, 1914, through her agent, Lorenzo d'Adda, to induce France to agree to a separate peace, called forth this statement from Take Jonescu, the former Rumanian Premier, on Dec. 4, 1918:

The facts which have come out in the Cavallini trial relating to Germany's efforts to make a separate peace with France in November, 1914, recall to me an even earlier attempt toward the same end. We had in Rumania an old German professor, a former railway official, who held a Chair at our School of Civil Engineering. He had married a Rumanian lady, and had lived so long in the country that I thought he was naturalized, which was not the case.

When war broke out Professor Shlawe, as he was called, was in Berlin. Ten days after the war began I received long telegrams from him, sometimes two and three times a day, and often running into several hundred words, giving me news of the progress of events, and especially laying stress on the certainty of a German victory. As other Rumanians received similar dispatches from the same man it was evident that the cost of such a telegraphic debauch could not be paid for by Shlawe himself. I was annoyed, because at that time I believed him to be a Rumanian subject.

In September, 1914, after the fall of Antwerp, and the first battle of the Marne, Shlawe, to my astonishment, came straight from Bucharest to see me at Sinaia. He was in such a hurry to see me that he did not stop even to brush off the dust which had covered his clothes during the automobile journey from Bucharest.

Before he could open the conversation I began to reproach him for sending telegrams so unworthy of a Rumanian subject. (At that time pro-German Rumanians had not made their appearance.) Shlawe replied that he had never become naturalized, and pleaded that he was only doing his duty and serving his country. Then, in a voice which trembled owing to the manner in which I had spoken to him, he made a most astonishing proposal to me. He asserted that he came on behalf of Herr Zimmermann to ask me to fulfill the finest rôle a man could wish. He explained that both Herr Zimmermann and himself knew that I was unshakably opposed to Germany, and that they believed that this was due to my love for France. He proposed therefore, he said, to offer me an opportunity to serve both France and Rumania, and asked me formally if I was prepared to go to Paris on behalf of Germany and offer the French Government a separate peace, in which Germany would ask France for absolutely nothing. Germany, he pointed out, would then find herself faced by Russia and England alone, and would be able to overcome England, which was the sole object Germany aimed at. As to France, Shlawe added, Germany was animated with nothing but feelings of admiration and friendship for her, and he pointed out with many flattering statements that nobody but a sincere friend of

France like myself could hope with any chance of success to undertake the mission he offered me. As you may imagine, I gave Shlawe the reply he deserved. I told him that France was incapable of betraying her allies, and that I was neither such an imbecile nor such a scoundrel as to accept such a mission.

Mobilizing the British Army in 1914

Address by Viscount Haldane

The circumstances leading up to the reorganization of the British Army between 1906 and 1914 with a view to readiness in assisting France in event of attack by Germany were set forth by Viscount Haldane on Nov. 29, 1918, when he presided at a lecture on "America and the War," delivered at the Bedford College for Women by Major R. M. Johnstone. Lord Haldane said:

OUR effort, unlike that of America, which was fashioned quickly and decisively for its present purpose, because you can do things in war you cannot do in peace—our effort began in peace time and it was made under the influence of very fine military brains. I speak with knowledge because it fell to me as War Minister to assemble the young Generals with whose assistance the Expeditionary Force and the Territorial Force were fashioned. In the great speech which Sir Edward Grey made in the House of Commons on Aug. 3, 1914, which practically announced the determination to go to war, the then Foreign Minister told us how he had been approached by the French Government in January, 1906, and how it was conveyed to him that there was some apprehension of an attack from Germany which might menace British interests. What the French Government said in effect was: "We don't ask you to bind yourselves; you must be free. We don't ask anything unreasonable, but if you consider there is a possibility of your being called on in your own interests to come to our assistance and prevent the invasion of the northern part of France by Germany, then it is wise for your military authorities and ours to have conversations, without binding yourselves in any way, with a view to seeing what sort of military assistance you can give."

The policy of counterstrategy to German strategy was thought out, and under Mr. McKenna and Mr. Churchill the estimates were raised from £35,000,000 in 1906 to £51,000,000 in 1914. At the outbreak of war our fleet was in a state of efficiency such as it was never in before, and was not only more efficient but was equal to two to one against the whole German fleet. In the second place, the French pointed out: "You have a great fleet and we have a great army; our fleet is small, yours is large; our army is large, yours is small." They knew we could not have a large army—because we could not raise a great compulsory army in peace time unless we had about thirty years to do it in. To have attempted to change the system, to swap horses when crossing the stream, would have been foolish. But we set to work to do what had to be done. It was not for home defense. We were perfectly defended at home by the fleet and the territorial forces.

The French thought at that time that if we could contribute 100,000 men within fifteen days from the outbreak of war that would be enough to enable them, with their great fortifications and with our reorganized army on their left, to hold the Germans if they tried to break through Belgium. But when we came to look into things we found that all we could concentrate was 80,000 men, and then not under two months and a half. The French said: "We should be dead before that." This country, therefore, set itself out to effect a revolution. That revolution was made under Sir Douglas Haig and a number of other officers who have since distinguished themselves in the war, and some others who have passed away, all of whom worked night

and day for the purpose of putting our army for the first time in its history on a war footing in peace time, so that it might be mobilized with the utmost rapidity.

In the end we were able to increase the French estimate by giving them not 100,000 men but 160,000, not in fifteen days but twelve days. I do not think the public knew when we mobilized our army but I will tell you now: We mobilized at 11 o'clock on the morning of Monday, Aug. 3, thirty-six hours before we declared war. Mobilization is not a declaration of war. If desired, you can mobilize in time of peace in order to be prepared for war. Within a few hours after the declaration of war the expeditionary force, with the aid of the navy, was across the Channel before anybody knew it. Indeed, the first detachment was over within nine days, instead of twelve. That was one of the results of putting a definite question as to what purpose the British Army was needed for, and working out the answer.

The French Withdrawal at Briey

THE French Government on July 30, 1914, upon learning that German troops were moving toward the French frontier, ordered its own troops to retire ten kilometers from the bounary, so as to establish proof of its desire for peace. This fact was stated in the French Chamber of Deputies on Jan. 31, 1919, by René Viviani, the former Premier. "On the same day," he said, "I requested Paul Cambon (French Ambassador at London) by wire to inform Sir Edward Grey of the measures taken. 'England,' I said, 'will realize that, if France is firm, it is not she who is taking measures of aggression. Although Germany has moved her troops upon her battleline the Government of the French Republic intends to demonstrate that France, as well as Russia, bears no responsibility for the attack.'" M. Viviani continued:

"Could we risk a murderous war upon a chance meeting of patrols? We desired to proclaim high before the world that, if France were forced to fight, she would do so for right and justice, and not take advantage of an equivocation. The withdrawal was carried out without meeting any obstacle, either technical or military. Had we met with an observation from General Joffre that the measure might endanger the fate of the country, we should not have hesitated, but would have kept the watch on the frontier. No objection came from the General."

M. Viviani's speech was made in reply to questions by Deputy Fernand Engerand, who sharply criticised the abandonment of the ten-kilometer zone. He asserted that it was a technical mistake, because the mineral valley of Briey was within range of the French guns, and had it been bombarded intensively for three or four days the German iron ore deposits and factories would have been destroyed and Germany placed in an inferior position regarding minerals. This, the Deputy thought, would have brought about an end of the war in six months.

M. Viviani replied that the abandonment of the Briey Valley in the event of war had been decided upon by the General Staff in January, 1914. A withdrawal to a depth of twenty-five kilometers was first considered, said M. Viviani, who then read a telegram from General Joffre, dated July 30, reading as follows:

> For diplomatic reasons it is indispensable that no incident occur at the frontier. No unit and no patrol shall advance east of the line fixed.

M. Viviani then read a message from Adolphe Messimy, the Minister of War at that time, as follows:

> In order to assure English collaboration, it is indispensable that French troops do not cross the general line decided upon, unless a regular attack is made upon them.

General Joffre, learning that seventeen violations of the French frontier had been committed, telegraphed to Premier Viviani on Aug. 2 as follows:

> The interdiction against crossing the

line indicated is lifted, but, for national reasons of a diplomatic and moral order, it is indispensable to leave to the Germans the entire responsibility for hostilities. Consequently our troops will merely hold the enemy back and throw him upon the frontier, without pursuing him beyond.

M. Viviani continued:

"Then war was declared. The President of the republic wrote a letter to King George, which was published in the press at that time, but the reply of the King has remained unpublished until now. It reads: 'I admire the limitation which France willingly imposed upon herself and which so vitally concerns her military defense.'"

General Adolphe Messimy, the French Minister of War in 1914, stated in an article in the Matin of Feb. 3, 1919, that it was to establish proof of the love of France for peace, and not to please the Socialists, that the Government had decided to establish a safety zone of ten kilometers. The French intelligence service, he declared, absolutely knew that Germany was mobilizing secretly, but was endeavoring to make France appear as the aggressor, as in the case of the forged telegram of Ems in 1870.

"The mere wandering of one of our patrols across the frontier at night," he said, "would have given her the excuse she sought. In order to avoid falling into a trap I proposed a wholesale withdrawal ten kilometers behind the frontier. At that time the intervention of England on our side was anything but certain, and the neutrality of Italy, which was bound in a defensive alliance with Austria and Germany, depended upon who was the aggressor.

"A few hours after our troops withdrew England assured us she would help us, as Austria and Germany were the aggressors. Italy undertook to remain neutral and ten months later became our faithful ally. The nations of Europe and America have since, at their own time, fulfilled our expectations and our hopes."

Marshal Foch on the Armistice

The allied Commander in Chief, Marshal Foch, in response to inquiry as to whether the armistice had not been accorded the Germans too soon, said that it was not possible to have done otherwise, because the Germans had agreed at once to all terms laid down and had satisfied all conditions. The Marshal said:

"It was difficult to ask more. Doubtless, any General would have preferred to continue the struggle and give battle when battle offered itself so promisingly, but a father of a family could not fail to think of the blood that would be shed. A victory, however easy, costs the lives of men. We held victory in our grasp without any further sacrifice. We took it as it came. The German High Command was not ignorant of the fact that it faced colossal disaster. When it surrendered, everything was prepared for an offensive in which it would infallibly have succumbed. On Nov. 14 we were to attack in Lorraine with twenty French divisions and six American divisions. This attack would have been supported by other movements in Flanders and in the centre. The Germans were lost. They capitulated. There is the whole story."

Wanton Destruction of French Factories

Details of Germany's Systematic Crippling of Rival Industries in the Invaded Territory

This revelation of German methods and purposes in the destruction of rival factories was written by a correspondent of The London Morning Post, who visited the whole devastated region of France at the beginning of December, 1918.

THERE is a new desert in Europe—a Sahara more lonely and more terrible than the deserts of nature. It stretches in a belt more than 500 miles in length and of varying width from the North Sea to the Vosges: it is the country of the Western front—the lands from which the tide of German barbarism has receded, and left a wilderness which is as it were sown with salt, a country ruined as by long submersion under the sea. I have been through part of it: if it was awful in war it is even more awful in peace. It has no inhabitants—save occasional garrisons of soldiers, gangs of prisoners working on the roads, and a few returning peasants. You may travel in it for miles without seeing man or beast. The fields are without cattle; the towns and villages without people. Magpies, crows, and rats seem to be the only creatures that have survived the war in any numbers. Throughout larger stretches of country and in considerable towns I could see no other life. And to those who have memories of this country before the war the contrast between now and then adds tenfold to the desolation. For this was once among the busiest, the richest, the happiest, the most pleasant, and beautiful countries in Europe.

There is no doubt at all that the Germans made war not only upon the French armies but upon French industries, upon the very civilization of France. They did not only seek to destroy the organized defenses of France, but her means of livelihood. Germany conceives war not merely as a fight between armies but between economic systems. In peace she had tried first to imitate and then to supersede the older and finer industrial system of her neighbor. She had unscrupulously copied French fabrics and patterns; but the plodding mechanic can never overtake the genius of the artist. The French found always a new surprise for the German imitator, and when war broke out France had still a flourishing and enterprising industrial system along her Northern and Eastern borders. It was this system which Germany set out deliberately to carry away, and, where she could not steal, destroy.

It is a remarkable fact that, although Germany and France have always been enemies, both countries have established their industries chiefly along their borders, where they are most likely to be attacked. The truth is that the situation of an industrial system is fixed not usually with any strategic design, but by economic necessities—access to raw materials, the presence of coal and iron, the convergence of roads, the navigability of rivers—such are the ruling factors in industrial geography.

It is true that France was not altogether happy about the situation of her industries, and tried in some measure to reinsure herself. Thus, for example, Bourges, the Woolwich of France, was deliberately placed south of the Loire because of the bitter experiences of the war of 1870, when France found her war industries surprised and overtaken by the invading Prussians. Creusot also was placed beyond the reach of invasion, and in the course of the present war a new industrial system has sprung up in the south to supply the place of the north.

SAVAGE AND BRUTAL WORK

But the fact remains that when war broke out the industries of France were very largely in that broad belt of country which has suffered most from invasion. In the dozen or so departments which were overrun existed the greater part of

the coal, the cotton, the woolen, the glass, and the sugar industries of France. The France of 1912 had a total steam machinery of 3,325,000 horse power. Of this no less than 1,250,184 horse power was situated in the invaded regions, so that upon this calculation the Germans have destroyed—that is to say, either put out of working or carried away—over one-third of the total industrial steam power of France.

The mines of Anzin and Lens, the linen of Roubaix, Tourcoing, and Sedan; the linen and cotton thread of Lille, the cottons and woolens of St. Quentin, the steel and iron, the metals and engineering of Fives and Isbergue, of Briey, of Maubeuge, of Douai, of Denain; the glass of St. Gobain, Anzin, and Aniche; the woolens and wines of Rheims, the sugar of hundreds of factories throughout the devastated beet-sugar country of the north—these and many other industries were not merely mechanical and material things, but the very centres and cores of busy, useful, and intelligent communities, who by their loss are now reduced to helplessness and beggary.

How small and petty seem the quarrels of capital and labor in face of this common interest which both have in the industry by which they exist. By it they live; if it fails they can no longer live. And this was part of Germany's tremendous crime against France—that she aimed and struck her blow not at the armed forces of France only, nor even against a single generation, but against the future and the very means by which the people of France found their livelihood. The capital loss of such a destruction might be widely computed, but who shall estimate the loss in terms of usefulness to the world, of happy, industrious life, of skill in industry and service to civilization, destroyed by this act of savage and brutal envy?

DESERT AROUND LILLE

You approach Lille, as you approach Bagdad—through the desert. This desert, if you go from Calais or Boulogne, begins about Hazebrouck, and increases to the abomination of desolation around what was Armentières. You look out from the train upon a land in which there is neither man nor beast nor any living thing. You may trace waves of intensity in the destruction, as you approach a line of defense, until you reach the crest of a No Man's Land. There are several of these waves of battle, and at their height there is hardly a piece of level ground in this once the most level of countries. Silhouettes of fantastic ruins and broken trees break the skyline of this vast wilderness. You may still trace the hedges and ditches which divided the fields, but of any other vestige of agriculture there is none left. A French lady returning to Lille looked out with me upon this melancholy scene. I asked her what grew there before the war. "Wheat," she replied. When will it grow wheat again?

Upon the further edge of this desert is Lille—itself a desert of another kind. Before the war Lille and its neighbor cities of Roubaix and Tourcoing were the Manchester and Bradford of France. They had a population, taken together, of close on half a million people, and they lived and thrived by world-famous industries. Here the original "Lisle thread" was manufactured, and woolens, cottons, and linens, machinery and chemicals. All these industries worked together; the bleachers and dyers depended on the chemical works; the spinners and carders of cotton and wool passed their product on to the weavers, and all depended upon the coal of Lens for the power which worked their beautiful and intricate machinery. This machinery they either made themselves or imported—the cotton machinery chiefly from England, the woolen largely from Alsace. Such, in brief, was the industrial system upon which those vast, busy, and enterprising cities lived and thrived.

THE SILENT MILLS

You leave the railway outside Lille for the excellent reason that the railway bridges around Lille have been destroyed, and enter by roads deep in the all-pervading black mud. The city—except for patches of destruction here and there—has a fallacious appearance of being intact. You begin by thinking that the Germans were kind to Lille. The Mairie has been burned down; but in the main

the streets and houses and factories are there much as they were. Yet it is a city almost dead, a city in which such people as remain live, and must continue to live for many a day, upon charity or such credit as they still possess. It is a city without industries or the means of industry, without transport—I had almost said without horses, but when the Germans went there were five or six horses left in Lille. They had been taken by their owners up three flights of stairs and had their stables in an attic.

The mills of Lille, as I need not say, are silent. They are silent not only because they lack coal and raw material and workers, but for other causes which must keep some of them silent forever and others silent for years to come. The general plan of the invaders was to take from these cities as much money, as much labor, as much material, and as much machinery as they required, and to use the cities themselves as billets for their troops. But beneath this general plan was a darker and deeper design—nothing less than the destruction of industrial France.

DESTRUCTION OF MACHINERY

They collected the material by "perquisitions" and "requisitions." "Convey" the wise call it. They began by taking all the stocks of raw materials and finished articles in the mills and storehouses of the three cities. They then went over the mills for their leather belting and brass and copper fittings, and such looms and machinery as they wanted in Germany. As every manufacturer knows, the life of a mill is its belting. The belts transmit the power from engine to machine. They are to the factory what tendons are to the limbs. When they are cut the whole frame is helpless. Again, it is obvious that a German with a hammer, stripping an intricate machine of its brass or copper, is apt to do a considerable amount of damage. The Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Tourcoing gave me some interesting details upon this branch of my inquiry. From the industrial factories of Tourcoing the Germans took over 1,000,000 kilos of copper and brass. This metal, reckoning in prices before the war, varied from 2 to 200 francs per kilo, according to the article. For example, in a spinning machine the spindle, which is of steel, runs in a cup or bearing of brass. From 400 spindles the Germans got 6 kilos of brass. Reckoning at prices before the war, this brass was worth 18 francs, and the 400 spindles in working order were worth 8,000 francs. Thus they destroyed or dismantled material worth 8,000 francs to get 18 francs' worth of metal.

The damage done varied according to the industry and also according to chance. Many factories have been gutted from floor to ceiling; others have escaped with the loss of their belting, their copper fittings, and their dynamos. Certain industries in which the French competed with the Germans have been wiped out.

STEALING THE LOOMS

Take, for example, the linen industry, for which before the war Lille was famous the world over. She was the proud possessor of nine-tenths of the linen industry of France, or one-sixth of the linen industry of the whole world. She bought her flax mainly from Belgium and Russia, where the Germans were also buyers, and made of it linen which the Germans could not rival.

When Lille was in the grip of the Germans there arrived a certain Herr Rover, an expert in linen, whom the linen magnates of Lille knew slightly as an occasional visitor before the war. Herr Rover picked out the looms with the assured knowledge of a specialist, and they were packed up and sent to Germany. Before he and his friends had finished with those once wonderful and glorious linen factories of Lille there was nothing left but the bare walls. Lille must start her linen factories from the ground upward, and while they are rebuilding they may be forced—for this was the German plan—either to buy German linen made on their own stolen looms—or go without.

The cotton industry has not suffered so much as the linen industry; but it also has suffered terribly. The woolen industry of Tourcoing and Roubaix has been cruelly despoiled of its looms.

It appears—or so I was told by one of

the manufacturers—that an order came from Berlin to remove or destroy all the looms of the three cities. This terrible order so shocked a German officer, who was himself in the weaving industry, that he went from Lille to Berlin to remonstrate. He was received coldly and told that the order had been given and must be carried out. The work was begun. Many looms were removed—I saw myself the foundations from which they had been wrenched.

The northern corner of France does not grow wine, and Lille was a centre of the brewing trade. The Germans evidently intended to make a market for their lager after the war, and in the breweries there was the double incentive that they contained worms, pans, and cooling machinery of copper and brass. All these were stripped clean—save what the brewers contrived to hide. In sugar also France competed with Germany, and the sugar refineries were dismantled of their machinery.

All these industries depend in some measure upon chemistry and engineering. These are basic industries of Lille, and upon these industries the Germans fastened. It was their economic strategy. If they destroyed the basic industries of France the secondary industries would be helpless. They therefore set to work with system and thoroughness. There was, for example, the great chemical industry founded and conducted by the Kuhlmann family. The Germans had a special hatred for M. Kuhlmann for the reason that he was an Alsatian who left Alsace after the war of 1870 and remained a Frenchman. For the stripping of the Madeleine factory—which covers twenty-five hectares of ground—an expert in machinery removal named Haas was specially sent from Germany. Of that enormous place nothing now remains but the bare walls of the buildings.

SACKING FIVES-LILLE

Upon the eastern side of Lille, outside the walls and beyond the railway, is the industrial suburb of Fives, famous before the war as the seat of the Compagnie Fives-Lille. This company was one of the chief concerns in the heavy engineering industry of France. It employed 5,000 workmen, not counting clerks, and built locomotives, bridges, turntables, girders, machine tools, sugar machinery, turbines, &c. It was, in fact, one of the great industrial concerns not only of France but of the world.

But the boche has been to Fives and there is no longer this great industry; there is only a ruin. This ruin is not the least of the wonders of the war. Let me try to describe it.

To begin with, it must be said that it is the work of the boche and the boche alone, and that its ruin had nothing to do with what are called military operations. The boche was in possession and worked his sweet will upon Fives-Lille, undisturbed for four years save for an occasional stray shot from an allied airplane. The ruin, therefore, may be taken as a pure example of economic war as it is understood in Germany.

THE ART OF DESTRUCTION

The first sight which met our eyes as we entered the gates was a ruinous gable of brick rising to an imposing height and pierced by three gates of such generous dimensions as to admit the passage of the largest locomotives, the middle one being double the size of the others. As it stood entirely by itself, with nothing behind it, it had the appearance of a sort of industrial Arc de Triomphe partly damaged by dynamite. M. Kariatakis, the Chef du Matériel, who took me over the place, explained that behind this gable there once stood a great workshop 160 yards in length and more than 30 yards in width. This shed, large enough for all the varied processes of locomotive building, had been constructed of steel, and the Germans had taken it down piece by piece, packing it in railway cars, and sent it to Germany. The front, being of brick, was of no use to them, and had been damaged, not by dynamite, but by the wrenching away of the steel girders which rested upon it.

In this way they had stolen no less than nine of the company's newest and best steel-construction workshops, three of them of the largest size.

They took away, as unconsidered trifles, 750 electric motors of the latest type. There was one little gas engine

left, the only motor now in Fives-Lille. I asked how the Germans had contrived to forget it. M. Kariatakis explained that the German Government had been negotiating for its sale to a German manufacturer. There was a good deal of haggling over the bargain, and the negotiations were so protracted that when the sale was at last complete there was no time to take the motor away.

Besides these 750 motors, the Germans took away 1,750 machine tools of all kinds. The sheds, therefore, which are left are empty in the main. But there were some machines which were too large and heavy for German transport, and these had to be left. They were left, but they were not left in situ. The German is ingenious in destruction. His method in this case was to attach a heavy piece of steel to a traveling crane. The piece of steel was then brought to bear on the machinery to be destroyed, and swung like a battering-ram. Thus some of the finest and largest machines in the works were broken in fragments. And the parts that could not be broken thus were wrenched from their foundations by the use of these same traveling cranes, raised to a great height and then thrown down on the cement floor.

In this manner the Germans either took away or destroyed every motor, engine, lathe, and machine tool in the works of the Fives-Lille Company. In one of the remaining workshops the floor, which is of cement, is torn up in the most extraordinary way, as by a series of small explosions. M. Kariatakis explained that the hall had contained several very large steel tables, on which were traced the designs of bridges and other large pieces of construction work. These tables were wrenched from their cement foundations by means of the traveling crane and taken away bodily.

As to the amount of the damage done, I was told that in tools and machinery alone, and reckoning at pre-war prices, the value amounted to 40,000,000 francs. The damage to the workshops had not yet been estimated, but of glass alone there were 18,000 square meters to be replaced.

The Germans did not take everything. In one of the small sheds I saw a pathetic little group of workmen cleaning and arranging a strange assortment of rusty gauges, dies, spanners, and small tools of all sorts. As they cleaned them one by one they put them back carefully into racks along the walls. M. Kariatakis explained that he had contrived to hide these oddments under heaps of old iron and other rubbish in the yards. Almost at the end of their occupation the Germans decided to carry away these heaps of old iron, and this precious little hoard of gauges and tools was upon the point of being discovered.

The approach of the King of the Belgians on the north forced the Germans to leave the old iron untouched, and thus was saved the remnant of the old, and, we may hope, the nucleus of the new Fives-Lille.

A GIGANTIC CRIME

When the Germans had negotiated the sale of a machine, and were about to dismount it, they invariably demanded a set of the drawings to go with it to Germany. M. Kariatakis no less invariably refused, and burned the drawings rather than allow them to fall into the hands of the enemy. But some of these invaluable plans and drawings survive. They were hidden away in the cellars of the fine new building which the company had built partly for its offices and partly as an institute for its workpeople. This building was spared by the German, whether out of respect for social utility or because he did not think it worth destroying did not appear.

To look upon the ruins of Fives-Lille, it is difficult to imagine that these shattered halls and empty spaces were once the busy home of a great engineering industry. M. Kariatakis showed me photographs of the works as they were before the war. Here was an empty void where once had stood a bench eighty meters long, with batteries of machines for handling and piercing steel beams, which were passed along from end to end. There stood wonderful pneumatic and hydraulic steel planing and chiseling machines. There long rows of lathes. That great hall once glowed with the white heat of molten steel as it was poured from great pots and caldrons into molds cunningly shaped in black

sand. Here skilled workmen handled a great masterpiece of the company's construction—a turning bridge for Cairo, weighing 1,200 tons. Here 5,000 engineers and laborers applied engineering science to the service of the whole world, where now a few half-starved, decrepit workmen scrape among the old iron for the hand implements of their industry.

The ruin of Fives-Lille was a gigantic crime, inspired not by military necessity but by greed and by German envy of the mechanical genius of France. The sheds and machinery of Fives-Lille, like those of hundreds of other French factories, have been by this time set up—and are probably now at work—in Westphalia or some other part of industrial Germany. The intention of Germany is to use them as the engines of an economic war, no less ruthless than the military war, against the future of the industries of France.

UNENDING REQUISITIONS

The Germans did not seek to destroy Lille as a city; what they did was to destroy its key industries and to wring it like a wet cloth until they had squeezed the last franc, the last kilo of wool, of cotton and copper out of its wretched inhabitants.

Their system of exactions and requisitions was well calculated to break the spirit as well as the purse of this great, ancient, and rich city. Half of the population of Lille have been in prison. The Germans organized a system of spies and denunciations which encircled the inhabitants like a net. One well-known citizen told me that he had a collection of over 200 posters, all threatening the people with severe penalties, up to a fine of 30,000 francs or a long term of imprisonment, if they did not declare something or other. Independently of the requisitions, gangs of from fifteen to twenty men went from house to house searching for hidden goods. Once he had a mason in to make an alteration in his cellars. The Germans came to know of it at once, and his house was immediately visited and searched.

The requisitions were unending; when the Germans had picked the city clean in the name of the Military Governor of Lille, they started all over again in the name of the Military Governor of Valenciennes.

James Walker, the British Consul at Lille, was deported to Germany. I have since met Mr. Walker in Paris; he is 58 years of age, and his health has been completely broken by the treatment he received. He told me that he was taken away from Lille on Nov. 17, 1914. His fellow Consuls protested, and the American Consul suggested to von Gaevernitz that he was taking upon himself a very heavy responsibility. "The Master covers all," von Gaevernitz replied.

Mr. Walker was first taken to Giesseli, in Hesse, where his hair was cropped close, and he was set to work to clean the windows and sweep the yard. He was also drilled in the military salute so that he might minister to the pride of the German officers. He was then taken to Wittenberg, where he saw Sir Roger Casement and some Irish priests from Rome vainly trying to induce the Irish prisoners to enlist against England. From there he went to Ruhleben and was ultimately exchanged, but not before the cold, the wet, and the hardships of his prison life had destroyed his health.

REMOVING WHOLE FACTORIES

Mr. Walker was one of the principal manufacturers of Lille. The family factory on the Rue Montebello is a great building covering 10,000 square meters, where he and his brother carried on the business of machinery manufacture founded by his father. They specialized in machinery for the treatment of flax, jute, and hemp, and although they had competitors in Belfast and in England, they had almost a monopoly on the Continent, for in this branch of engineering British are supreme. No doubt this monopoly had long been the envy of the Germans, and soon after the German occupation the factory was visited by a German, whom they recognized as an old customer. The mission of this German was to transport the machinery of the Walker mill to Germany—and this was done so thoroughly that there is now not a scrap remaining. All that is left of the factory are the bare walls. Be-

fore the war the industry employed 700 men, and Mr. Walker estimates the damages at $1,400,000.

Another important British concern, the mills of the Fine Cotton Spinners' Association of Fives, running no less than 150,000 spindles, has been treated in much the same fashion. Two of their three large and modern mills were completely wrecked by order of the German military authorities, some of the British prisoners of war being forced against their will to help in breaking down the machines with large hammers. The third mill was only partially destroyed, probably through lack of time; but Mr. Forest, the manager, was sent into Germany.

I might mention also the important soap works at Haubourdin, near Lille, where the Germans took out every piece of machinery and transported it bodily to the branch of the factory at Mannheim—which they had confiscated and reconstituted as a German concern. All that was left of a plant valued at from $450,000 to $500,000 were three boilers, one broken ventilator, and an old cistern.

So with most, if not all, of the British concerns in Lille. Mr. Snowden's big jute mill on the Rue Montebello has been entirely gutted, the machinery which was not taken away being smashed. The German hatred of the English did not stop short at their businesses, but pursued them to their homes. They destroyed a factory belonging to W. H. Young in Lombiersart, and when Mr. Young died, probably of a broken heart, they looted his house and sent off his widow to Belgium. David Ritchie, a thread merchant of over 50 years of age, was forced to work as a prisoner behind the German lines. Mr. Maclaughlan's house in the Boulevard Tourcoing was reduced to ruins. I might multiply instances.

ROBBERY AT TOURCOING

The first factory I visited in Tourcoing belonged to a M. Robbé, who was a wool-spinner, and had 6,000 spindles. Some of the machines were mere masses of broken and rusting metal; the spindles of others were lying in heaps upon the floor. It seemed to me that little or nothing could be done with such machinery as remained. German soldiers had been in occupation, and had wrenched the wood from the floors for their fires, so that in some of the rooms the framework of the machines rested on the naked rafters.

The caretaker, a pathetic figure in his blue blouse, wept as he showed us the damage they had done. The carding machines had possessed rollers of wood, and these rollers the soldiers had hacked to pieces for their fires. For thirty kilos of wood they had destroyed a machine worth thousands of francs. He had offered to carry in wood for them if they would only leave his beloved machines. For answer they had thrown him through the door into the yard. He told us his story piecemeal as we went from room to room of his factory. He had had four sons; three of them had been killed in the war; the fourth, a cripple, was cleaning up the yard. How was he crippled? The boche had tried to force him to work. The boy had tried to hide, and had crawled under a car on a little tramway line near by. His pursuers had deliberately drawn the car over his foot, and broken it. Les sales boches!

Such was the state of M. Robbé's factories that they will have to be renewed from floor—in some cases there are no floors left—to ceiling. And he had lost, besides, half a million kilos of wool which the Germans had taken from his storehouses.

SOME TYPICAL CASES

But to return. On the road between Tourcoing and Roubaix, overlooking the ruined locks of a large canal, stood a handsome factory with an English name on it — the name of Richardson. I thought I ought to see if Mr. Richardson had been given preferential treatment. It was a large place, which had employed 500 hands. It made draperies and stuffs for covering furniture, and treated wool and cotton from thread to cloth. The caretaker took us over the place. He showed us where the dynamos had been; they had all been taken away; all the belting and electric fixtures were gone; the leather had been stripped from the rollers of the carding machines; four carding machines, eight looms, two "ef-

filancheuses," and one "mélangeur" had been carried off to Germany, and all spare parts had been taken with them; from the washing machines all the copper had been taken, and he showed me the empty brick socket of an enormous copper vat that must have made bands for many a German shell. The Germans, being short of brushes, had stripped the brushing machines. As in the brewery, there were holes in the brick floor where the Germans had searched for hidden parts.

I also looked in upon a bleachery in Tourcoing. The owner told me he had lost, besides 45,000 kilos of copper and all belting, 100,000 kilos of iron machinery. The machines and parts had been wrenched from their places in the most brutal fashion. The whole interior was, in fact, almost a ruin. He told me that one of the many returns sent out by the Germans invited him to say how the requisitions had been made. Some of his neighbors had not dared to tell the truth, but he had not minced matters. He had received, in consequence, a visit from a German official, who had been compelled to admit by the evidence of his senses that the return was true.

This list of inquisitions begins to become wearisome. Let me end them with only one more, the cotton mills, the Motté Bossut cotton mills of Roubaix, a considerable factory of 50,000 spindles, which had employed 700 hands. The Germans had taken a 600 horse power dynamo, and had thrown all its complementary machinery down into the pit below. One great hall on the ground floor they had been forced to clear of all its looms "within 24 hours" in order to make room for a German garage. They had succeeded in doing it, and had stored and saved the looms.

SAVING THE SPINDLES

But while all this had happened on the ground floor the owners had contrived to save the spinning machinery above. They told us with justifiable pride something of how they had done it. They had contrived even to save the brass bearings of their spindles, and they had kept all these 50,000 spindles not only clean but lubricated during four years. How did they get the lubricating oil? The Germans were accustomed to send around requisitions for oil at frequent intervals and even took the oil out of the lubricating chambers, but the management had a secret store of several barrels with which they replenished their machinery. Besides the requisition parties, marauding bands of German soldiers used to rove around the factories in search of hidden belting and copper, and a watch had to be kept day and night. Once at least a band of these thieves was prevented from entering by the sturdy night watchman. The windows were covered with paper to prevent and chance of observation, and the management worked stealthily at this vital task of cleaning and oiling their carding and spinning machines.

It was no small thing to have done, I thought, as I looked over the two great halls full of beautiful machinery, all shining and spotless and covered with sheets of cotton. They had saved not only their machinery, they had helped to save their workmen and their town from universal ruin.

They told me that they had also saved their looms at their weaving factory at Lers. The Germans had requisitioned the factory to make sacks and had taken away 30,000 pieces from their storehouse. They had also taken their dynamos, their shafting, their belts, and their copper, but the looms remain. Orders had actually come for the looms to be taken away, but they were not taken—probably for want of time.

THE SUMMING UP

Let me now sum up the injuries done to the industries of Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing as far as I was able to judge from observation and reliable witnesses:

The chemical industry—The Kuhlmann factories were three in number, employing 1,200 men in all. Their buildings and machinery were worth about 25,000,000 francs, their raw material 15,000,000.

All the raw material was taken, and of the three factories, the Madeleine—covering twenty-five hectares of ground—the most important, was utterly destroyed.

The Loos factory was destined for de-

struction and 100 mines were planted all over it; but in the hurry of evacuation they were not exploded.

In the Wattrelos factory, all lead, copper, brass, and a good deal of wood were taken away. The place was set on fire when the Germans left, but the fire was put out before the building was entirely destroyed. I might add that the company's factory near Ghent has been burned.

The other chemical, soap, and bleaching works round Lille have been mostly destroyed.

Heavy engineering and machinery-making—all destroyed.

Linen and lisle thread industry—totally destroyed.

Sugar industry—all factories dismantled.

Brewing—all copper fittings taken away and considerably injured.

Woolen industry—all motors, all brass and copper and belting and many looms taken.

Cotton industry—all motors, all brass and copper, all belting taken away. A considerable amount of other destruction.

There are hardly any electric motors or engines left in and around these cities. The motors of the Lille Tramway Company were taken away.

All stocks of raw material and of manufactured goods were taken.

A great part of the capital of the mercantile community was extracted by fines and levies.

Many of the workmen, male and female, were taken as prisoners into Germany and many will never return.

Such is the state in which Germany has left the industries of this great Department of the North—once the busy hive of French industry.

RUINED COAL MINES

The industrial system of France is governed by its coal mines. In the main they lie close together, in the Pas de Calais, in the Bas-Boulonnais, and in the Department of the North—making before the war a rich and flourishing group of towns and villages, connected by a wonderful system of canals, railways, and stone-paved roads with the chief centres of consumption. Compared with the German coalfields, those of Northern France were small, yet so well were they organized that the mining companies of the Pas de Calais competed successfully with the mines of the Ruhr and the Sarre. In the twenty years before the war the production of the Pas de Calais had more than doubled; in 1911 it amounted to 19,500,000 and in 1912 to 21,000,000 tons, an increase of 7 per cent. in a single year, and it supported a sturdy population of 94,000 workers, of whom 72,000 were miners and 22,000 worked above ground. The neighboring coalfield of the north was smaller; in 1912 it produced 7,000,000 tons and employed 33,000 workers, of whom 24,000 were miners.

This industry had its centre at Lens, a considerable town of between 30,000 and 40,000 inhabitants, pleasantly situated in its valley and handsomely built and famous for its gardens, in which the miners took a pride. It was known in Northern France as the garden city of the miners. When the Germans invaded this region they either occupied or brought under fire the richest of these mines and stopped at a blow the production of 20,000,000 tons a year, which is to say half the total coal production of France.

The directors and miners of the pits that remained in French hands worked like heroes, often under shellfire, to make good the loss. The working day was lengthened from eight to nine hours. In the space of two years they increased their production by 50 per cent., and some of them even doubled their pre-war records.

As for the greater part of the coalfields which remained in German hands, they have been systematically and deliberately destroyed. The destruction, it is important to remember, was not only the destruction of the battlefield—it was also the destruction of the economic war waged by the Germans upon French industry.

I went through the coalfields from Béthune to Douai, and so much was plain even to my cursory inspection. For example, at one pithead all the main supports of the superstructure had been

separately broken at the same height from the ground. It was quite evidently done not by shellfire, but by an expert wrecker. Outside the range of severe fire, I saw pitheads where the boilers, pumps, lifts, caldrons, power houses, and engines were reduced to a mass of inextricable ruin and confusion.

The Germans have also been at pains to drown the mines and to fill up the shafts. Near Lens they turned the little River Souchez into the pits. For part of its course the river has disappeared and flows through the shafts and galleries of the mines.

At Courrières, according to the French official report, all the superstructure, buildings, and machinery have been destroyed by deliberate explosions. And, again, the report says: " Dans le groupe du Pas-de-Calais, à Lens, a Liévin, ils ont détruit sans aucune nécessité militaire toutes les installations extérieures, chevalements, ateliers, machines, que l'action de l'artillerie avait épargnés. Les chaudières sont crevées ou emportées, les cités ouvrières anéanties, les mines elles-mêmes sont entièrement noyées." And so also in the eastern part of the coalfields, the region between Valenciennes and Douai, which for four years was in German occupation. There, at all events, the destruction was not by the accident of battle.

In the opinion of experts it will take two years before even the less damaged mines can begin to produce, and it will take five years to bring most of the pits into anything like working order. The work of sixty years has been destroyed in four—and cannot be restored without infinite labor and enormous expense.

Such is the state to which the Germans have reduced the French coal industry. They have done it deliberately as part of their economic war, so that German coal might have a market in France.

Consider the crime! The Germans deliberately destroyed the industry which gave to France its heat, and light, and power. They decreed that the hearths of a million homes should have no fire; they designed that factories should go idle for want of steam. It was within their purpose that a hundred thousand miners should be robbed of their living and that Northern France should for a period of years be without the coal which is the life of her industry.

AMONG THE RUINS

Lens was once a happy and prosperous town. Now to go down into the valley of Lens is like a descent into hell. It is such destruction as none can imagine who has not seen it. In its outer fringes there are still the semblances of houses, roofless and shattered, but still recognizable as such. As you go down the hill chaos encroaches more and more upon order until at last not even walls remain nor the semblance even of streets—nothing, nothing at all but broken rubble and splintered timber in a welter of confusion and ruin.

At the bottom of the hill there is a small, open oval, clear of rubbish. It is what was the Grande Place of Lens, but it now looks like a piece of level ground at the bottom of a quarry. A piece of the wall of the Mairie—a massive, jagged tooth of masonry, fifteen feet or so in height—is the only recognizable thing in sight.

Here in this centre of ruin we came upon a group at once odd and tragic. It consisted of two horses and a cart, drawn up near a deep and narrow hole, like a shaft leading into a mine. A stout old French lady, all muffled up in woollen wraps, was kneeling beside the hole and taking various articles of wreckage out of the hands of some worker below. Sometimes a charred piece of furniture would be pushed up, sometimes an old illustrated magazine, and again the fragments of a handsome ormolu and alabaster clock. The lady I discovered to be the wife of a banker whose bank had been on the Grande Place of Lens; the hole led down into what were the cellars of the bank, where she had left her papers and worldly gear; she and her daughter had come in the cart to recover what remained, and at the moment of our passing the daughter was down in the hole scraping out the miserable remnants of their household goods.

Not even the cellars of Lens are left to the people of Lens. Not even the shafts and galleries of their mines are left to the miners of the Pas-de-Calais.

THE FORGES OF DOUAI

From ruined Lens we passed along a stone-paved road lined with shattered houses and pitheads systematically destroyed. It was a melancholy approach to what was once among the busiest and most beautiful towns in Northern France, the now deserted City of Douai. This town, as I need hardly say, had long been in German occupation. Before the Germans left it was evacuated of all its civil population, which amounted in time of peace to some 35,000 people. Long before the Germans left they had pillaged all the factories and carried away what suited them into Germany.

Before the war Douai had some flourishing industries. It had its breweries, its sugar refineries, its rope walks and spinning mills, its arsenal, and, chief of them all, its famous Forges de Douai—a great iron and steel works, which covered many acres on both sides of the railway station.

I went to see the Forges. I could not find them. It is true that on one side of the railway, the Aceries, that is to say, the steel works, are still recognizable as such, though broken to pieces. But upon the other side of the railway, where at one time the greater part of the Forges were situated, there is nothing now but the twisted skeletons of two great sheds and the huge cement platforms on which the main buildings once stood. These cement platforms are bare and clean, as if they had been swept. There is nothing left on them at all, but at the four corners are four high factory chimneys, which, I was told, the boche left as landmarks for his airplanes. They are now the melancholy headstones—the silent obelisks—of a great dead industry.

So it is with the Arsenal. So with all the industries of Douai. I walked down the deserted Boulevard de l'Industrie, which borders on the Scarpe Canal. It is a line of ruined factories. But their ruins were to me less impressive than those great empty platforms of the Forges, with their tall chimneys pointing heavenward as if in protest.

The fate of the Forges de Douai was the fate of the Forges of Anzin and Denain. These latter iron and steel works were the greatest in France. They covered an area of five kilometers by two. They produced 350,000 tons a year, and they employed no less than 25,000 workmen. The story of their destruction has already been told in an interview with their Managing Director, M. Woerth. The Germans occupied Denain on Sept. 2, 1914. Shortly afterward a German officer visited the works, which had closed their doors. He asked M. Woerth to continue. "The Germans," he said, "would furnish them with ore, and if need be with engineers." M. Woerth refused. The request was repeated. It was followed by threats, but to no purpose. As in the Kuhlmann Works, in Lille, so here. No threat could induce the management to help in making war against their own country.

The next move in the German game was to place the Forges under sequestration. There was a great show of legality. Everything was inventoried and a sequestrator was installed in the person of a German manufacturer in uniform, one Captain Bocking. Gangs of German workmen appeared and began to fill railway cars with the iron ore and the finished products of the factory. Still everything was done with a laborious German etiquette. A hundred times a day the Director was called upon to assist in the play, to accept delivery of some new scrap of paper. When the whole stock of the factories had been removed, the gangs began upon the machinery. The molds for steel ingots were first taken away. The manager protested. "Do not trouble yourself," said the German, "we will only take the old ones."

"WAR AFTER THE WAR"

But the new molds followed the old. And then came the turn of the cylinders and the rolling machines—the very vitals of the factory. The Director protested again. "This," he said, "is to make war after the war. My 20,000 workmen will starve."

A pause. Bocking had gone to Metz for instruction. Now at Metz there sat the permanent board and the Commander in Chief of the Central Service for Destruction, composed of industrial mag-

nates, financiers, and lawyers. For, as I have said, the boche does everything in order.

Now, when Bocking got to Metz a disagreeable surprise awaited him. A German spy, named Dryer, an old foreman of the steel works of Homecourt, who was anxious to make a reputation, had reported to the council, denouncing Bocking as too mild in his treatment of the Forges. Bocking returned to Denain burning with the desire to prove his zeal. In less than a week all the remaining cylinders and flatting mills were packed in wagons and sent across the Rhine. In the meantime the Director and his workmen had hidden away the brass work of the factory. He was called before his persecutor and told that unless he revealed the hiding place his 20,000 workmen would be deported to Germany. It was a terrible moment. The Director called in his foreman to a council of war and they decided that to save their workmen they must give up their brass work.

PICKING THE BONES

Then came the turn of the machine tools. All the other machinery followed. Then the locomotives. Then the cars. And lastly, the rails. Nothing was left but the empty factory and forges and machines too heavy for transport.

But the end was not yet. The "B. H. D. K.," that is to say, the German service of Economic Destruction, a branch of the Central Office at Metz, had sent down upon Denain a terrible band of ruffians, led by a German foreman, themselves under the command of German officers, who could be trusted to pick a factory as clean as a bone, and Russian, English, and French prisoners of war, who worked under the threat of revolver and pistol. All that had been too heavy to carry away, great generators, massive furnaces, were broken with the hammer or destroyed with dynamite.

And now, last scene of all. On Oct. 13 the Germans were forced to leave Denain. At a hundred points they set fire to the buildings, and left a conflagration to be seen even in the suburbs of Cambrai. So perished an industry valued at 500,000,000 francs, the life and support of many thousands of families. It is perhaps the supreme example of Germany's conception of economic war.

RUINED FARMING DISTRICTS

A correspondent of The London Times who visited the devastated areas in France on behalf of the Agricultural Relief of Allies Committee wrote on Jan. 6, 1919:

The devastated region in the Somme department alone amounts to 477,000 acres. Of this about one-half is completely ruined by the digging of trenches and by bombardment, and will take years to restore; the remainder is capable of being brought back within a measurable time to a state of cultivation. The district extends from Bapaume to Montdidier and from beyond Péronne to within a few miles of Amiens. It would be quite useless to send live stock into any part of this area at the present time, for there are no means of subsistence for animal life and the farmers have no houses to live in. It is hoped, however, that by May arrangements will have been made to enable the farmers gradually to return to their farms in the more favored districts.

Moreuil, Montdidier, Roye, Péronne, Albert, Rosières, places once of considerable importance, are absolutely ruins; they are cast down as if by an earthquake, and the material of which they were built has been grueled into the earth. Occasionally a portion of a dwelling remains, and the inhabitant has struggled back and has stuck over the open window a piece of oiled paper through which a dim light penetrates. The authorities have the greatest difficulty in preventing these poor people from returning to wander disconsolately among the ruins. From the main roads I was taken by devious tracks which once were roads and was shown spots where villages used to be; the only indication now being a little heap of bricks. In these districts there is no sign of life, except the inevitable growth of weeds, which always run riot in the absence of labor, and, but for the life on the roads in the shape of transport wagons, Brit-

ish Tommies, German prisoners, and Chinese, the whole country is dead.

HOMES DESTROYED FOREVER

The one abiding impression obtained by traversing the battlefields is that of sameness—towns and villages leveled to the ground and fields churned up by shell-fire. Wherever the battle has raged in its fury the effect is the same, and the state of the country beggars description. To feel the full force the present must be contrasted with the past. A few months before the Germans advanced the country around Amiens was sown with wheat. The prospect was good. The farmers had been secure since the retreat of the enemy in 1916. They were industrious and hopeful that the tide had turned and that the worst was over. Suddenly, on March 21, 1918, the German advance began. It became an onrush, and in a few days the enemy was at the gate of Amiens. Then followed a *sauve qui peut.* Old men, women, and children seized on as many family goods as they could and fled. Surely the enemy would be stayed; it was only a momentary success. They would return in a few days. It was not to be; they could never return to their homes as they knew them. Their farewell was a final parting, for not one house was to remain in the villages they left. A few bricks might indicate where the village stood, but no more. Shell, bomb, and dynamite, the sure agents of destruction, would see to that. Those who have known and loved a home can imagine the anguish. No homecoming for the man at the wars. It can never be the same again. Old associations cannot be re-created. A wound had been inflicted which can never heal.

The trees which are so essential to the beauty of the country, which give shade to the traveler and rest the eye, could tell a tale; whole woods have been mown down; others stand up limbless and headless like scaffolding poles. All are pierced and torn. The lanscape is waste and treeless. The earth must have looked like this when first it cooled and before there was life and all was void. The work of centuries has been erased, and a new creation is required. When the Cathedral of Chartres was destroyed in the twelfth century it was considered to be such a calamity for Christendom that pilgrims flocked from all sides to aid in its rebuilding. In the same way this great calamity which France has suffered for the common cause must not be left on her shoulders alone to bear.

Summary of War Damage in France

By GEORGE B. FORD

Head of Research Department of American Red Cross in France

[A Report Prepared in December, 1918, and Approved by the French Government]

THE devastated area in France covers approximately 6,000 square miles in all, about 2 per cent. of France, with a total population of nearly 2,000,000 people. This is about equal to the area of Connecticut and Rhode Island.

Belgium has suffered at least two billion dollars' worth of destruction in all and there are two billion in thefts and taxes imposed by Germany. Of this amount $1,150,000,000 is the loss of machinery, tools, and stock, and 150,000 workingmen have been taken into Germany.

On July 24, 1917, the French Ministry of Interior prepared a report on the destruction, as closely as it could be determined on the French side of the lines. This report was the successor of a first report which was made at the end of May, 1916. The later report covered 1,223 communes in 11 departments, whereas the earlier report covered 754 communes in 10 departments. This number does not include 450 communes which were still too near the front to make possible a complete survey. The total number of communes freed from the enemy was

499 by the advance of the Spring of 1917, thereby reducing the total number of communes resting in the hands of the Germans from 2,554 to 2,055, all of which are now freed. Most of these communes are strictly agricultural, so that the destruction hits particularly hard the richest farming area of France.

It was reckoned that in the 1,223 communes reported on a year ago the number of buildings damaged was 102,697, as compared with 46,263 in May, 1916, and of these the statistics show that in 1917 50,756 of the buildings were completely destroyed. Of these latter 18,824 were in the Somme district and 12,701 in the Aisne.

250,000 BUILDINGS ANNIHILATED

The hasty investigation since the signing of the armistice shows that the total destruction in France has been quintupled, with something like 500,000 buildings damaged, and at least 250,000 are completely destroyed.

The average cost of these buildings before the war was nearly $5,000. As the present cost of a building is about two and a half times greater than it was then, we can say that the total destruction in France of the buildings alone is today over $6,000,000,000, as estimated by the Government engineers, and $4,000,000,000 as estimated by the architects and constructors' associations.

The total cost of repairing and replacing the used or destroyed public works is estimated at about $2,000,000,000, of which $200,000,000 is for the Nord Railroad, $150,000,000 for the East, $50,000,000 for the other railroads, $200,000,000 to cover the rebuilding of the canals. The Nord alone has lost 1,731 bridges and 338 stations.

In 1917 there were 527 communes in which over half of the buildings had been completely destroyed. This number has probably reached today something like 1,500 communes in all. In 1917, in 400 communes, over 80 per cent. of the buildings had been damaged, and this proportion probably reaches today over 1,000 communes in all. In the Summer of 1917 they counted over 435 town halls destroyed, 600 schools, 472 churches, and 377 other public buildings, and it could be safely said today that there are over 1,200 churches destroyed and over 1,500 schools in all.

In 1917 they counted over 414 industrial plants destroyed, which supported 105,000 persons. It can probably be said today that there are in all over 1,000 plants destroyed, supporting at least 500,000 persons.

On Oct. 25, 1916, a report was made by the Minister of the Interior on the building materials destroyed which would have to be replaced. It was made for 790 communes, or for 41,223 buildings totally or approximately destroyed, and it comprises the destruction of 1,700,000 cubic yards of stone masonry, 600,000 cubic yards of brick masonry, 300,000 tons of lime, &c. The largest part of this destruction was in the Pas-de-Calais, and the next larger in the Meurthe-et-Moselle. It also showed the destruction of 200,000,000 feet of lumber and 33,000 tons of iron and steel, with 91,000,000 roof tiles destroyed and 32,000,000 roofing slates. It can be probably said today that the total destruction would be at least five times the amount given in the above figures.

The total cost of furniture and furnishings today, exclusive of machinery, amounts to at least $2,225,000,000, as estimated by the Government engineers, and over $1,000,000,000, as estimated by the insurance companies.

DAMAGE TO AGRICULTURE

According to a report made by the Office de Reconstitution Agricole to the Minister of Liberated Regions in May, 1918, it was reckoned that at that time about 8,000 square miles of French land was in the hands of the Germans. About three-quarters of that area is tillable, and a large proportion of the rest is good for hay or pasturage. This is some of the very best and richest agricultural land in Europe. The ten invaded and liberated departments produced in 1913 nearly $400,000,000 worth of crops. The average yield of this land is about 32 bushels of wheat to the acre, and in the Meuse and Meurthe-et-Moselle it drops down to about 17 bushels to the acre. In the Marne this drops down to about

22 bushels to the acre. These regions constitute about 15 per cent. of the total tillable area of France, and the crops constitute about 20 per cent. of the total for France. The agricultural population here is about 807,000, or about 10 per cent. of the working agricultural population of France. It is estimated that 250,000 acres are now rendered uncultivable by the war.

In this region there are about 250,000 farms, of which 110,000 are less than 2½ acres apiece, and about 100,000 between 2½ and 25 acres. About 26,000 are between 25 and 100 acres, and 5,500 farms are over 100 acres. A great many of these farms belong to people who are working in factories, which accounts for there being such a large proportion of small farms. This is reckoned unusual in France. The capital investment in these farms is reckoned at $400,000,000, which would mean $1,600 average per farm. When we remember that the value of farms has more than doubled in France since the beginning of the war, it would mean the total value of these farms today stands near $800,000,000, without counting the value of the buildings.

To get an idea of the number of agricultural implements that would be needed a list was made by the Government engineer in charge which showed that to replace the losses they would need about 51,000 side-hill plows, 33,000 other plows, 56,000 cultivators, 30,000 mowing machines, 115,000 farm wagons, 88,000 harrows, 50,000 rollers, 48,000 hoes, 36,000 seed drills, 13,000 fertilizers, 16,000 beet extracters, 21,000 winnowing machines, 18,000 horse rakes, 32,000 reapers and binders, 53,000 root cutters, &c.

With regard to the cattle lost, it is hard to get at the exact figures, but in these ten departments in 1913 there were 607,000 horses, whereas in 1915 there were only 242,000, or a loss of 60 per cent. Of cattle of all kinds there was a loss of 850,000, or 55 per cent.; of pigs there was a loss of 380,000, or about 55 per cent. The loss in wheat amounts to about 1,300,000 acres. The loss in hay amounts to about 850,000 acres. The total damage to the soil to live stock, to crops, to forests, tools, &c., is estimated at $2,000,000,000.

DAMAGE TO INDUSTRY

Before the war France used 59,407,000 tons of coal a year, with an addition of 9,166,000 tons in coke equivalent. Of this France produced about 40,844,000 tons and 5,357,000 tons of coke equivalent, the rest coming from abroad. Of this amout 27,389,000 tons of coal came from the Valenciennes basin. In all something over 70 per cent. of the total coal supply of France came from the invaded regions, and very much the best quality of coal at that. About 140,000 men were employed in these mines in the invaded regions out of 203,208 coal miners for all of France. This means, with their families, three-quarters of a million people were largely dependent on the coal mines. Over $200,000,000 of machinery has probably been destroyed.

Before the war the total production of iron ore in France was about 21,918,000 tons, of which 19,629,000 tons came from the Briey and Longwy basins in the Meurthe-et-Moselle; that is, 90 per cent. of the total, of which 16,500,000 tons were in the hands of the Germans. The miners who were employed in these invaded mines, with their families, represented at least 150,000 people out of employment. It is interesting to note that just before the war the total of iron production of the Germans was 35,941,000 tons. In the United States it was 63,000,000 tons. More than $500,000,000 worth of machinery has been destroyed, including that of steel and iron mills.

Before the war 3,000,000 tons of steel were manufactured in the region invaded by Germany out of 4,686,000 tons for all of France, or nearly 65 per cent. The same percentage holds for cast iron.

The effect of the German invasion on other metals has not been so serious, as most of them come from the interior of France. The chemical industries have proportionally suffered very little from the invasion.

The textile industry consisted before the war of about 7,530,000 cotton spindles throughout France, of which 4,500,000 were in the region invaded by Germany and of which almost all were either

destroyed or carried into Germany. Out of 2,365,000 wool spindles, 2,000,000 were in the invaded districts. Out of 550,000 linen spindles, 500,000 were in the invaded regions and destroyed or removed. The same is true of looms, of which there were 140,000 in France, and over 81,000 of these were in the invaded districts. Over $120,000,000 worth of machinery has been destroyed.

Of 210 sugar refineries in France, 140 have been destroyed by the Germans. Of 3,000 brush factories, more than 2,000 have been destroyed. Over $25,000,000 worth of machinery has been destroyed. Electric power stations, totaling 300,000 kilowatts, have been destroyed with an equipment loss of $50,000,000. Breweries have lost more than $250,000,000 worth of machinery. In machine shops $100,000,000 worth of machinery has been destroyed. In foundries, &c., $60,000,000 worth of machinery is gone.

None of these damages include land or buildings. Furthermore, almost all of this machinery costs three times as much to replace today, so that it can safely be said that $4,000,000,000 worth of machinery will be needed to replace that destroyed or carried away. This includes the stock and raw materials damaged and damage done to the mines.

Before the war France used to manufacture 3,000,000 tons of cement a year. In February, 1918, it was manufacturing only 400,000 tons.

FOREST LAND DESTROYED

The Service of Forests and Water Supply in the Department of Agriculture estimates that 1,200,000 acres of forest land have been destroyed by the enemy. Over half of this wooded area belongs to the Government or to the communes. There were about 750,000 acres of woodland within the war zone which have not been cared for since the beginning of the war and which have thereby lost a great deal of their value. We can count on the complete loss of at least one-quarter of this latter area, or a total loss of nearly 1,500,000 acres. Therefore, through the destruction by the Germans and destruction caused by battle, France has lost nearly 10 per cent. of its lumber and 6½ per cent. of its firewood. The war has destroyed over 2,000,000,000 board-feet of lumber.

Before the war there were about 750,000 men in the various building trades, of whom about 75,000 were in the invaded departments. The total building done throughout France before the war in any one year was less than 7 per cent. of the building that would have to be done to replace what has been destroyed in the invaded departments. Therefore if no building were to be done elsewhere in France after the war, and reckoning that 500,000 of the building tradesmen of France would be available to work in the devastated regions, it would take over twenty years to rebuild.

The total damage in the north of France, including buildings, agriculture, industry, furniture, and public works, is estimated at 64,500,000,000 francs, or about $13,000,000,000. These were the figures reported by M. Dubois for the Committee on Budget in the Chamber of Deputies, December, 1918. We have checked most of these figures from various official and private sources and believe they are somewhat high.

GOVERNMENTAL RELIEF

In general the Government has been giving immediate aid and relief to the returning refugees, clothing them, feeding them, giving them shelter and the necessary utensils and tools, and it has been helping them establish themselves permanently by giving them advances on the eventual indemnities which they will probably receive from the Government and helping them to construct the necessary buildings. More than $34,000,000 has already been distributed for immediate aid out of a total credit of $60,000,000 which was voted in December, 1918.

Up to March 31, 1918, $28,000,000 had been advanced to returning refugees against their eventual indemnity to help them get started in re-establishing themselves. In addition, about $10,000,000 has been advanced against industrial indemnity. In addition, $1,200,000 has been advanced to the farmers to help them start recultivation.

To prepare for eventual reconstruction the technical service of reconstruction of the Government is organizing a bureau to purchase building material in advance. It is expected that a credit of $60,000,000 will now be voted to this bureau, $20,000,000 of this to be available to house and feed workmen in the devastated regions while they are starting reconstruction. Materials and housing will be allocated from the Government storage yards to co-operative groups of contractors according to priority rules.

On Dec. 13, 1918, there was created in the Ministry of War a special service for supplying and setting up temporary barracks wherever needed for workmen or refugees.

In July, 1918, the Ministry of Liberated Regions asked for bids from private manufacturers on 75 000 articles of furniture, including chairs, tables, cupboards, and wardrobes. At the end of August, 1918, it asked for bids on a lot of standardized doors and windows that could be made up ahead, including 20,000 exterior doors, 42,000 interior doors, 37,000 windows, and 25,000 shutters. Today it is rapidly increasing these orders, especially to the plants that until the signing of the armistice were manufacturing airplane parts.

With regard to the furniture indemnity law about to be voted, which provides for paying damages for furniture loss up to $2,000, the decree was issued by the Ministry of Liberated Regions on Nov. 2, 1918, which allows the individual who has suffered loss of furniture to go out and buy his own furniture with an advance which will be made to him by the State of a sum which must not exceed $200 for the head of the family and $40 for each other member of the family. If the damaged person prefers, the State will provide him with the furniture out of a stock which it is accumulating.

RE-ESTABLISHING AGRICULTURE

In the Spring of 1917 1,000,000 acres of land were released, of which at least 500,000 were tillable. During 1917 the tractor service of the Department of Agriculture plowed 80,000 acres, the French Army plowed 12,000 acres, and the British Army plowed about 50,000 acres. At that time the Government owned 800 tractors and had on order 1,500 more. It is probable that it has today over 1,500 tractors available, of which half are for the devastated regions.

During the Summer and Fall of 1917 the Office of Agricultural Reconstitution, through the special mission of the agricultural co-operative societies, founded 120 agricultural co-operatives in as many villages in the Somme, Aisne, and the Pas-de-Calais. These co-operatives include in some cases in their membership nearly all the farmers in the commune. Among them they had nearly 100,000 acres of land under cultivation, with a total membership of nearly 8,000 people. Virtually all of them were wiped out by the German advance in the Spring of 1918.

The mission is trying to reorganize them and to create other co-operatives to stock them with instruments, machines, and cattle, so that they can start operations as units on their return to their native villages. The $20,000,000 which was recently voted for encouraging agriculture is being used in part for the founding of these co-operatives.

INDUSTRIAL RE-ESTABLISHMENT

To prepare for the enormous need of industrial materials, machinery, and tools, after the war, the Office of Industrial Reconstitution has been organized and has been composed half of officials and half of manufacturers. It has a credit of $50,000,000 to arrange for buying up raw materials, machinery, tools, &c., and it arranges for ceding them to the damaged manufacturers. It is not equipped to buy and sell on a large scale itself, but has intrusted its credit to a private body organized for this purpose. This organization, formed in the first year of the war, is called L'Association Centrale pour la Reprise de l'Activité Industrielle dans les Regions Envahies. It is composed of most of the industrial people in the invaded departments. Its object is to employ every useful means for restoring the machinery and stocks destroyed. How-

ever, according to French law, the group cannot trade. It can only be a consulting and plan-forming body; therefore, it created the Comptoir Centrale d'Achats Industriels pour le Regions Envahies.

The latter has a capital of $200,000. It has a council that controls all buying and selling and which authorizes the projects of each of the subcommittees for each kind of industry to buy and sell. Each project must also be approved by the Office of Reconstitution, which allocates the necessary funds from its credit. The Comptoir can buy directly for a private owner, or it can constitute general stocks for later use. The recipient can pay for tools or machinery in cash, or he can have the total deducted from his eventual State indemnity. Cash is not given to the manufacturer. This is to save his money by wholesale quantity buying and to prevent the unfortunate effect on the market of a number of little buyers competing against each other.

At the present day these services have effected purchases to the amount of about $12,000,000 and prepared orders for machinery, tools, and raw materials for more than $40,000,000. These orders are especially assigned to the reconstitution of coal mines, of central electric power plants and of their distribution works, of general tools, &c. Other orders to a total amount of $30,000,000 are now being prepared for textile industries, breweries, sugar mills, and for oil, grease, &c. Supplementary credit on new orders is expected in a short while. The Comptoir can, by its constitution, make no profits; merely its running expenses and 5 per cent. on its actually paid-in private capital.

Mr. Ford's report ends with a summary of reconstruction work by private individuals and organizations.

Epicedium

IN MEMORY OF AMERICA'S DEAD IN THE GREAT WAR

By J. CORSON MILLER

No more for them shall Evening's rose unclose,
Nor Dawn's emblazoned panoplies be spread;
Alike, the Rain's warm kiss and stabbing snows
Unminded, fall upon each hallowed head.
But the Bugles, as they leap and wildly sing,
Rejoice, . . . remembering.

The guns' mad music their young ears have known—
War's lullabies that moaned on Flanders Plain;
Tonight the Wind walks on them, still as stone,
Where they lie huddled close as riven grain.
But the Drums, reverberating, proudly roll—
They love a Soldier's soul!

With arms outflung, and eyes that laughed at Death,
They drank the wine of sacrifice and loss;
For them a life-time spanned a burning breath,
And Truth they visioned, clean of earthly dross.
But the Fifes—can ye not hear their lusty shriek?
They know, and now they speak.

The lazy drift of cloud, the noonday hum
Of vagrant bees, the lark's untrammeled song,
Shall gladden them no more, who now lie dumb
In Death's strange sleep, yet once were swift and strong.
But the Bells that to all living listeners peal,
With joy their deeds reveal!

They have given their lives, with bodies bruised and broken,
Upon their Country's altar they have bled;
They have left as priceless heritage a token
That Honor lives forever with the Dead.
And the Bugles, as their clear notes rise and fall—
They answer, knowing all.

[OFFICIAL]

HAIG'S VICTORY DISPATCH

Full Text of the British Field Marshal's Official Narrative of the Final Battles in France

[FIRST HALF]

The British War Office made public on Jan. 7, 1919, the dispatch of Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, Commander in Chief of the British Armies in France, describing the operations on the western front from the end of April, 1918, to the signing of the armistice on Nov. 11. It is a story of continuous victories and one of the most absorbing documents of the war. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *presents the complete text in two installments. The dispatch is addressed to the British Secretary of State for War and is as follows:*

21st December, 1918.

MY LORD: I have the honor to submit the following report on the operations of the forces under my command since the successful termination of the great defensive battles on the Somme and Lys Rivers, which were described in my last dispatch.

(1) STATE OF BRITISH ARMIES

At the end of April, 1918, though the onrush of the German Armies had been stemmed for the time being, the situation on the western front, and particularly on the British portion of it, was still critical.

The immense weight of the enemy's first and heaviest onslaughts in March and April, and the unprecedented masses of men and material employed by him, had called for practically the whole strength of the British Armies to withstand them, and had left our forces greatly weakened. Although prompt steps had been taken by the home authorities to dispatch to France as rapidly as possible all reinforcements then available in England, as well as to recall considerable bodies of troops from other theatres of war, these reinforcements required time to arrive. A further period was needed to complete their training and equipment, to allow troops brought from abroad to become acclimatized, and to enable the new drafts to become assimilated within their various units.

Meanwhile it had become impossible to maintain at an effective strength the full number of our divisions. At the beginning of May no less than eight divisions had been reduced to cadres and were temporarily written off altogether as fighting units. Two other divisions were holding positions in line with reduced cadres which it was not yet possible to bring up to establishment.

Arrangements had been made at the end of April to hand over to the French for employment on a quiet part of their front a further five divisions, comprising the Ninth Corps, (see Paragraph 10 below.) These had only just been reconstituted, and, being badly in need of rest and training, were not yet considered fit to hold an active sector. In return for these five British divisions, and in accordance with Marshal Foch's views, presently explained, regarding the enemy's intentions, the French had dispatched a number of their divisions to be held in reserve in rear of the British right and to strengthen the Flanders front.

There remained available for operations on the British front forty-five British infantry divisions, most of which were below establishment. Fully three-fourths of them had been heavily engaged in one or other of the enemy's offensives, if not in both. All were urgently in need of rest; they contained a large number of young, partially trained, and totally inexperienced recruits, and subordinate commanders had had little or

no opportunity to become acquainted with their men.

(2) POSITION OF ALLIES

The French, though as yet they had been less heavily engaged than ourselves, had none the less been obliged to employ a substantial proportion of their reserves in the fighting south of the Somme and north of the Lys.

The American Army, though rapidly increasing in numbers and efficiency, was not yet ready to take the field in sufficient strength materially to affect the situation. In short, the German attacks, though they had failed to break the allied line, had stretched the resources of the Allies to the uttermost; while before Amiens and Hazebrouck they had brought the enemy within a short distance of strategic points of great importance. In these circumstances, the possibility of an immediate renewal of the enemy's offensive could not but be viewed with grave anxiety.

(3) THE ENEMY'S POSITION

On the other hand, the enemy had undoubtedly paid heavily for his successes, and had used up a great number of divisions, among them his best and his most highly trained. The reserves which he was known to have had at his disposal at the beginning of the year would suffice, indeed, to make good his losses; but in his case, also, time would be required before the divisions which had suffered most would be fit to undertake a fresh attack against prepared positions.

At the commencement of the period under review the enemy was estimated to possess seventy-five divisions in reserve on the western front. It was evident that further German attacks could not long be postponed if the enemy was to achieve a decision before the weight of the American Army was thrown into the scale.

(4) THE ENEMY'S INTENTIONS

At this period, early in May, the Allied High Command repeatedly expressed the opinion that the enemy would renew his attack on a large scale on the front Arras-Amiens-Montdidier. The stategic results to be obtained by the capture of Amiens, the separation of the French and British Armies, and an advance toward the sea along the Valley of the Somme, were very great, and might well have proved decisive. The enemy's opening offensive had already brought him within a measurable distance of success in this direction, and had carried his armies through practically the whole of our organized lines of defense.

Since the conclusion of his attacks on this front in the first week of April, the enemy had had a considerable period of time in which to re-establish communications through the devastated area, and make his preparations for a fresh advance. This period of delay had also afforded us some opportunity, of which full use was being made with all the means and resources in our power, to lay out new trench lines and reconstruct such old systems as already existed. This work, however, was still far from complete, and our defenses could not be compared with those which the enemy had already overrun.

(5) POLICY OF BRITISH ARMIES

In short, the enemy still possessed a sufficient superiority of force to retain the initiative, and it was known that he would be compelled to act within a comparatively limited time if he were to turn his superiority to account before it passed from him. These were the two main factors which had to be taken into consideration when deciding the policy of the British Armies during the late Spring and early Summer. The common object of the French and ourselves was to tide over the period which must still elapse until the growth of the American Armies and the arrival of allied reinforcements placed the opposing forces once more on a footing of equality.

The situation was an anxious one, but it was confidently expected that, if all measures open to us were undertaken promptly and executed with the energy and zeal demanded by the occasion, the enemy's future assaults would be met and overthrown as those had been which he had already made. If the Allies could preserve their front unbroken until August at the latest there was every hope that during the later portion of the year they would be able to regain the initiative, and pass to the offensive in their turn.

The period under review accordingly divides itself naturally into two main sections. During the first, the policy governing the action of the forces under my command was the maintenance of an active defense, whereby our line might be preserved unbroken, while every opportunity was taken to rest and train our sorely tried divisions. As the strength and efficiency of our divisions were restored, minor operations of gradually increasing scope, but with limited objectives, could be carried out with greater frequency. These would serve to keep alive the fighting spirit of the troops, and could be used to effect local improvements in our line, where such improvement was considered necessary either for defense or for attack.

The second period arrived when the swelling list of German casualties and the steady influx of American and allied reinforcements had produced an equilibrium of strength between the opposing forces. The complete success of the allied counterattack on the 18th of July near Soissons marked this turning point in the year's campaign, and commenced the second phase of the allied operations. Thereafter the intiative lay with the

Scene of the Final British Victories in France

Nieuport
Dixmude
Furnes
Bergues
Bourbourg
Cassel
St Omer
Wizernes
Arques
Hazebrouck
Aire
Thérouanne
Merville
Estaires
Armentières
Bailleul
Poperinghe
Ypres
St Eloi
Steenwoorde
Wulverdinghe
Watten
Esquelbecq
Wormhoudt
Bergues
Bixschoote
ROULERS
Thielt
Deynze
Nazareth
Gavere
Audenarde
COURTRAI
Eyne
Renaix
Etichove
Swevegheim
Menin
Wervicq
Comines
Warneton
Ronco
TOURCOING
ROUBAIX
Croix
Wattrelos
Houplines
Nechin
Tournai
Leuze
Ligne
Ath
Antoing
Espain
Callenelle
Peruwelz
Bernissart
MONS
Jurbise
Belœil
Rehaix
Flobecq
Ellezelles
Grammont
Ninove
BRUSSELS
Alost
Merchtem
Burst
Sottegem
Haeltert
Lessines
Enghien
Hal
Tubize
Braine le Comte
Soignies
Nivelles
Lillois
Naast
Rœulx
La Louvière
Binche
Fontaine l'Eveque
Thuin
Leval
Forchies
Ressaix
Peissant
Labuissere
Thuillies
Stree
Beaumont
Obrechies
Maubeuge
Gommegnies
Le Quesnoy
Forêt
Ferriere-la-Gde
Valenciennes
Denain
Anzin
Onnaing
Saultain
Lieu St Amand
Haspres
Avesnes
Bavai
Hon-Hergies
Frameries
Elouges
Dour
Beuss
Condé
Fresnes
St Amand
Raches
Bruay
Leforest
Lens
Harnes
Meurchin
Orchies
Landas
Nivelle
Rœulx
Douai
Corbehem
Anichin
Bouchain
Aubigny au Bac
Arras
Monchy
Cojeul
Remy
Hendecourt
Sauchy
Epinoy
Marquion
Rieux
St Aubert
Boisleux
Croisilles
Saulty
Rivière
Avesnes le-Comte
Beaumetz
Fortel
Acheux
Sailly
Biache
Marœuil
Savy
Aubigny
Tincques
St Pol
Blangy sur-Ternoise
Bryas
La Comté
Lievin
Avion
Mericourt
Henin-Lietard
Sallaumines
Noyelles
Vendin le Vieil
Meurchin
Carvin
Wingles
Givenchy
Bethune
Festubert
Locon
Lillers
Norrent-Fontes
Laventie
Fromelles
Beaucamps
Neuve Chapelle
Fournes
Haubourdin
Lesquin
Seclin
Bachy
Pont-à-Marcq
Merignies
Nomain
Marly
Templeuve
Cysoing
Wavrin
Marquillies
Don
Pont-à-Vendin
Annay
Vieux Berquin
Merris
Neuve Eglise
Ploegsteert
Messines
Wytschaete
Wambeke
Hollebeke
Zandvoorde
Gheluwe
Zillebeke
Dadizeele
Ledeghem
Moorslede
Roulers
Staden
Woumen
Zarren
Houthem
Loo
Ostende
Middelkerke
Blankenberghe
Zeebrugge
Knocke
Heyst
Dunkerque
Gravelines
Bourbourg
Esquelbecq
Wormhoudt
Proven
Langemarck
Passchendaele
Iseghem
Lendelede
Deerlyck
Vichte
Cuerne
Sweveghem
Etichove
Nederbrakel
Grammont
Leebeek
Foret de Soignies
WATERLOO
Ghislenghien
Anvaing
Rumes
Chin
Ramegnies
Chysoing
Bachy
Pont-à-Marcq
Espain
Callenelle
Peruwelz
Bernissart
Jurbise
Belœil
Naast
Rœulx
Nivelle
Landas
Orchies

Doullens
Mondicourt
Cezaincourt
Bucquoy
Achiet
Serre
Mirraumont
Sapignies
St Leger
Ervillers
Quéant
Bourlon
Cambrai
Solesmes
Englefontaine
Aulnoye
Cerfontaine
Neuvilly
Fontaine au Bois
Robersart
Dompierre
Sars Poteries
Avesnes
Landrecies
Le Cateau
Bertincourt
Bapaume
Beaucourt
Achoux
Courcelette
Thiepval
Pozières
Ovillers
Longueval
Contalmaison
Combles
Gouzeaucourt
Masnières
Catteniéres
Caudry
Bertry
Clary
Bantouzelle
Canopies
Villers Bocage
Albert
Dernancourt
Dernancourt
Maurepas
Curlu
Bouchavesnes
Epehy
Heudicourt
Hargicourt
le Catelet
Beaurevoir
Bohain
Busigny
Wassigny
Etreux
Vénérolles
Boué
le Nouvion
Fourmies
Trélon
Forêt de Trélon
Chimay
Villers-la-four
Riezes
Forêt domaniale de St Michel
Forêt de Signy
Hirson
Origny
Any
la Bouteille
Vervins
Sains Richaumont
Rumigny
St Gobert
Brunchamel
Resigny
Montcornet
Montmeillant
Rozoy-s-Serre
Drancy
Chaumont Porcien
Wasigny
Bucy
Dizy-le-Gros
Sévigny
Rethel
Nanteuil
Acy
Tagnon
Le Chatelet
Ruzancourt
Bourgogne
Neufchâtel
Berry-au-Bac
Guignicourt
Craonne
Pontavert
Asfeld
Prouvais
Amifontaine
la Malmaison
Villers
Berrieux
Nizelles
Ste Erme
Bruyères
Coucy
Leon
Athies
Sissonne
CAMP DE SISSONNE
Nizy le Thour
Banogne
Recouvrance
Château Porcien
Chambry
N.D de Liesse
Boncourt
Chivres
Pierrepont
Verneuil
Missy
Grandlup
Voyenne
Crécy
Serre
Assis
Aumencourt
Courbes
Romies
Anguilcourt
Vendeuil d'Achery
Nouvion
le Comte
Brissy Cholgny
Mayot
Montescourt
Fay le Noyer
la Ferté Chevresis
Chevresis-Monceau
Faucouzy
Perpeuille
Villers Sec
Ribemont
Iancourt
Mezières sur Oise
Courjumelles
Pleine Selve
Mont d'Origny
Origny
Renansart
St Quentin
Athies
Holnon
Lesdins
Hauteville
680
Proix
Guise
R. Oise
Lesquielles
Vadencourt
Fonsommes
Sequehart
Preselles
Aisonville
Petit Verly
Montbrehain
Nauroy
Wassigny
Monneveret
Grougis
Fins
Andigny
Croix
Matigny
Villeselve
Flavy le
Ham
Nesle
Roisel
Peronne
Mt St Quentin
Cartigny
Bellenglise
Brie
Vermand
Biaches
Proyart
Hamel
Cerisy
Méricourt
Chipilly
Bray
Sommes
Picquigny
AMIENS
Longueau
Villers Bretonneux
Saleux
Bacouel
Prouzel
Marcelcave
Harbonnières
Guillaucourt
Lihons
Chaulnes
Domvin
Caix
Mezières
le Quesnel
Moreuil
Ailly s-Noye
Rouvroy
Hattencourt
Chilly
Fresnoy
Damery
Andechy
Hargicourt
Berrepont
la Faloise
R. Avre
Flavières
Laboissière
Roye
Libeamont
Cuiscard
Tergnier
Lafère
Versigny
Quesmy
Chauny
Sinceny
Forêt de St Gobain
Autnois
Crépy
Folembray
Landricourt
Anizy-le-Chât
Chavignon
Chemin des Dames
Craonne
Guignicourt
Berry-au-Bac
Neufchâtel
Bourgogne
Ruzancourt
Breteuil
Montdidier
Beuvraignes
Onvillers
Dompierre
Cannes
Tricot
Maignelay
St Just
Roye-sur-Matz
Lassigny
Noyon
Ressons
Ribécourt
Curscamp
Villers
Rouvrotte
Tracy-le-Mont
Compiègne
Attichy
R. Aisne
SOISSONS
R. Oise
R. Ailette
Canal de l'Oise
Canal du Nord
Canal de la Somme
Canal de la Sensée
Canal de Crozat
Canal de St Quentin
Canal de Dunkerque
Canal de Jonction
Canal de Condé
Canal de Mons
Canal de Nimy
Canal de Mons
Canal de Nimy
Canal de Mons
Canal de Nimy

Allies, and the growing superiority of their forces enabled them to roll back the tide of invasion with ever-increasing swiftness. At this point and in this connection I should like to pay my personal tribute to the foresight and determination of the French Marshal in whose hands the co-ordination of the action of the allied armies was placed.

PART I.

THE PERIOD OF ACTIVE DEFENSE

(6) REORGANIZATION

During the period following the breakdown of the German attacks on the Lys the military centre of gravity moved to the south, and, as regards the British front, the months of May, June, and July, though full of incidents of a minor character, in which the different troops concerned showed great gallantry and skill, can be dealt with comparatively shortly.

At the outset of this period, the most pressing need after that of filling up the gaps in our divisions was to close the breaches which the German advances had made in our successive defensive systems. This work had been begun, indeed, in the early days of the Somme offensive, but much still remained to be accomplished before our positions could be regarded as reasonably secure.

Further, the depth to which the enemy had penetrated in the Somme and Lys Valleys had disrupted important lateral lines of railway and had created a situation of extreme gravity with regard to the maintenance of communications in Northern France. At Amiens, Béthune, and Hazebrouck, much-used railway junctions had been brought under the effective fire of the enemy's guns, while the railway centre at St. Pol was threatened. To relieve the situation a comprehensive program of railway construction was undertaken by us in conjunction with the French, so as to provide three separate routes for north and south traffic, which should be independent of Amiens. This involved extensive doublings and quadruplings of existing railways and the building of new lines, for which some 200 miles of broad-gauge track was laid during the period April-July.

All these various constructional needs threw an immense amount of work upon the staff of the departments concerned, and called for the employment of great quantities of skilled and unskilled labor. All available resources of men and material were concentrated upon satisfying them, and by the time that the great change in the general military situation had taken place the essential part had been satisfactorily accomplished. In particular, a complete series of new defensive lines had been built, involving the digging of 5,000 miles of trench.

(7) MINOR OPERATIONS IN MAY AND JUNE

While intense activity prevailed behind the lines, our fighting troops were not idle. Full use was made of harassing tactics by all arms, and in the Lys salient in particular the German troops crowded into this exposed area were continually subjected to a most effective system of artillery harassing fire.

The losses suffered by the enemy in the Lys sector and the destruction caused to his artillery and material were very great. Convincing evidence of this was obtained from prisoners' statements, and was furnished also by the extensive German graveyards afterward found in this area, by the condition of the roads, and the litter of all kinds found near them and near battery positions and dumps. These tactics undoubtedly postponed the renewal of the German offensive on this front until the allied counteroffensive made it impossible.

The chief centres of infantry activity during this period were on the fronts of the Fourth and Second Armies. Early in May small operations improved our line about Morlancourt. These were followed on the 19th of May by an admirably executed operation, in which the 2d Australian Division (Major Gen. N. M. Smyth) took Ville-sur-Ancre, with 400 prisoners. Later, on June 10, the same division, in a highly successful night attack on a front of about two miles south of Morlancourt, effected a substantial advance, taking over 300 prisoners.

On the Second Army front, Locre Hospice and the small woods southeast of Dickebusch Lake, known as Scottish and Ridge Woods, were the scenes of very lively fighting, in which French forces took part. A successful minor operation by the French on May 20 resulted in a valuable gain of ground in the neighborhood of Locre Hospice and the capture of over 500 prisoners, though the Hospice itself was not secured by us till the first week in July. Ridge Wood changed hands several times prior to its final capture, with 350 prisoners, by the 6th Division (Major Gen. Sir T. O. Marden) and 33d Division (Major Gen. Sir R. J. Pinney) on July 14.

A material improvement in our line was also effected by the capture, on June 3, of the small hill known as the Mont de Merris, west of Merris village, with nearly 300 prisoners, by the 1st Australian Division (Major Gen. Sir H. B. Walker) and troops of the 29th Division, (Major Gen. D. E. Cayley.) At other points there was much fighting of a minor character, notably about Aveluy Wood and in the neighborhood of the Lawe River and Merville.

(8) OPERATIONS IN JULY—HAMEL CAPTURED

Two months of comparative quiet worked a great change in the condition of the British armies. The drafts sent out from England had largely been absorbed, many reinforce-

ments from abroad had already arrived, and the number of our effective infantry divisions had risen from forty-five to fifty-two. In artillery we were stronger than we had ever been.

Though the general situation did not warrant the adoption of a definitely offensive policy, in view of the concentration of the bulk of the enemy's large reserves in Prince Rupprecht's group of armies opposite the British front, I now felt strong enough to undertake operations of a somewhat larger scope, which would at once strengthen our position for defense and fit in with future schemes.

The first of these, carried out at the end of June, east of Nieppe Forest, aimed at establishing our main line of resistance further in advance of the wooded ground, which was constantly being shelled with gas. The assault, launched at 6 A. M., on the 28th of June by the 5th Division (Major Gen. R. B. Stephens) and 31st Division, (Major Gen. J. Campbell,) without preliminary bombardment, took the enemy by surprise, and was completely successful; the German defenses west of the Plate Becque stream, on a front of 6,000 yards from Pont Tournant to La Becque, being captured, together with some 450 prisoners.

A necessary preliminary to any operation to disengage Amiens was the recapture of our old positions east of Hamel and Vaire Wood and the clearing of the Villers Bretonneux Plateau. This was accomplished on July 4 by the Australian Corps, (Lieut. Gen. Sir J. Monash,) with the aid of four companies of the 33d American Division and sixty tanks.

The most striking characteristic of the attack was the close and effective co-operation between tanks and infantry. Moving up and down behind the barrage, the tanks either killed the enemy or forced him to take shelter in dugouts, where he became an easy prey to the infantry. Hamel was taken by envelopment from the flanks and rear, the enemy was driven from Vaire Wood, and at the end of the day our troops had gained all their objectives and over 1,500 prisoners.

Our success at Hamel was followed by a series of admirably executed operations north of the Lys.

On July 11 troops of the 1st Australian Division gave a striking example of their ascendency over the German infantry opposite to them. At 11 A. M. on this day four men went out on patrol near Merris and returned with between thirty and forty prisoners. Other patrols, pushed forward both by the 1st Australian and 31st Divisions, secured in two days no fewer than 223 prisoners and established a number of new posts well in advance of our former line.

Surprise played an important part in the successful attack by which the 9th Division (Major Gen. H. H. Tudor) took Meteren on July 19, with some 350 prisoners. The village stood on high ground close to our line, and its capture provided greater depth to our defense.

For some time prior to this attack gas was discharged, in conjunction with a smoke and high-explosive shell bombardment. When at 7:55 A. M. on July 19 our infantry advanced behind a barrage of smoke and high explosive, the enemy was expecting only a gas discharge, and had in many cases put on gas masks.

The capture of Meteren was followed shortly after midnight on July 28-29 by a boldly conceived operation by the 1st Australian Division, which resulted in the capture of Merris, with 187 prisoners.

(9) ON THE FRENCH FRONT

By the end of July the reconstitution of the British armies had been completed. The spirit of the men was as high as ever, and the success of their various local operations had had a good effect. I had once more at my command an effective striking force, capable of taking the offensive with every hope of success when the proper moment should arrive.

Meanwhile, events of the most critical importance had been taking place on the French front.

The British General Staff had always held the opinion that before the resumption of the enemy's main offensive on the Arras-Amiens-Montdidier front the attack on our northern flank in Flanders would be followed by a similar attack on the southern flank of the allied armies. This view had proved correct. Though probably delayed by his unexpectedly extensive commitments in the Lys battle, at the end of May the enemy had developed his plan of operations on the lines which we had foreseen, and had launched a violent surprise attack on the Aisne front. In this attack certain British divisions which had been sent there to rest became involved from the outset.

(10) OPERATIONS OF THE NINTH CORPS IN THE AISNE BATTLE

At the end of April and early in May the 8th, 21st, 25th, and 50th Divisions, subsequently reinforced by the 19th Division, and constituting the 9th British Corps, under command of Lieut. Gen. Sir A. Hamilton-Gordon, had been placed at Marshal Foch's disposal, as noted above. These divisions had been dispatched by him to the French Sixth Army, to take the place of certain French divisions concentrated behind Amiens.

Of these divisions, the 19th, (Major Gen. G. D. Jeffreys,) 21st, (Major Gen. D. G. M. Campbell,) 25th, (Major Gen. Sir E. G. Bainbridge,) and 50th Divisions, (Major Gen. H. C. Jackson,) had taken part in both the Somme battle and the battle of the Lys. The 8th Division (Major Gen. W. C. G. Heneker) had been involved south of the Somme in some of the heaviest fighting of the year, and had behaved with distinguished gallantry. All these divisions had but lately been filled

up with young drafts, and, despite their high spirit and gallant record, were in no condition to take part in major operations until they had had several weeks' rest. During the first fortnight in May three of these divisions—the 21st, 8th, and 50th—were put into line on a front of about fifteen miles between Bermicourt and Bouconville, northwest of Rheims.

About May 26 prisoners taken by the French gave the first definite information regarding the great offensive launched by the enemy on the Aisne front on the morning of May 27. This attack, delivered by twenty-eight German divisions, supported by tanks, was directed against the Sixth French Army on a front of about thirty-five miles northwest of Rheims. It involved the whole of the 9th British Corps, as well as the French corps holding the Chemin des Dames on the left of the British sector.

Preceded by an artillery and trench mortar bombardment of great intensity, the German infantry broke into the battle positions of the allied divisions. The enemy gained a footing on the Chemin des Dames at an early hour, and, pressing on in the centre of his attack in overwhelming strength, forced the line of the Aisne on a wide front. By nightfall he had crossed the Vesle west of Fismes, and in the British sector, after very heavy and determined fighting, had compelled the left and centre of the 9th Corps, now reinforced by the 25th Division, to swing back to a position facing west and northwest between the Aisne and the Vesle.

On May 28 and following days the enemy launched fresh attacks in great force on the whole battlefront, pressing back our allies to west of Soissons and south of Fère en Tardenois. The 9th British Corps, greatly reduced in numbers by severe and incessant fighting, was forced to withdraw across the Vesle, and thence gradually pressed back in a southeasterly direction between the Vesle and the Ardre. During the night of May 28-29 the 19th Division was brought up in buses, and put in to fill a gap in the French line across the Ardre Valley, deploying with great skill and steadiness. By the evening of May 30, at which date in the centre of his attack the enemy had reached the Marne, the rate of his advance in the British sector had begun to slacken.

During the next few days, however, fighting was still intense. On the southern and western portions of the battlefront the enemy made deep progress, gaining the north bank of the Marne from Dormans to Château-Thierry, and advancing astride the Aisne to the outskirts of the Villers Cotterets Forest, and across the high ground northeast of Attichy. On the eastern flank of the salient created by the enemy's advance, the British forces, at this date under command of the French Fifth Army, withdrew gradually to the line Aubilly-Chembrecy-Boujacourt, where they were able to consolidate. Though the enemy's attacks continued persistently for some time longer, and on June 6 culminated in two determined attempts upon the important position known as the Montagne de Bligny, which commands the valley of the Ardre, all these attacks were most gallantly repulsed, and the enemy's advance definitely stayed.

Throughout this long period of incessant fighting against greatly superior numbers the behavior of all arms of the British forces engaged was magnificent. What they achieved is best described in the words of the French General under whose orders they came, who wrote of them: "They have enabled us to establish a barrier against which the hostile waves have beaten and shattered themselves. This none of the French who witnessed it will ever forget."

(11) THE SECOND BATTLE OF THE MARNE

While our troops were still engaged in the fighting southwest of Rheims a fresh battle had broken out on June 7 on the French front between Noyon and Montdidier. In this case the enemy did not succeed in effecting a surprise, but the strain thrown upon the French armies by these two attacks was considerable, and the situation was such that the German command might reasonably be expected to endeavor to develop it with all the means at their disposal.

While, on the one hand, at the beginning of July it was known that Prince Rupprecht's reserve group of divisions about Douai and Valenciennes were still intact and opposite the British front, on the other hand, for a number of reasons it was believed at French General Headquarters that the Germans were about to attack in strength east and west of Rheims. It was apprehended, indeed, that the attack might spread even further east into the Argonne and might endanger a wide sector of the French position. Marshal Foch accordingly withdrew the whole of the French forces, some eight divisions, from Flanders, and transferred them southward to the French front. In addition he asked that four British divisions might be moved, two of them to areas south of the Somme and two to positions astride that river, so as to insure the connection between the French and British Armies about Amiens and to enable him to move four French divisions further east to his right flank. After carefully weighing the situation, I agreed to this proposal, and immediate orders were given for the movement.

On July 13 a further request was received from Marshal Foch that these four British divisions might be placed unreservedly at his disposal and that four other British divisions might be dispatched to take their places behind the junction of the allied armies. This request was also agreed to, and the 15th 34th, 51st, and 62d British Divisions, constituting the 22d Corps, under command of Lieut. Gen. Sir A. Godley, were accordingly sent down to the French front.

Meanwhile, on July 15, the enemy had launched his expected attack east and southwest of Rheims, and after making some progress at first and effecting the passage of the Marne, was held by the French, American, and Italian forces on those fronts. On July 18 Marshal Foch launched the great counteroffensive which he had long been preparing on the front between Château-Thierry and Soissons, supporting this successful stroke by vigorous attacks also on other parts of the German salient. In this fighting the 22d British Corps speedily became involved.

(12) OPERATIONS BY THE 22D CORPS

On July 20 the 51st and 62d Divisions of the 22d Corps, under command of Major Gens. G. T. C. Carter-Campbell and W. P. Braithwaite, respectively, attacked in conjunction with the French on the eastern side of the salient southwest of Rheims. The sector assigned to the British troops covered a front of 8,000 yards astride the Ardre River, and consisted of an open valley bottom, with steep wooded slopes on either side. Both valley and slopes were studded with villages and hamlets, which were for the most part intact and afforded excellent cover to the enemy.

On this front our troops were engaged for a period of ten days in continuous fighting of a most difficult and trying nature. Throughout this period steady progress was made, in the face of vigorous and determined resistance. Marfaux was taken on July 23, and on July 28 British troops retook the Montagne de Bligny, which other British troops had defended with so much gallantry and success two months previously. In these operations, throughout which French artillery and tanks rendered invaluable assistance, the 51st and 62d Divisions took 1,200 prisoners from seven different German divisions and successfully completed an advance of over four miles.

Meanwhile, on July 23, the 15th and 34th Divisions, under command of Major Gens. H. L. Reed and C. L. Nicholson, respectively, attacked on the west side of the salient in the neighborhood of Berzy-le-Sec and Parcy-Tigny, southwest of Soissons. These divisions also had many days of heavy and continuous fighting on different parts of this front until withdrawn during the first days of August, and acquitted themselves very gallantly side by side with their French comrades in arms. Many prisoners were taken by both divisions, and the 15th Division in particular earned distinction in the fierce struggle for Buzancy.

PART II.

THE PERIOD OF OFFENSIVE ACTION

(13) SITUATION AT END OF JULY

The definite collapse of the ambitious offensive launched by the enemy on July 15 and the striking success of the allied counteroffensive south of the Aisne effected a complete change in the whole military situation. The German Army had made its effort, and had failed. The period of its maximum strength had been passed, and the bulk of the reserves accumulated during the Winter had been used up. On the other hand, the position of the Allies in regard to reserves had greatly improved. The fresh troops made available during the late Spring and early Summer had been incorporated and trained. The British Army was ready to take the offensive; while the American Army was growing rapidly, and had already given convincing proof of the high fighting quality of its soldiers.

At a conference held on July 23, when the success of the attack of July 18 was well assured, the methods by which the advantage already gained could be extended were discussed in detail. The allied Commander in Chief asked that the British, French, and American Armies should each prepare plans for local offensives, to be taken in hand as soon as possible, with certain definite objectives of a limited nature. These objectives on the British front were the disengagement of Amiens and the freeing of the Paris-Amiens railway by an attack on the Albert-Montdidier front. The rôle of the French and American Armies was to free other strategic railways by operations further south and east.

In addition to the disengagement of Amiens, the situation on the British front presented strong arguments in favor of certain other schemes, such as the disengagement of Hazebrouck by the recapture of Kemmel Hill, combined with an operation in the direction of La Bassée. If successful, such an operation would have the effect of improving our position at Ypres and Calais. The Lys salient would be reduced, and the safety of the Bruay coal mines become less threatened.

These different operations had already been the subject of correspondence between Marshal Foch and myself, as well as of the earnest consideration of the British General Staff. Ultimately, I had come to the conclusion that of the tasks assigned to the British forces the operation east of Amiens should take precedence as being the most important and the most likely to give large results.

It would depend upon the nature of the success which might be obtained in these different allied operations whether they could be more fully exploited before Winter set in. It was subsequently arranged that attacks would be pressed in a converging direction towards Mézières by the French and American Armies, while at the same time the British armies, attacking toward the line St. Quentin-Cambrai, would strike directly at the vital lateral communications running through Maubeuge to Hirson and Mézières, by which alone the German forces

on the Champagne front could be supplied and maintained.

As a secondary result of the advance of the British armies toward the all-important railway centres about Maubeuge, the group of German armies in Flanders would find their communications threatened from the south, and any operations which it might be possible for the Allies to undertake in that theatre at a later date would be powerfully assisted thereby. It was obviously of vital importance to the enemy to maintain intact his front opposite St. Quentin and Cambrai, and for this purpose he depended on the great fortified zone known as the Hindenburg line.

(14) GENERAL SCHEME OF BRITISH OPERATIONS

The brilliant success of the Amiens attack was the prelude to a great series of battles, in which, throughout three months of continuous fighting, the British armies advanced without a check from one victory to another. The progress of this mighty conflict divides itself into certain stages, which themselves are grouped into two well-defined phases.

(A) During the first part of the struggle the enemy sought to defend himself in the deep belt of prepared positions and successive trench systems which extended from the springtide of the German advance, about Albert and Villers Bretonneux to the Hindenburg line between St. Quentin and the Scarpe. From these positions, scene of the stubborn battles of the two preceding years, the German armies were forced back step by step by a succession of methodical attack which culminated in the breaking through of the Hindenburg line defenses.

(B) Thereafter, during the second period of the struggle, our troops were operating in practically open country against an enemy who endeavored to stand, on such semi-prepared or natural defensive positions as remained to him, for a period long enough to enable him to organize his retreat and avoid overwhelmig disaster. The final stages of our operations, therefore, are concerned with the breaking of the enemy's resistance on these lines.

Throughout this latter period, the violence of our assaults and the rapidity of our advance toward the enemy's vital centres of communication about Maubeuge threatened to cut the main avenue of escape for the German forces opposite the French and American Armies. The position of the German armies in Flanders, themselves unable to withstand the attacks of the Allied forces operating under the King of the Belgians, was equally endangered by our progress behind their left flank. To the south and north of the area in which our victorious armies were driving forward through his weakening defense, the enemy was compelled to execute hasty withdrawals from wide tracts of territory.

The second phase had already reached its legitimate conclusion when the signing of the armistice put an end to hostilities. Finally defeated in the great battles of the 1st and 4th of November and utterly without reserves, the enemy at that date was falling back without coherent plan in widespread disorder and confusion.

FIRST PHASE

FIGHTING IN INTRENCHED POSITIONS

Aug. 8-12

(15) PLAN OF OPERATIONS

The plan of the Amiens operation was to strike in an easterly and southeasterly direction, using the Somme River to cover the left flank of our advance, with the object in the first place of gaining the line of the Amiens outer defenses between Le Quesnel and Mericourt sur Somme, thereby freeing the main Paris-Amiens railway. Having gained the Amiens defense line, the attack was to proceed without delay toward Roye, and to include the capture as soon as possible of the important railway junction of Chaulnes, thereby cutting the communications of the German forces in the Lassigny and Montdidier areas. If all went well, French troops would be in readiness to cooperate by pressing the enemy southeast of Montdidier.

Preliminary instructions to prepare to attack east of Amiens at an early date had been given to the Fourth Army commander, General Rawlinson, on July 13, and on July 28 the French First Army, under command of General Debeney, was placed by Marshal Foch under my orders for this operation. Further to strengthen my attack, I decided to reinforce the British Fourth Army with the Canadian Corps, and also with the two British divisions which were then held in readiness astride the Somme. In order to deceive the enemy and to insure the maximum effect of a surprise attack, elaborate precautions were taken to mislead him as to our intentions and to conceal our real purpose.

Instructions of a detailed character were issued to the formations concerned, calculated to make it appear that a British attack in Flanders was imminent. Canadian battalions were put into line on the Kemmel front, where they were identified by the enemy. Corps headquarters were prepared, and casualty clearing stations were erected in conspicuous positions in this area. Great activity was maintained also by our wireless stations on the First Army front, and arrangements were made to give the impression that a great concentration of tanks was taking place in the St. Pol area. Training operations, in which infantry and tanks co-operated, were carried out in this neighborhood on days on which the enemy's long-distance

reconnoissance and photographic machines were likely to be at work behind our lines.

The rumor that the British were about to undertake a large and important operation on the northern front quickly spread. In the course of our subsequent advances convincing evidence was obtained that these different measures had had the desired effect, and that the enemy was momentarily expecting to be attacked in strength in Flanders.

Meanwhile, the final details for the combined British and French attack had been arranged early in August, and the date for the assault fixed for the morning of the 8th. The front held by the Australian Corps on the right of the British line was extended southward to include the Amiens-Roye road, and the Canadian Corps was moved into position by night behind this front. The assembly of tanks and of the Cavalry Corps was postponed until the last moment and carried out as secretly as possible.

Partly as the result of successful minor operations of the Allies, and partly in consequence of the change in the general situation, the enemy during the first days of August withdrew from the positions still held by him west of the Avre and Ancre Rivers. These movements did not affect our plans, but, on the other hand, a strong local attack launched by the enemy on Aug. 6 south of Morlancourt led to severe fighting, and undoubtedly rendered the task of the 3d Corps more difficult.

(16) THE TROOPS EMPLOYED

The front of attack of General Rawlinson's Fourth Army extended for a distance of over eleven miles from just south of the Amiens-Roye road to Morlancourt exclusively. The troops employed were: On the right the Canadian Corps, under command of Lieut. Gen. Sir A. W. Currie, with the 3d, 1st, and 2d Canadian Divisions in line, and the 4th Canadian Division in close support; in the centre the Australian Corps, under command of Lieut. Gen. Sir J. Monash, with the 2d and 3d Australian Divisions in line and the 5th and 4th Australian Divisions in support; on the left, north of the Somme, the 3d Corps, under the command of Lieut. Gen. Sir R. H. K. Butler, with the 58th and 18th Divisions in line and the 12th Division in support.

The attack of the French First Army, under General Debeney, was timed to take place about an hour later than the opening of the British assault, and was delivered on a front btween four and five miles between Moreuil inclusive and the British right. As the allied troops made progress the right of the French attack was to be gradually extended southward until the southern flank of the allied battle front rested on Braches.

Behind the British front the British Cavalry Corps, consisting of three cavalry divisions under command of Lieut. Gen. Sir C. T. McM. Kavanagh, was concentrated at zero hour east of Amiens. A special mobile force of two motor machine-gun brigades and a Canadian cyclist battalion, under command of Brig. Gen. Brutinel, had orders to exploit success along the lines of the Amiens-Roye road.

(17) THE BATTLE OPENED

At 4:20 A. M. on Aug. 8th our massed artillery opened intense fire on the whole front of attack, completely crushing the enemy's batteries, some of which never succeeded in coming into action. Simultaneously, British infantry and tanks advanced to the assault. The enemy was taken completely by surprise, and under cover of a heavy ground mist our first objectives, on the line Demuin, Marcelcave, Cerisy, south of Morlancourt, were gained rapidly.

After a halt of two hours on this line by the leading troops, infantry, cavalry, and light tanks passed through and continued the advance, the different arms working in cooperation in the most admirable manner. At the close of the day's operations our troops had completed an advance of between six and seven miles. The Amiens outer defense line, including the villages of Caix, Harbonnières, and Morcourt, had been gained on the whole front of attack, except at Le Quesnel itself. Cavalry and armored cars were in action well to the east of this line, and before dawn on Aug. 9 Le Quesnel also had been taken. North of the Somme the enemy was more alert as the result of the recent engagements in this sector, and succeeded by heavy fighting in maintaining himself for the time being in the village of Chipilly.

East of the line of our advance the enemy at nightfall was blowing up dumps in all directions, while his transport and limbers were streaming eastward toward the Somme, offering excellent targets to our airmen, who made full use of their opportunities. Over 13,000 prisoners, between 300 and 400 guns, and vast quantities of ammunition and stores of all kinds remained in our possession.

The brilliant and predominating part taken by the Canadian and Australian Corps in this battle is worthy of the highest commendation. The skill and determination of these troops proved irresistible, and at all points met with rapid and complete success. The fine performance of the cavalry throughout all stages of the operation also deserves mention. Having completed their assembly behind the battlefront by a series of night marches, on the first day of the attack they advanced twenty-three miles from their points of concentration, and by the dash and vigor of their action, both on this and subsequent days, rendered most valuable and gallant service. The general success of all arms was made possible by the good staff work of my own staff at General Headquarters, and of the staffs of the armies concerned. Under the able and experienced direction of the Fourth Army commander, General Raw-

linson, the preparations for the battle, including detailed artillery arrangements of an admirable nature, were carried out with a thoroughness and completeness which left nothing to chance. Without this excellent staff work neither the rapid concentration of troops, unknown to the enemy, nor the success of our initial assault and its subsequent development could have been accomplished.

Meanwhile, at 5:55 A. M., the attack of the French First Army had been launched successfully, and gained the line Pierrepont-Plessier-Fresnoy, all inclusive, in touch with Brutinel's Force on the Amiens-Roye road west of Le Quesnoy. Three thousand three hundred and fifty prisoners and many guns were taken by the French forces on this day.

(18) THE ADVANCE CONTINUED

The sweeping character of this success, which in one day had gained our first objective and disengaged the Paris-Amiens railway, opened a clear field for the measures of exploitation determined upon to meet such an event.

The attack was continued on Aug. 9. After meeting with considerable opposition on the line Beaufort-Vrely-Rosières-Framerville, the enemy's resistance weakened under the pressure of our troops, and once more rapid progress was made. The 8th Hussars, 1st Cavalry Division (Major Gen. R. L. Mullens) took Meharicourt at a gallop; the 2d and 3d Cavalry Divisions (Major Gens. T. T. Pitman and A. E. W. Harman) also passed through our advancing infantry, capturing a number of prisoners and gaining much ground. That night we held Bouchoir, Rouvroy, Morcourt, and Framerville, and were on the western outskirts of Lihons and Proyart.

North of the Somme the 3d Corps, including the 12th Division (Major Gen. H. W. Higginson) and a regiment of the 33d American Division, (Major Gen. G. Bell,) attacked in the late afternoon and gained a line east of Chipilly, Morlancourt, and Dernancourt.

During the following days our operations continued successfully in close co-operation with the French. By the evening of Aug. 12 our infantry had reached the old German Somme defenses of 1916, on the general line west of Damery, east of Lihons, east of Proyart, having repulsed ith severe loss determined counterattacks in the neighborhood of Lihons. North of the Somme we were on the western outskirts of Bray-sur-Somme.

Montdidier had fallen to the French two days earlier, and on the whole front from the Oise River to the Roye road at Andechy our allies had made deep and rapid progress.

On the night of Aug. 12, as has been seen, our advance east of Amiens had reached the general line of the old Roye-Chaulnes defenses. The derelict battle area which now lay before our troops, seared by old trench lines, pitted with shell holes, and crossed in all directions with tangled belts of wire, the whole covered by the wild vegetation of two years, presented unrivaled opportunities for stubborn machine-gun defenses.

Attacks carried out on Aug. 13 proved the strength of these positions, and showed that the enemy, heavily reinforced, was ready to give battle for them. I therefore determined to break off the battle on this front, and transferred the front of attack from the Fourth Army to the sector north of the Somme, where an attack seemed unexpected by the enemy. My intention was for the Third Army to operate in the direction of Bapaume, so as to turn the line of the old Somme defenses from the north. The French First Army now ceased to be under my command.

Meanwhile, south of the Somme, our pressure was to be maintained, so as to take advantage of any weakening on the part of the enemy and encourage in him the belief that we intended to persist in our operations on that front. During the succeeding days local attacks gave us possession of Damery, Parvillers, and Fransart, and made progress also at other points.

(19) THE RESULTS OF THE BATTLE OF AMIENS

The results of the battle of Amiens may be summarized as follows: Within the space of five days the town of Amiens and the railway centring upon it had been disengaged. Twenty German divisions had been heavily defeated by thirteen British infantry divisions and three cavalry divisions, assisted by a regiment of the 23d American Division and supported by some four hundred tanks. Nearly 22,000 prisoners and over 400 guns had been taken by us and our line had been pushed forward to a depth of some twelve miles in a vital sector. Further, our deep advance, combined with the attacks of the French armies on our right, had compelled the enemy to evacuate hurriedly a wide extent of territory to the south of us.

The effect of this victory, following so closely after the allied victory on the Marne, upon the morale both of the German and British troops was very great. Buoyed up by the hope of immediate and decisive victory, to be followed by an early and favorable peace, constantly assured that the allied reserves were exhausted, the German soldiery suddenly found themselves attacked on two fronts and thrown back with heavy losses from large and important portions of their earlier gains. The reaction was inevitable and of a deep and lasting character.

On the other hand, our own troops felt that at last their opportunity had come, and that, supported by a superior artillery and numerous tanks, they could now press forward resolutely to reap the reward of their patient, dauntless, and successful defense in March and April. This they were eager to do, and as they moved forward during the ensuing months, from one success to another, suffer-

ing, danger, and losses were alike forgotten in their desire to beat the enemy, and their confidence that they could do so.

Meanwhile, as a further and immediate result of our successes, the enemy was thrown back definitely upon a defensive policy, and began to straighten out the salients in his line. Between Aug. 14 and 17 he withdrew from his positions about Serre, and further north indications multiplied of an intention shortly to abandon the salient in the Lys Valley. Our patrols were already beginning to push forward on this front, and on the night of Aug. 13-14 established posts south and east of Vieux Berquin. On Aug. 18 and 19 the capture of Outtersteene village and ridge, with some 900 prisoners, by the 31st, 29th, and 9th Divisions of the Second Army, hastened the enemy's movements on the Lys.

THE BATTLE OF BAPAUME

Aug. 21-Sept. 1

(20) SCHEME OF OPERATIONS

In deciding to extend the attack northward to the area between the Rivers Somme and Scarpe, I was influenced by the following considerations:

The enemy did not seem prepared to meet an attack in this direction, and, owing to the success of the Fourth Army, he occupied a salient the left flank of which was already threatened from the south. A further reason for my decision was that the ground north of the Ancre River was not greatly damaged by shellfire, and was suitable for the use of tanks. A successful attack between Albert and Arras in a southeasterly direction would turn the line of the Somme south of Péronne, and gave every promise of producing far-reaching results. It would be a step forward toward the strategic objective St. Quentin-Cambrai.

This attack, moreover, would be rendered easier by the fact that we now held the commanding plateau south of Arras about Bucquoy and Ablainzavelle, which in the days of the old Somme fighting had lain well behind the enemy's lines. In consequence we were here either astride or to the east of the intricate systems of trench lines which, in 1916, we had no choice but to attack frontally, and enjoyed advantages of observation which at that date had been denied us.

It was arranged that on the morning of Aug. 21 a limited attack should be launched north of the Ancre to gain the general line of the Arras-Albert railway, on which it was correctly assumed that the enemy's main line of resistance was sited. The day of Aug. 22 would then be used to get troops and guns into position on this front and to bring forward the left of the Fourth Army between the Somme and the Ancre. The principal attack would be delivered on Aug. 23 by the Third Army and the divisions of the Fourth Army north of the Somme, the remainder of the Fourth Army assisting by pushing forward south of the river, to cover the flank of the main operation. Thereafter, if success attended our efforts, both armies were to press forward with the greatest vigor and exploit to the full any advantage we might have gained.

As soon as the progress of the Third Army had forced the enemy to fall back from the Mercatel spur, thereby giving us a secure southern flank for an assault upon the German positions on Orange Hill and about Monchy le Preux, the moment arrived for the First Army to extend the front of our attack to the north. Using the River Sensée to cover their left, in the same way as the River Somme had been used to cover the left of the Fourth Army in the battle of Amiens, the right of the First Army attacked east of Arras, and, by turning from the north the western extremity of the Hindenburg line, compelled the enemy to undertake a further retreat. It was calculated correctly that this gradual extension of our front of attack would mislead the enemy as to where the main blow would fall, and would cause him to throw in his reserves piecemeal.

(21) OPENING ATTACKS; ALBERT

At 4:55 A. M. on Aug. 21 the 4th and 6th Corps of General Sir Julian Byng's Third Army, under command, respectively, of Lieut. Gen. Sir G. M. Harper and Lieut. Gen. Sir J. A. L. Haldane, attacked on a front of about nine miles north of the Ancre, from Miraumont to Moyenneville.

The opening assault was delivered by the divisions then in line—namely, the 42d, New Zealand, and 37th Divisions of the 4th Corps, and the 2d and Guards Divisions of the 6th Corps, supported by tanks—and carried the enemy's foremost defenses rapidly and without difficulty. The 5th Division and 63d Division (Major Gen. C. E. Lawrie) of the 4th Corps and the 3d Division (Major Gen. C. J. Deverell) of the 6th Corps then passed through and continued the advance. During this stage the thick fog, which at first had favored us, led to some loss of direction. None the less, after much hard fighting, particularly about Achiet-le-Petit and Logeast Wood, where the enemy counterattacked vigorously, our troops reached the general line of the railway on practically the whole front, capturing the above-named village and wood, together with Courcelles and Moyenneville, east of which places they crossed the railway.

The 21st Division of the 5th Corps assisted by clearing the north bank of the Ancre about Beaucourt, and as a result of the whole operation the positions we required from which to launch our principal attack were gained successfully, with more than 2,000 prisoners.

Early next morning the 3d Corps of the Fourth Army, assisted by a small number of tanks, attacked with the 47th, 12th, and 18th Divisions, the 3d Australian Division and

the 38th Division co-operating on either flank. By this attack, in which the 18th Division (Major Gen. R. P. Lee) forced the passage of the River Ancre and captured Albert by a well-executed enveloping movement from the southeast, our line between the Somme and the Ancre was advanced well to the east of the Bray-Albert road. The left of the Fourth Army was brought forward in conformity with the remainder of our line, and more than 2,400 prisoners and a few guns were taken by us.

(22) THE MAIN ATTACK LAUNCHED

These preliminary attacks cleared the way for the main operation. This was opened on Aug. 23 by a series of strong assaults on practically the whole front of thirty-three miles from our junction with the French north of Lihons to Mercatel, in which neighborhood the Hindenburg line from Quéant and Bullecourt joined the old Arras-Vimy defense line of 1916. About one hundred tanks were employed by us on different parts of this front and were of great assistance, particularly in overcoming the enemy's machine gunners. Many of these fought with great determination, continuing to fire until their guns were run over by the tanks.

On the eve of these operations I issued a note of instructions to the forces under my command, in which I drew attention to the favorable change which had taken place in the conditions under which operations were being conducted and emphasized the necessity for all ranks to act with the utmost boldness and resolution. Wherever the enemy was found to be giving way there the pressure was to be increased.

To this appeal all ranks and all services responded during the strenuous fighting of the succeeding weeks with a whole-hearted and untiring devotion, for which no words of mine can adequately express my admiration and my gratitude. Divisions which in the worst days of the March retreat had proved themselves superior to every hardship, difficulty, and danger once more rose to the occasion with the most magnificent spirit. Over the same ground that had witnessed their stubborn greatness in defense they moved forward to the attack with a persistent vigor and relentless determination which neither the extreme difficulty of the ground nor the obstinate resistance of the enemy could diminish or withstand.

At 4:45 A. M. the Australian Corps attacked south of the Somme, employing the 32d Division, (Major Gen. T. S. Lambert,) composed of men of Lancashire, Dorset, and Scotland, and the 1st Australian Division, (Major Gen. T. W. Glasgow,) and captured Herleville, Chuignolles, and Chuignes, with over 2,000 prisoners. The fighting about Chuignolles, on the Australian front, was very heavy and great numbers of the enemy were killed.

At the same hour the 18th Division and the right brigade of the 38th Division of the 3d and 5th Corps recommenced their attacks about Albert, and by a well-executed operation, entailing hard fighting at different points, captured the high ground east of the town known as Tara and Usna Hills. At the same time two companies of the Welsh regiment, part of the left brigade of the 38th Division, waded the Ancre in the neighborhood of Hamel, and with great gallantry maintained themselves all day east of the river against constant counterattacks.

Meanwhile, at different hours during the morning, the other divisions of the 5th Corps and the 4th and 6th Corps, (comprising respectively the 17th and 21st Divisions; the 42d, New Zealand, 5th and 37th Divisions, and the 2d, 3d, Guards, 56th, and 52d Divisions,) attacked along the whole front north of Albert, directing the chief weight of their assault upon the sector Miraumont-Boiry Becquerelle.

Our troops met with immediate success. On the right progress was made by light forces of the 17th and 21st Divisions along the left bank of the Ancre north of Thiepval, but in this sector no deep advance was attempted during the day.

North of the Ancre the attack of the 6th Corps was opened at 4 A. M., at which hour the 3d Division took Gomiecourt and 500 prisoners. During the morning the attack spread along the front of the 4th Corps also. The enemy's main line of resistance was stormed and, penetrating deeply beyond it, our troops captured Bihucourt, Ervillers, Boyelles, and Boiry Becquerelle, together with over 5,000 prisoners and a number of guns. Under the continued pressure of our attacks the enemy was becoming disorganized and showed signs of confusion.

Our troops were now astride the Arras-Bapaume road, and closing down upon the latter town from the north and northwest. The position of the German divisions in the pronounced salient on the Thiepval Ridge was becoming perilous.

At 1 A. M. on the night of Aug. 23-24 the Third and Fourth Armies again attacked, and during the early morning the advance was resumed on the whole front from the Somme to Neuville Vitasse. On the right, the 3d Australian Division took Bray-sur-Somme, and the 47th Division, (Major Gen. Sir G. T. Gorringe,) the 12th and 18th Divisions of the 3d Corps carried our line forward across the high ground between Bray and La Boisselle. In the neighborhood of the latter village and at certain other points heavy fighting took place, and a number of prisoners were taken.

On the front of the Third Army the same divisions which had delivered the attacks on the previous day again moved forward against the beaten enemy and pressed him back rapidly. The German positions on the Thiepval Ridge were carried by a well-conceived and admirably-executed concentric attack, directed upon the high ground about Pozières from the southwest and northwest. In this brilliant operation a brigade of the

38th Division, attacking on the right, crossed the Ancre at Albert during the early part of the night, and formed up close to the German lines on a narrow front between the Albert-Pozières road and the marshes of the Ancre. The left brigade of the same division waded breast-deep through the flooded stream opposite Hamel, under heavy fire, and formed up in the actual process of a German counterattack along the line held by the two companies who had crossed on the previous morning. At the given hour, the brigades of the 38th Division advanced in concert with the other divisions of the 5th Corps on their left, and drove the enemy from the high ground about Ovillers and Thiepval. Continuing their advance, the divisions of the 5th Corps gained Pozières, Courcelette, and Martinpuich. Miraumont, which for three days had resisted our attacks, was taken by the 42d Division (Major Gen. A. Solly-Flood) with many prisoners, and, pressing forward, the same division seized Pys. The 5th Division (Major Gen. J. Ponsonby) having captured Irles, cleared Loupart Wood in co-operation with the New Zealand Division, (Major Gen. Sir A. H. Russell,) tanks rendering valuable assistance to our infantry in both localities. New Zealand troops having taken Grevillers, reached Avesnes-les-Bapaume, and assisted also in the capture of Biefvillers by the 37th Division, (Major Gen. H. B. Williams.) Strong opposition was encountered on the high ground between Sapignies and Mory. Our troops pressed the enemy in these villages closely, and further north the Guards Division (Major Gen. G. P. T. Fielding) gained possession of St. Leger. On the left, troops of the 56th Division (Major Gen. Sir C. P. A. Hull) had heavy fighting about Croisilles and on the high ground northwest of that village known as Henin Hill. Important progress was made, and on their left the 52d Division (Major Gen. J. Hill) took Henin-sur-Cojeul and gained a footing in St. Martin-sur-Cojeul.

Several thousand prisoners, many guns, and great quantities of material of every kind were captured by us on this day.

(23) BAPAUME TAKEN

During the next five days our troops followed up their advantage hotly, and in spite of increasing resistance from the German rearguards realized a further deep advance. The enemy clung to his positions in the later stages of this period with much tenacity. His infantry delivered many counterattacks, and the progress of our troops was only won by hard and determined fighting.

During these days the 37th Division cleared Favreuil late in the evening of Aug. 25, after much confused fighting. On the same day the 2d Division captured Sapignies and Behagnies, taking a number of prisoners, and the 62d Division drove the enemy from Mory.

On Aug. 27 the 18th Division secured possession of Trones Wood, after an all-day struggle, in the course of which troops of the 2d Guard Division, fresh from reserve, made strong but unsuccessful counterattacks. Next day the 12th Division and 58th Division (Major Gen. F. W. Ramsay) captured Hardecourt, and the spur south of it, overcoming strong resistance. Both on Aug. 27 and 28 the 38th (Welsh) Division (Major Gen. T. A. Cubitt) was engaged in bitter fighting about Longueval and Delville Wood, and made progress in company with the 17th Division (Major Gen. P. R. Robertson) attacking toward Flers.

Yielding before the persistent pressure of our attacks, in the early morning of Aug. 29 the enemy evacuated Bapaume, which was occupied by the New Zealand Division. On the same day the 18th Division entered Combles, while to the north of Bapaume a gallant thrust by the 56th and 57th Divisions penetrated the enemy's positions as far as Riencourt-lez-Cagnicourt. Though our troops were unable at this time to maintain themselves in this village, our line was established on the western and northern outskirts of Bullecourt and Hendecourt.

By the night of Aug. 30 the line of the Fourth and Third Armies north of the Somme ran from Clery-sur-Somme past the western edge of Marrières Wood to Combles, Lesboeufs, Hancourt, Fremicourt, and Vraucourt, and thence to the western outskirts of Ecoust, Bullecourt, and Hendecourt. Any further advance would threaten the enemy's line south of Péronne along the east bank of the Somme, to which our progress north of the river had already forced him to retreat.

This latter movement had been commenced on Aug. 26, on which date Roye was evacuated by the enemy, and next day had been followed by a general advance on the part of the French and British forces between the Oise and the Somme. By the night of Aug. 29 allied infantry had reached the left bank of the Somme on the whole front from the neighborhood of Nesle, occupied by the French on Aug. 28, northward to Péronne. Further south the French held Noyon.

(24) FIGHT FOR MONT ST. QUENTIN AND CAPTURE OF PERONNE

During these days an increase in hostile artillery fire, and the frequency and strength of the German counterattacks indicated that our troops were approaching positions on which the enemy intended to stand, at any rate for a period. In the face of this increased resistance, by a brilliant operation commenced on the night of Aug. 30-31, the 2d Australian Division (Major. Gen. C. Rosenthal) stormed Mont St. Quentin, a most important tactical feature commanding Péronne and the crossing of the Somme at that town. Being prevented by floods and heavy machine-gun fire from crossing the river opposite Mont St. Quentin, the 5th Australian Infantry Brigade was passed across the Somme at Feuières, two miles further west, by means of hastily constructed bridges. By 10:15 P. M. on Aug 30, the brigade had cap-

tured the German trenches east of Clery, and was assembled in them ready for an assault which would turn the German positions from the northwest. At 5 A. M. on Aug. 31 the assault was launched, and, despite determined opposition, was completely successful. Both in the attack itself and in the course of repeated counterattacks, delivered with great resolution by strong hostile forces throughout the remainder of the day and the greater part of the following night, fighting was exceptionally severe, and the taking of the position ranks as a most gallant achievement.

In this operation nearly 1,000 prisoners were taken, and great numbers of the enemy were killed. On Sept. 1, as a direct consequence of it, Australian troops captured Péronne.

In support of the operation against Mont St. Quentin, on the morning of Aug. 31 the left of the Fourth Army (the 3d Australian, 58th, 47th, and 18th Divisions) attacked toward Bouchavesnes, Rancourt, and Fregicourt, and by successful fighting on this and the following day captured these villages with several hundred prisoners. On the Third Army front also there was hard fighting on both of these days. At the close of it we held Sailly Saillisel, Morval, Beaulencourt, and Reincourt-les-Bapaume, and were established on the ridges east of Baucourt Fremicourt, Vaulx Vraucourt, and Longatte. Troops of the 17th Corps, under command of Lieut. Gen. Sir C. Ferguson, completed the capture of Bullecourt and Hendecourt, and following up their advantage, during the night took Riencourt-les-Cagnicourt with 380 prisoners.

(25) THE RESULTS OF THE BATTLE OF BAPAUME

Sept. 1 marks the close of the second stage in the British offensive. Having in the first stage freed Amiens by our brilliant success east of that town, in the second stage the troops of the Third and Fourth Armies, comprising 23 British divisions, by skillful leading, hard fighting, and relentless and unremitting pursuit, in ten days had driven 35 German divisions from one side of the old Somme battlefield to the other, thereby turning the line of the River Somme. In so doing they had inflicted upon the enemy the heaviest losses in killed and wounded, and had taken from him over 34,000 prisoners and 270 guns. For the remarkable success of the battle of Bapaume the greatest credit is due to the excellence of the staff arrangements of all formations and to the most able conduct of the operations of the Third Army by its commander, General Byng.

In the obstinate fighting of the last few days the enemy had been pressed back to the line of the Somme River and the high ground about Rocquigny and Beaugny, where he had shown an intention to stand for a time. Thereafter his probable plan was to retire slowly, when forced to do so, from one intermediary position to another, until he could shelter his battered divisions behind the Hindenburg defenses. The line of the Tortille River and the high Nurlu Plateau offered opportunities for an ordered withdrawal of this nature, which would allow him to secure his artillery, as well as much of the material in his forward dumps.

On the other hand, the disorganization which had been caused by our attacks on Aug. 8 and 21 had increased under the pressure of our advance, and had been accompanied by a steady deterioration in the morale of his troops. Garrisons left as rearguards to hold up our advance at important points had surrendered as soon as they found themselves threatened with isolation. The urgent needs of the moment, the wide extent of front attacked, the consequent uncertainty as to where the next blow would fall, and the extent of his losses had forced the enemy to throw in his reserves piecemeal as they arrived on the battlefront. On many occasions in the course of the fighting elements of the same German division had been identified on widely separated parts of the battlefront.

In such circumstances, a sudden and successful blow, of weight sufficient to break through the northern hinge of the defenses to which it was his design to fall back, might produce results of great importance. At this date, as will be seen from the events described in Paragraph 27, our troops were already in position to deliver such a stroke.

(26) THE WITHDRAWAL FROM THE LYS SALIENT

Meanwhile, during the progress of the great events briefly recorded above and in immediate consequence of them, other events of different but scarcely less importance were taking place on the northern portion of our front.

The exhaustion of the enemy's reserves resulting from the allied attacks made the shortening of the German line imperative. The obvious sector in which to effect such a shortening was the Lys front. The enemy had only maintained himself in the Lys salient under the constant fire of our guns at the expense of heavy casualties, not only to his infantry in line, but to his artillery and troops in back areas. With the abandonment of his projected offensive against the Channel ports, all reason had gone for remaining in so costly a salient, while the threat, carefully maintained by us, of a British attack provided an additional reason for withdrawing.

Accordingly, from about July 26 the enemy had been actively employed in removing the ammunition and stores accumulated for his offensive, and as early as Aug. 5 he had begun to effect local withdrawals on the southern flank of the salient.

The development of our own and the French offensive hastened this movement,

although immense quantities of ammunition still remained untouched. On Aug. 18 our patrols, whose activity had been constant, were able to make a considerable advance opposite Merville. Next day Merville itself was taken, and our line advanced on the whole front from the Lawe River to the Plate Becque.

During the following days various other small gains of ground were made by us on the southern and western faces of the salient, but on the northern face the enemy as yet showed no signs of withdrawal, the various local operations carried out by us meeting with strong resistance. On the night of Aug. 29-30, however, impelled alike by the pressure exerted without remission by our troops on the spot and by the urgency of events elsewhere, the enemy commenced an extensive retirement on the whole of the Lys front.

In the early morning of Aug. 30 our troops found Bailleul unoccupied, and by the evening of that day our advanced detachments had reached the general line Lacouture, Lestrem, Noote Bloom, east of Bailleul.

Thereafter the enemy's withdrawal continued rapidly. At certain points, indeed, his rearguards offered vigorous resistance, notably about Neuve Eglise and Hill 63, captured with a number of prisoners by the 36th and 29th Divisions, but by the evening of Sept. 6 the Lys salient had disappeared. Kemmel Hill was once more in our hands, and our troops had reached the general line Givenchy, Neuve Chapelle, Nieppe, Ploegsteert, Voormezeele.

THE BATTLE OF THE SCARPE

Aug. 26-Sept. 3

(27) RETAKING MONCHY-LE-PREUX

By Aug. 25 our advance had formed a salient of the German positions opposite Arras, and the proper moment had therefore come for the third stage of our operations, in which the First Army should extend the flank of our attack to the north. By driving eastward from Arras, covered on the left by the Rivers Scarpe and Sensée, the First Army would endeavor to turn the enemy's positions on the Somme battlefield and cut his system of railway communications which ran southwestward across their front.

At 3 A. M., on Aug. 26, the Canadian corps, Lieut. Gen. Sir A. W. Currie commanding, on the right of General Horne's First Army, attacked the German positions astride the Scarpe River with the 2d and 3d Canadian Divisions (commanded by Major Gens. Sir H. E. Burstall and L. J. Lipsett) and the 51st Division. This attack, delivered on a front of about 5½ miles and closely supported by the left of the Third Army, was completely successful. By noon we had taken Wancourt and Guemappe, and had stormed the hill and village of Monchy-le-Preux. This latter position was one of great natural strength, well organized for defense, and commanded observation of much importance. Many prisoners were taken, and later in the day substantial progress was made to the east of these three villages, a strong counterattack east of Monchy being successfully repulsed. North of the Scarpe the 51st Division pushed forward their line towards Roeux, so as to secure an easily defensible base of departure for this advance, and by a successful attack during the evening captured Greenland Hill.

Their opening success was followed up by the troops of the First Army with the greatest energy, and on the following day Cherisy, Vis-en-Artois, the Bois du Sart, Roeux, and Gavrelle were taken. By the end of the month they had gained the high ground east of Cherisy and Haucourt, had captured Eterpigny, and cleared the area between the Sensée and Scarpe Rivers, west of the Trinquis Brook. North of the Scarpe, Plouvain was held by us. Our progress brought our troops to within assaulting distance of the powerful trench system running from the Hindenburg line at Quéant to the Lens defenses about Drocourt, the breaking of which would turn the whole of the enemy's organized positions on a wide front southward.

(28) THE STORMING OF THE DROCOURT-QUEANT LINE

On Sept. 2 the Drocourt-Quéant line was broken, the maze of trenches at the junction of that line and the Hindenburg system was stormed and the enemy was thrown into precipitate retreat on the whole front to the south of it. This gallant feat of arms was carried out by the Canadian Corps of the First Army, employing the 1st and 4th Canadian Divisions and the 4th English Division, and the 17th Corps of the Third Army, employing the 52d, 57th, and 63d Divisions.

The assault of the Canadians was launched at 5 A. M. on a front of about four and one-half miles south of the Trinquis Brook, our infantry being supported by forty tanks of the 3d Tank Brigade and assisted by a mobile force of motor machine-gun units, Canadian cavalry, and armored cars. The attack was a complete success, and by noon the whole of the elaborate system of wire, trenches, and strong points constituting the Drocourt-Quéant line on the front of our advance was in our hands.

On the right the attack of the 17th Corps, launched at the same hour by the 52d and 57th Divisions, directed its main force on the triangle of fortifications marking the junction of the Hindenburg and Drocourt-Quéant lines northwest of the village of Quéant. Pressed with equal vigor it met with success equally complete. There was stern fighting in the network of trenches both north and south of Quéant, in which neighborhood the 52d (Lowland) Division performed distinguished service and by the progress they made greatly assisted our advance further north. Early in the afternoon our troops had

cleared the triangle, and the 63d Division (Major Gen. C. A. Blacklock) had passed through to exploit the success thus gained.

During the afternoon our further progress met with considerable resistance from machine-gun nests sited in woods and villages and on the reverse slopes of the Dury Ridge. There was hard fighting until dusk, especially on the front of the 63d Division and of the 4th Division, (Major Gen. L. J. Lipsett.) By nightfall this opposition had been overcome, the 63d Division had reached the railway east of Quéant, and the 57th Division, swinging to the right, was threatening that village and Pronville from the north. Our troops had pushed forward to a depth of over three miles along the Arras-Cambrai road and had reached the outskirts of Buissy. Cagnicourt, Villers-les-Cagnicourt, and Dury were in our hands. During the day 8,000 prisoners had been taken and many guns.

Troops of the Third and Fourth Armies prolonged the line of attack as far south as Péronne. At all points important progress was made, though fighting was severe.

In the battle of the Scarpe, as in the battles of Amiens and Bapaume and the victories that followed them, staff work of a high order played an important part in our success. The greatest credit is due to the First Army commander, General Horne, and his staff for the excellence of their arrangements.

(29) THE ENEMY IN RETREAT

The result of the battles of Amiens, Bapaume, and the Scarpe now declared itself.

During the night of Sept. 2-3 the enemy fell back rapidly on the whole front of the Third Army and the right of the First Army. By the end of the day he had taken up positions along the general line of the Canal du Nord from Péronne to Ypres, and thence east of Hermies, Inchy-en-Artois, and Ecourt St. Quentin to the Sensée east of Lecluse. On the following day he commenced to withdraw also from the east bank of the Somme south of Péronne, and by the night of Sept. 8 was holding the general line Vermand, Epéhy, Havrincourt, and thence along the east bank of the Canal du Nord.

The withdrawal was continued on the front of the French forces on our right. On Sept. 6 French troops occupied Ham and Chauny, and by Sept. 8 had reached the line of the Crozat Canal.

Throughout this hasty retreat our troops followed up the enemy closely. Many of his rearguards were cut off and taken prisoner; on numerous occasions our forward guns did great execution among his retiring columns, while our airmen took full advantage of the remarkable targets offered them. Great quantities of material and many guns fell into our hands.

In the battle of the Scarpe itself, in which ten British divisions attacked and overthrew thirteen German divisions, thereby giving the signal for this general retreat, our total captures amounted to over 16,000 prisoners and about 200 guns.

(30) THE BATTLE OF HAVRINCOURT AND EPEHY

Sept. 12-18

North of Havrincourt, the Canal du Nord, behind which the enemy had taken shelter, with the open slopes leading down to it swept by the fire of the German positions on the east bank, could scarcely be taken except by a carefully organized attack.

From the neighborhood of Havrincourt southward the enemy's main line of resistance was the well-known Hindenburg line, which, after passing through that village, ran southeast across the Beaucamp, La Vacquerie, and Bonavis Ridges to the Scheldt Canal at Bantouzelle, whence it followed the line of the canal to St. Quentin. In front of this trench system strong German forces held formidable positions about Havrincourt and Epéhy, which had to be taken before a final attack on the Hindenburg line could be undertaken. By successful operations carried out during the second and third weeks of September these different defenses were secured and our line advanced to within assaulting distance of the enemy's main line of resistance.

On Sept. 12 the 4th and 6th Corps of the Third Army attacked on a front of about five miles in the Havrincourt sector, employing troops of the New Zealand, 37th, 62d, and 2d Divisions. The villages of Trescault and Havrincourt were taken by the 37th and 62d Divisions respectively, and positions were secured which were of considerable importance in view of future operations.

On the right of the British front the 9th and Australian Corps continued to push forward with light forces. By the evening of Sept. 17, as the result of skillful manoeuvring and well-executed local attacks, they had captured Holnon Village and Wood and Massemy, and were closely approaching Le Verguier and Templeux-le-Guerard.

The next day, at 7 A. M., Sept. 18, the Fourth and Third Armies attacked in heavy rain on a front of about seventeen miles from Holnon to Gouzeaucourt, the First French Army co-operating south of Holnon. A small number of tanks accompanied our infantry, and were of great assistance.

In this operation our troops penetrated to a depth of three miles through the deep, continuous and well-organized defensive belt formed by the old British and German lines. On practically the whole front our objectives were gained successfully, the 1st, 17th, 21st, and 74th Divisions (Major Gen. E. S. Birdwood commanding the 74th Division) and the 1st and 4th Australian Divisions (the latter commanded by Major Gen. E. Sinclair-Maclagan) distinguishing themselves by the vigor and success of their attack. On the extreme right and in the left centre about Epéhy the enemy's resistance was very de-

termined, and in these sectors troops of the 6th, 12th, 18th, and 58th Divisions had severe fighting. Before nightfall, however, the last centres of resistance in Epéhy were reduced, and both in this area and on our right about Gricourt local actions during the succeeding days secured for us the remainder of the positions required for an attack on the main Hindenburg defenses.

At the close of these operations, in which fifteen British Divisions defeated twenty German Divisions and completed the fourth stage of our offensive, we had captured nearly 12,000 prisoners and 100 guns.

(31) THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALLIED PLAN

The details of the strategic plan outlined in Paragraph 13 upon which future operation should be based were the subject of careful discussion between Marshal Foch and myself. Preparations were already far advanced for the successful attack by which, on Sept. 12, the First American Army, assisted by certain French divisions, drove the enemy from the St. Mihiel salient and inflicted heavy losses upon him in prisoners and guns. Ultimately it was decided that as soon as possible after this attack four convergent and simultaneous offensives should be launched by the Allies as follows:

By the Americans west of the Meuse in the direction of Mézières;

By the French West of Argonne in close co-operation with the American attack and with the same general objectives;

By the British on the St. Quentin-Cambrai front in the general direction of Maubeuge;

By Belgian and allied forces in Flanders in the direction of Ghent.

By these attacks it was expected, as already indicated, that the important German forces opposite the French and Americans would be pressed back upon the difficult country of the Ardennes, while the British thrust struck at their principal lines of communication. In Flanders it was intended to take advantage of the weakening of the German forces on this front to clear the Belgian coast by a surprise attack. Success in any one of these offensives might compel the enemy to withdraw to the line of the Meuse.

(32) THE ROLE OF THE BRITISH ARMIES

The results to be obtained from these different attacks depended in a peculiarly large degree upon the British attack in the centre. It was here that the enemy's defenses were most highly organized. If these were broken the threat directed at his vital systems of lateral communications would of necessity react upon his defense elsewhere.

On the other hand, the long period of sustained offensive action through which the British armies had already passed, had made large demands both upon the troops themselves and upon my available reserves. Throughout our attacks from Aug. 8 onward our losses in proportion to the results achieved and the number of prisoners taken had been consistently and remarkably small. In the aggregate, however, they were considerable, and in the face of them an attack upon so formidably organized a position as that which now confronted us could not be lightly undertaken. Moreover, the political effects of an unsuccessful attack upon a position so well known as the Hindenburg line would be large and would go far to revive the declining morale not only of the German Army, but of the German people.

These different considerations were present to my mind. The probable results of a costly failure, or, indeed, of anything short of a decided success in any attempt upon the main defenses of the Hindenburg line, were obvious; but I was convinced that the British attack was the essential part of the general scheme and that the moment was favorable.

Accordingly, I decided to proceed with the attack, and all preparatory measures, including the preliminary operations already recounted, were carried out as rapidly and as thoroughly as possible.

[Conclusion in Next Issue.]

Campaign That Liberated Palestine

General Allenby's Official Report of the Battles That Wrested Damascus From the Turks

[In this dispatch General Allenby for the first time uses the "New Army Time Reckoning," which avoids the use of "A. M." and "P. M." by running the clock hours up to 24 o'clock, beginning with 00:01 to designate one minute after midnight, and ending with 23:59 to designate one minute before the ensuing midnight. This Italian system was adopted by the British Army in the Autumn of 1918.]

GENERAL E. E. H. ALLENBY, Commander in Chief of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force, described his last campaign in Palestine and Syria, with the final overthrow of the Turks, in a dispatch sent to the British War Office under date of Oct. 31, 1918, though not made public until Dec. 30. In this report he took up the story of the Egyptian expedition at the point where his dispatch of Sept. 18 had left off. He began with the following summary of the enemy's forces:

At the beginning of September I estimated the strength of the Fourth, Seventh, and Eighth Turkish Armies to be 23,000 rifles, 3,000 sabres, and 340 guns. The Fourth Army, 6,000 rifles, 2,000 sabres, and 74 guns, faced my forces in the Jordan Valley. The Seventh Army held a front of some twenty miles astride the Jerusalem-Nablus road with 7,000 rifles and 111 guns, while the Eighth Army front extended from Furkhah to the sea and was held by 10,000 rifles and 157 guns. In addition the garrison of Maan and the posts of the Hedjaz Railway north of it consisted of some 6,000 rifles and 30 guns.

The enemy's general reserve, only 3,000 rifles in strength, with 30 guns, was distributed between Tiberias, Nazareth, and Haifa. Thus his total strength amounted to some 4,000 sabres, 32,000 rifles, and 400 guns—representing a ration strength, south of the line Rayak-Beirut, of 104,000.

I had at my disposal two cavalry divisions, two mounted divisions, seven infantry divisions, an Indian infantry brigade, four unallotted battalions, and the French detachment, (the equivalent of an infantry brigade, with other arms attached,) a total, in the fighting line, of some 12,000 sabres, 57,000 rifles, and 540 guns. I had thus a considerable superiority in numbers over the enemy, especially in mounted troops.

I was anxious to gain touch with the Arab forces east of the Dead Sea, but the experience gained in the raids which I had undertaken against Amman and Es Salt in March and May had proved that the communications of a force in the hills of Moab were liable to interruption as long as the enemy was able to transfer troops from the west to the east bank of the Jordan. This he was in a position to do, as he controlled the crossing at Jisr ed Damieh. The defeat of the Seventh and Eighth Turkish Armies west of the Jordan would enable me to control this crossing. Moreover, the destruction of these armies, which appeared to be within the bounds of possibility, would leave the Fourth Army isolated, if it continued to occupy the country south and west of Amman. I determined, therefore, to strike my blow west of the Jordan.

PLAN OF CAMPAIGN

With the exception of a small reserve, the whole military force of the Turk was west of the Jordan, and the vital points of his communication were El Afule, Besian, and Deraa. If these could be reached he would be cut off. Deraa was beyond Allenby's reach, but his Arab Army could get to it and destroy the railway junction there. El Afule, in the Plain of Esdraelon, and Beisan, in the Valley of Jezreel, were within reach of the British cavalary if the infantry could break a gap in the Turkish defenses. For this reason General Allenby decided to deliver his main attack in the coastal plain rather than through the hills north of Jerusalem. He continues:

The coastal plain at Jiljulieh, the ancient Gilgal, is some ten miles in width. The railway from Jiljulieh to Tul Keram skirts the foothills, running through a slight depression on the eastern edge of the plain. To the west of this depression the Turks had constructed two defensive systems. The first, 14,000 yards in length and 3,000 in depth, ran along a sandy ridge in a northwesterly direction from Bir Adas to the sea. It consisted of a series of works connected by continuous fire trenches. The second, or Et Tireh system, 3,000 yards in rear, ran from the village of that name to the mouth of the Nahr Falik. On the enemy's extreme right the ground, except for a narrow strip along the coast, is marshy, and could only be crossed in few places. The defense of the

SCENE OF GENERAL ALLENBY'S FINAL AND VICTORIOUS CAMPAIGN

second system did not, therefore, require a large force.

The railway itself was protected by numerous works and by the fortified villages of Jiljulieh and Kalkilieh. The ground between our front line at Ras El Ain and these villages was open, and was overlooked from the enemy's works on the foothills round Kefr Kasim.

By reducing the strength of the troops in the Jordan Valley to a minimum, and by withdrawing my reserves from the hills north of Jerusalem, I was able to concentrate five divisions and the French detachment, with a total of 383 guns, for the attack on these defenses. Thus, on the front of the attack I was able to concentrate some 35,000 rifles, against 8,000, and 383 guns, against 130. In addition, two cavalry and one Australian mounted divisions were available for this front.

The task of attacking the enemy's defenses in the coastal plain was intrusted to Lieut. Gen. Sir Edward Bulfin, commanding the 21st Corps, with four extra divisions, the French detachment, an Australian light horse brigade, two brigades of mountain artillery and eighteen batteries of heavy and siege artillery. This force, mainly infantry, was ordered to break through and drive the enemy northward into the arms of the British cavalry at El Afule. Lieut. Gen. Sir Harry Chauvel, commanding the Desert Mounted Corps, was meanwhile to advance along the coast, seize El Afule, and be ready there to cut off the enemy's retreat and to send a detachment to attack Nazareth, the site of the Turks' general headquarters. Lieut. Gen. Sir Philip Chetwode with the 20th Corps was to advance and block the exits to the lower Valley of the Jordan, while Major Gen. Sir Edward Chaytor, to keep the enemy from perceiving the withdrawal of cavalry divisions from the Jordan Valley, was ordered to make a series of demonstrations threatening an attack east of the Jordan.

ENEMY TAKEN BY SURPRISE

General Allenby states that the enemy remained absolutely in ignorance of the coming attack on the coastal plain until the blow fell. He continues:

In the early hours of Sept. 19 El Afule and the headquarters of the Turkish Seventh and Eighth Armies at Nablus and Tul Keram were bombed by the Royal Air Force with a view to disorganizing their signal communications.

At 04.30 the artillery in the coastal plain opened an intense bombardment, lasting fifteen minutes, under cover of which the infantry left their positions of deployment. Two torpedo boat destroyers assisted, bringing fire on the coastal road to the north.

The operations which followed fall into five phases.

The first phase was of short duration. In thirty-six hours, between 04.30 on Sept. 19 and 17.00 on Sept. 20 the greater part of the Eighth Turkish Army had been overwhelmed, and the troops of the Seventh Army were in full retreat through the hills of Samaria, whose exits were already in the hands of my cavalry.

In the second phase the fruits of this success were reaped. The infantry, pressing relentlessly on the heels of the retreating enemy, drove him into the arms of my cavalry, with the result that practically the whole of the Seventh and Eighth Turkish Armies were captured, with their guns and transport.

This phase also witnessed the capture of Haifa and Acre, and the occupation of Tiberias and of the country to the south and west of the Sea of Galilee.

As the result of the rout of the Seventh and Eighth Armies the Fourth Turkish Army, east of the Jordan, retreated, and Maan was evacuated.

The third phase commenced with the pursuit of this army by Chaytor's Force, and closed with the capture of Amman and the interception of the retreat of the garrison of Maan, which surrendered.

The fourth phase witnessed the advance by the Desert Mounted Corps to Damascus, the capture of the remnants of the Fourth Turkish Army, and the advance by the 21st Corps along the coast from Haifa to Beirut.

In the fifth phase my troops reached Homs and Tripoli without opposition. My cavalry then advanced on Aleppo and occupied that city on Oct. 26.

COAST FORCE OVERWHELMED

The attack in the coastal plain on the morning of Sept. 19 was attended with complete success. On the right, in the foothills, the French Tirailleurs and the Armenians of the Légion d'Orient advanced with great dash, and, in spite of the difficulties of the ground and the strength of the enemy's defenses, had captured the Kh. Deir El Kussis ridge at an early hour. On their left the 54th Division stormed Kefr Kassim village and wood and the foothills overlooking the railway from Ras El Ain to Jiljulieh. North of Keir Kassim the advance was checked for a time at Sivri Tepe, but the enemy's resistance was quickly overcome and the remaining hills south of the Wadi Kanah captured.

In the coastal plain the 3d (Lahore) Division attacked the enemy's first system between Bir Adas and the Hadrah road. On its left the 75th Division attacked the Tabsor defenses, the 7th (Meerut) Division the works west of Tabsor, while the 60th Division at-

tacked along the coast. The enemy replied energetically to our bombardment, but in most cases his barrage fell behind the attacking infantry. The enemy was overwhelmed. After overrunning the first system, the three divisions on the left pressed on without pausing to the Et Tireh position. On the left the 60th Division reached the Nahr Falik and moved on Tul Keram, leaving the route along the coast clear for the Desert Mounted Corps. The 7th (Meerut) Division, after passing through the second system, swung to the right and headed for Et Taiyibeh, leaving Et Tireh, where the 75th Division was still fighting, on its right.

By 11.0 the 75th Division had captured Et Tireh, a strongly fortified village standing on a sandy ridge, where the enemy offered a determined resistance. On the right the 3d (Lahore) Division turned to the east and attacked Jiljulieh, Railway Redoubt, Kefr Saba and Kalkilieh, all of which were defended with stubbornness by the enemy. His resistance was, however, broken; and the 3d (Lahore) Division pressed on eastward into the foothills near Hableh, joining hands with the 54th Division north of the Wadi Kanah.

Disorganized bodies of the enemy were now streaming across the plain toward Tul Keram, pursued by the 60th Division and the 5th Australian Light Horse Brigade. This brigade, which had been attached to the 21st Corps, consisted of two Australian light horse regiments, with a composite regiment of Chasseurs d'Afrique and Spahis attached. Great confusion reigned at Tul Keram. Bodies of troops, guns, motor lorries and transport of every description were endeavoring to escape along the road leading to Messudie and Nablus. This road, which follows the railway up a narrow valley, was already crowded with troops and transport. The confusion was added to by the persistent attacks of the Royal Air Force and Australian Flying Corps, from which there was no escape. Great havoc was caused, and in several places the road was blocked by overturned lorries and vehicles. Later in the evening an Australian regiment, having made a detour, succeeded in reaching a hill four miles east of Tul Keram, overlooking the road. As a result, a large amount of transport and many guns fell into our hands.

In the meantime the 7th (Meerut) Division and 3d (Lahore) Division had entered the hills, and, in conjunction with the 54th Division, had pressed eastward. By dusk the line Bidieh-Kh. Kefr Thilth-Jiyus-Felamieh-Taiyibeh had been reached. The 75th Division remained in the vicinity of Et Tireh in corps reserve.

FIERCE HILL FIGHTING

As soon as the success of the initial attack by the 21st Corps, on the morning of Sept. 19, had become apparent, I ordered the 20th Corps to advance that night on Nablus and the high ground northeast of that town, in order to close the roads leading to the lower valley of the Jordan, and to drive the enemy from the triangle formed by the Kh. Fusail-Nablus road, our original front line, and the El Funduk-Nablus track, by which the 3d (Lahore) Division was advancing.

The two divisions of the 20th Corps had been concentrated beforehand, in readiness to carry out this operation; the 53d Division to the east of the Bireh-Nablus road, the 10th Division on the extreme left of the Corps Area, in the vicinity of Berukin and Kefr Ain. The enemy had long anticipated an attack astride the Bireh-Nablus road, and had constructed defenses of great strength on successive ridges. For this reason the 10th Division was ordered to attack in a northeasterly direction astride the Furkhah-Selfit and Berukin-Kefr Haris ridges, thus avoiding a direct attack. Even so, the task of the 20th Corps was a difficult one. The enemy in this portion of the field was not disorganized, and was able to oppose a stout resistance to the advance. The country is broken and rugged, demanding great physical exertion on the part of the troops, and preventing the artillery keeping pace with the infantry.

Nevertheless, good progress was made on the night of Sept. 19 and during the following day. The 53d Division captured Kh. Abu Malul, and advanced their line in the centre. On their right Khan Jibeit was heavily counterattacked on the morning of Sept. 20. The Turks succeeded in regaining the hill, but were driven off again after a sharp fight. This incident, and the necessity of making a road to enable the guns to be brought forward, caused delay.

The 10th Division advanced in two columns, and by midday on Sept. 20 the right column, after a hard fight at Furkhah, had reached Selfit and was approaching Iskaka, which was strongly held by the enemy. The left column reached Kefr Haris, which was only captured after heavy fighting. The 10th Division had already driven the enemy back seven miles. The artillery, however, had been unable to keep up with the infantry, and little progress was made during the afternoon.

On the left of the 10th Division the 21st Corps had continued its advance in three columns. On the right the 3d Division advanced up the Wadi Azzun. In the centre the Meerut Division moved on Kefr Sur and Beit Lid. The 60th Division and the 5th Australian Light Horse Brigade advanced along the Tul Keram-Nablus road on Messudie Station. By evening the line Baka-Beit Lid-Messudie Station-Attara had been reached.

The 3d (Lahore) and 7th (Meerut) Divisions encountered a determined and well-organized resistance, which stiffened as the Meerut Division approached Beit Lid. The enemy showed no signs of demoralization, and the country was very rugged and difficult.

Considerable confusion existed, however, behind the enemy's rearguards. All day his transport had been withdrawing. The Mes-

sudie-Jenin road was crowded. Its defiles had been bombed continuously by the Royal Air Force, as had long columns of troops and transport moving on Nablus in order to reach the Beisan road. It is probable that the enemy did not yet realize that my cavalry was already in Afule and Beisan, and had blocked his main lines of retreat.

Early on the morning of Sept. 19, before the infantry had advanced to the attack, the 4th and 5th Cavalry Divisions moved out of the groves round Sarona and formed up in rear of the 7th (Meerut) and 60th Divisions. The Australian Mounted Division, less the 5th Light Horse Brigade, was on its way from Ludd.

VON SANDERS'S FLIGHT

Thanks to the rapidity with which the infantry broke through both Turkish systems of defense, the cavalry obtained a good start. By noon the leading troops of the Desert Mounted Corps had reached Jelameh, Tell ed Drurh, and Hudeira, eighteen miles north of the original front line. After a brief rest the advance was continued. The 5th Cavalry Division moved north to Ez Zerghaniyeh. It then turned northeast, and, riding through the hills of Samaria past Jarak, descended into the Plain of Esdraelon at Abu Shusheh. The 13th Cavalry Brigade was then directed on Nazareth, the 14th on El Afule.

The 4th Cavalry Division turned northeast at Kh. es Sumrah, and followed the valley of the Wadi Arah into the hills. The valley gradually narrows as the pass at Musmus is reached.

The enemy had sent a battalion from El Afule to hold this pass, but only its advanced guard arrived in time. Overcoming its resistance, the cavalry encountered the remainder of the battalion at El Lejjun. The 2d Lancers charged, killed forty-six with the lance, and captured the remainder, some 470 in number.

The 4th Cavalry Division then marched to El Afule, which it reached at 08.00, half an hour after its capture by the 14th Cavalry Brigade.

In the meantime the 13th Cavalry Brigade of the 5th Cavalry Division, riding across the Plain of Esdraelon, had reached Nazareth, the site of the Yilderim General Headquarters, at 05.30. Fighting took place in the streets, some 2,000 prisoners being captured. Liman von Sanders had already made good his escape, but his papers and some of his staff were taken. This brigade then marched to El Afule, arriving there as the 4th Cavalry Division rode down the Plain of Jezreel to Beisan, which it reached at 16.30, having covered some eighty miles in thirty-four hours. The 4th Cavalry Division detached a regiment to seize the railway bridge over the Jordan at Jisr Mejamie.

The Australian Mounted Division, which had followed the 4th Cavalry Division into the Plain of Esdraelon, was directed on Jenin, where the road from Messudie to El Afule leaves the hills. Jenin was reached at 17.30, and was captured after a sharp fight, a large number of prisoners being taken.

Thus, within thirty-six hours of the commencement of the battle, all the main outlets of escape remaining to the Turkish Seventh and Eighth Armies had been closed. They could only avoid capture by using the tracks which run southeast from the vicinity of Nablus to the crossings over the Jordan at Jisr ed Damieh. These were being rapidly denied to them.

The first phase of the operations was over. The enemy's resistance had been broken on Sept. 20. On Sept. 21 the Turkish rearguards were driven in early in the morning. All organized resistance ceased. The 5th Australian Light Horse Brigade, with the French Cavalry leading, entered Nablus from the west, the 10th Division from the south. By the evening the 20th Corps had reached the line Neby Belan, on the high ground northeast of Nablus, and Mount Ebal; the 21st Corps the line Samaria, Attara, Belah.

AIR FORCE BLOCKS RETREAT

Since the early hours of the morning great confusion had reigned in the Turkish rear. Camps and hospitals were being hurriedly evacuated; some were in flames. The roads leading northeast and east from Nablus to Beisan and the Jordan Valley were congested with transport and troops. Small parties of troops were moving east along the numerous wadis. The disorganization which already existed was increased by the repeated attacks of the Royal Air Force; in particular, on the closely packed column of transport moving north from Balata to Kh. Ferweh, where a road branches off, along the Wadi Farah, to Jisr ed Damieh. Some of the transport continued along the road to Beisan, where it fell into the hands of the 4th Cavalry Division. The greater part made for the Jordan along the Wadi Farah. Nine miles from Kh. Ferweh, at Ain Shibleh, a road branches off to the north to Beisan. A mile beyond this point the Wadi Farah passes through a gorge. The head of the column was heavily bombed at this point. The drivers left their vehicles in panic, wagons were overturned, and in a short time the road was completely blocked. Still attacked by the Royal Air Force, the remainder of the column turned off at Ain Shibleh and headed for Beisan.

The Seventh Turkish Army was by this time thoroughly disorganized, and was scattered in the area between the Kh. Ferweh-Beisan road and the Jordan. These parties had now to be collected.

At 01.30 on Sept. 22 the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade and the British West Indies Battalions of Chaytor's Force seized the bridge at Jisr ed Damieh. All hope of escape for the enemy in that direction had vanished.

In the early hours of the morning parties of Turks, of strengths varying from 50 to

300, began to approach Beisan, preceded by white flags.

At 08.00 a column, with transport and guns, ten miles long, was reported by the Royal Air Force to be moving north along the Ain Shibleh-Beisan road, its head being nine miles south of Beisan. The 4th Cavalry Division was ordered to send detachments toward it, and also to patrol the road, which follows the Jordan on its east bank, to secure any parties which might escape across the Jordan.

At the same time the Worcester Yeomanry of the 20th Corps, supported by infantry, was ordered to advance northward from Ain Shibleh, and the infantry of the 10th Division along the Tubas-Beisan road, to collect stragglers, and to drive any formed bodies into the hands of the 4th Cavalry Division.

TWO ARMIES DESTROYED

The Royal Air Force had proceeded to attack the Turkish column, which broke up and abandoned its guns and transport. The task of clearing the enemy between the Kh. Ferweh-Beisan road and the Jordan was continued during Sept. 23. On this day the 20th Corps Cavalry met with occasional opposition, and its advance was hampered considerably by the large numbers of Turks who surrendered. Great quantities of transport and numerous guns were found abandoned by the roadsides. On one stretch of road, under five miles in length, 87 guns, 55 motor lorries, and 842 vehicles were found.

Numerous bodies of Turks surrendered to the 4th Cavalry Division. One column attempted to escape across the Jordan at Makhadet Abu Naj, five miles southeast of Beisan, but was intercepted by the 11th Cavalry Brigade. Part of the column had already crossed to the east bank. It was charged by the 36th (Jacob's) Horse and broken up, few escaping. On the west bank the remainder of the column was charged by the 29th Lancers and Middlesex Yeomanry, who killed many and captured the remainder, together with twenty-five machine guns.

On Sept. 24 the 11th Cavalry Brigade attacked and dispersed another column in the Wadi El Maleh. The last remnants of the Seventh and Eighth Turkish Armies had been collected. As armies they had ceased to exist, and but few had escaped.

While the 4th Cavalry and the Australian Mounted Divisions were collecting the remnants of the Seventh and Eighth Turkish Armies, I ordered the Desert Mounted Corps to occupy Acre and Haifa. The roads leading to Haifa from Tul Keram are only country tracks, which, in the event of rain, might become impassable for motor lorries at any time. Any force advancing northward from Haifa along the coast would have to depend on supplies landed at that port. It was necessary, therefore, to occupy the town without delay, in order that the harbor could be swept for mines, and the landing of stores taken in hand. The 13th Cavalry Brigade of the 5th Cavalry Division, which had entered Nazareth on Sept. 20, and had then marched to El Afule, returned to Nazareth the following day.

HAIFA AND ACRE CAPTURED

Part of the garrison of Haifa, which was attempting to reach Tiberias, was intercepted by this brigade on the morning of Sept. 22. At 01.30 this column approached the outposts of the 13th Cavalry Brigade. It was attacked in the moonlight by the 18th Lancers, who killed a large number of Turks and captured over 300.

That afternoon Haifa was reconnoitred by a battery of armored cars. It was still held by the enemy. The road was barricaded, and the armored cars were shelled from the slopes of Mount Carmel.

On Sept. 23 the 5th Cavalry Division, less the 13th Cavalry Brigade, marched from El Afule to capture the town. The 13th Cavalry Brigade marched direct from Nazareth on Acre.

The road from El Afule to Haifa skirts the northeastern edge of the Mount Carmel range. Some two miles before Haifa is reached the road is confined between a spur of Mount Carmel on the left and the marshy banks of the River Kishon and its tributaries on the right. When the 5th Cavalry Division reached this point on Sept. 23 it was shelled from the slopes of Mount Carmel, and found the road and the river crossings defended by numerous machine guns.

While the Mysore Lancers were clearing the rocky slopes of Mount Carmel the Jodhpur Lancers charged through the defile, and, riding over the enemy's machine guns, galloped into the town, where a number of Turks were speared in the streets. Colonel Thakur Dalpat Singh, M. C., fell gallantly leading this charge. In this operation 1,350 prisoners and 17 guns were taken.

At Acre the 13th Cavalry Brigade met with little opposition. The small garrison, consisting of 150 men and two guns, attempted to escape to the north, but was overtaken and captured.

EAST JORDAN OPERATIONS

Interest now turned to the fate of the Fourth Turkish Army east of the Jordan. Up till Sept. 22 this army showed no signs of moving from its positions on the east bank. On the west bank the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade and the 1st and 2d Battalions, British West Indies Regiment, had advanced northward on Sept. 21, west of the Jericho-Beisan road, and had reached Khurbet Fusail, four miles in advance of our defenses at El Musalabeh. The enemy, however, still held the bridgeheads on the west bank, covering the crossings at Umm Es Shert, Red Hill, Mafid Jozeleh, and Jisr Ed Damieh. Early in the morning of Sept. 22 the 38th Battalion Royal Fusiliers captured the bridgehead at Umm Es Shert. The New Zealand Mounted Rifles placed themselves astride the road which follows the Wadi Farah from Nablus to Jisr

Ed Damieh, thus closing the last loophole of escape to the Turkish forces west of the Jordan. The crossing at Jisr Ed Damieh was captured a few hours later. The bridge was intact; 514 prisoners were taken.

Thus the west bank of the Jordan had been cleared. As a result of the defeat of the Seventh and Eighth Armies, the position of the Fourth Army east of the Jordan was no longer tenable, and by the morning of Sept. 23 this army was in full retreat on Es Salt and Amman, pursued by the Australian and New Zealand Mounted Division, and bombed by the Royal Air Force. At 16.30 the New Zealanders captured Es Salt, taking 380 prisoners and 3 guns. The pursuit was continued on a broad front, in face of stout opposition from the enemy's rearguards. On Sept. 25 Amman was attacked and captured.

The enemy retreated northward along the Hejaz Railway and the Pilgrim route in a disorganized state, harassed by the Royal Air Force and the Arabs. He was pursued by the Australian and New Zealand Mounted Divisions, and left over 5,000 prisoners and 28 guns in their hands.

I ordered Chaytor's forces to remain at Amman to intercept the troops of the Second Turkish Army Corps, who were retreating from the Hejaz. Maan had been evacuated on Sept. 23, and had been occupied by the Arab Army, which then advanced to Jerdun, harassing the rear of the retreating garrison.

On Sept. 28 these troops came into contact with the patrols of Chaytor's force at Leban Station, ten miles south of Amman. The Turkish commander, seeing that escape was impossible, surrendered on the following day with 5,000 men.

ADVANCE ON DAMASCUS

In addition to bringing about the retreat of the Fourth Turkish Army, the total defeat of the Seventh and Eighth Armies had removed any serious obstacle to an advance on Damascus. On Sept. 25 I ordered the Desert Mounted Corps to carry out this operation, occupy the city, and intercept the retreat of the remnants of the Fourth Turkish Army.

The Desert Mounted Corps was to advance on Damascus in two columns; one column by the south end of the Sea of Galilee, via Irbid and Deraa, the other round the north end of the sea, via El Kuneitra.

On Sept. 24, Semakh, at the south end of the Sea of Galilee, was captured by the 4th Australian Light Horse Brigade, after fierce hand-to-hand fighting, in which 350 Turks and Germans and a gun were captured. Tiberias was occupied on the following afternoon.

Thus on Sept. 26 the Australian Mounted Division was concentrating around Tiberias, and the 5th Cavalry Division was marching from Haifa and Acre to Nazareth. The 4th Cavalry Division was concentrated around Beisan.

The 4th Cavalry Division started on its 120-mile march that afternoon. The Australian and 5th Cavalry Divisions started the following day, the distance they had to traverse being thirty miles less. Both columns met with opposition. The Australian Mounted Division experienced considerable difficulty in crossing the Jordan on Sept. 27. The bridge at Jisr Benat Yakub had been damaged, and Turkish rearguards commanded the crossings. After some delay, the 5th Australian Brigade succeeded in crossing the river a mile south of the bridge, and, working around the enemy's flank, forced him to retire. Opposition was again met with on the eastern side of the Jordan plateau, at El Kuneitra, and the column was continually fired on by the Circassians who dwell on the plateau. Passing through El Kuneitra, the column entered first a plateau covered by boulders and then undulating pasture land, intersected by the numerous streams which rise in Mount Hermon. Fighting took place at Sasa, but the enemy's rearguards were driven back, and by 10.00 on Sept. 30, Katana, twelve miles southwest of Damascus, had been reached by the Australian Mounted Division, which was here checked for a time.

ARAB ARMY'S ACTIVITIES

At this hour the 14th Cavalry Brigade, on the right of the Australian Mounted Division, was approaching Sahnaya on the old French railway. Further south the 4th Cavalry Division, with the Arab Army on its right, was approaching Kiswe.

The route followed by the 4th Cavalry Division across the Jordan plateau had proved difficult, and considerable opposition had been encountered at Irbid, and again at Er Remte, where, after driving the enemy northward toward Mezerib, the cavalry gained touch with the Arab Army.

After its raids on the enemy's railways around Deraa between Sept. 16 and 18, the Arab Army had moved into the Hauran. It issued thence to attack the Fourth Turkish Army as the latter passed Mafrak in its retreat northward, forcing the Turks to abandon guns and transport. Moving rapidly northward, the Arabs then captured the stations of Ezra and Ghazale, between Damascus and Deraa. On Sept. 27 they intrenched themselves at Sheikh Saad, seventeen miles north of Deraa, across the Turkish line of retreat. Sharp fighting took place all day, in which heavy casualties were inflicted on the retreating Turks and Germans and in which numerous prisoners were taken. After breaking up the retreating columns of the Fourth Army the Arabs captured Deraa, and, on Sept. 28, joined hands with the 4th Cavalry Division near Er Remte.

The cavalry then advanced northward through Mezerib and along the old French railway, with the Arabs on its right flank, collecting stragglers, and pressing on the heels of the remnants of the Fourth Turkish Army. In this way a column of Turks some 1,500 strong was driven, at noon on Sept. 30,

into the arms of the 14th Cavalry Brigade at Sahnaya.

Shortly after midday, on Sept. 30, the Australian Mounted Division overcame the enemy's resistance at Katana. By the evening it had closed the exits from Damascus to the north and northwest, while the 5th Cavalry Division had reached the southern outskirts of the town.

ENTERING DAMASCUS

At 06.00 on Oct. 1 the Desert Mounted Corps and the Arab Army entered Damascus amid scenes of great enthusiasm. After the German and Turkish troops in the town had been collected and guards had been posted, our troops were withdrawn. In the meantime the 3d Australian Light Horse Brigade had proceeded northward in pursuit of bodies of the enemy, which had succeeded in leaving the town on the previous day, or had avoided it and the cordon round it, by making a detour to the east. On Oct. 2 a column was overtaken at Kubbeth I Asafir, seventeen miles northeast of Damascus. This column was dispersed, 1,500 prisoners and three guns being taken.

The advance to Damascus, following on the operations in the Plain of Esdraelon and the Valley of Jezreel, had thrown a considerable strain on the Desert Mounted Corps. Great results were, however, achieved.

On Sept. 26, when the advance began, some 45,000 Turks and Germans were still in Damascus or were retreating on it. It is true that all units were in a state of disorganization, but, given time, the enemy could have formed a force capable of delaying my advance.

The destruction of the remnants of the Fourth Army and the capture of an additional 20,000 prisoners prevented any possibility of this. The remnants of the Turkish Armies in Palestine and Syria, numbering some 17,000 men, of whom only 4,000 were effective rifles, fled northward a mass of individuals, without organization, without transport, and without any of the accessories required to enable it to act even on the defensive.

I determined to exploit this success and to advance to the line Rayak-Beirut. The occupation of Beirut would give me a port, with a road and a railway leading inland to Rayak and Damascus. An alternative and shorter line of supply would thus be obtained.

The Desert Mounted Corps, leaving the Australian Mounted Division at Damascus, moved on Rayak and Zahle on Oct. 5. No opposition was encountered, and both places were occupied on the following day. At Rayak, the junction of the broad-gauge railway from the north and the meter-gauge lines to Beirut and to Damascus and the Hejaz, were found on the aerodrome the remains of thirty airplanes which had been burned by the enemy before he retired. Large quantities of stores and rolling stock were captured, most of the latter in a damaged condition.

BEIRUT OCCUPIED

In the meantime the 7th (Meerut) Division had marched from Haifa to Beirut. Leaving Haifa on Oct. 3, it marched along the coast. Crossing the Ladder of Tyre, it was received by the populace of Tyre and Sidon with enthusiasm. On Oct. 8 it reached Beirut, where it was warmly welcomed, the inhabitants handing over 660 Turks, including 60 officers, who had surrendered to them. Ships of the French Navy had already entered the harbor.

On Oct. 9 I ordered the Desert Mounted Corps to continue its advance and occupy Homs, leaving one division at Damascus. At the same time I ordered the 21st Corps to continue its march along the coast to Tripoli. Armored cars occupied Baalbek on Oct. 9, taking over 500 Turks who had surrendered to the inhabitants. The 5th Cavalry Division, which led the advance, reached Baalbek on Oct. 11, and, crossing the watershed between the Nahr Litani on the south and the Orontes on the north, followed the valley of the latter river, past Lebwe, and reached Homs on Oct. 15, having marched over eighty miles since leaving Rayak.

The station buildings at Homs had been burned by the enemy before he evacuated the town on Oct. 12.

On the coast, Tripoli was occupied by the 21st Corps Cavalry Regiment and armored cars on Oct. 13. No opposition was encountered. The Corps Cavalry Regiment was followed by a brigade of the 7th (Meerut) Division. The occupation of Tripoli provided a shorter route by which the cavalry at Homs could be supplied.

FROM HOMS TO ALEPPO

Having secured Homs and Tripoli, I determined to seize Aleppo with the least possible delay. The 5th Cavalry Division and the Armored Car Batteries were alone available. The Australian Mounted Division at Damascus was over 100 miles distant from Homs, and could not be brought up in time. The 4th Cavalry Division at Baalbek was much reduced in strength by sickness, and needed a rest to reorganize. Time was of importance, and I judged that the 5th Cavalry Division would be strong enough for the purpose. The information available indicated the presence of some 20,000 Turks and Germans at Aleppo. Of these, only some 8,000 were combatants, and they were demoralized. Moreover, reports from all sources showed that considerable numbers of the enemy were leaving the town daily by rail for the north.

The armored cars had reached Hama without opposition on Oct. 20. On the following day the 5th Cavalry Division commenced its advance. On Oct. 22 the armored cars reached Khan Sebit, half way between Homs and Aleppo, as the enemy's rearguard left the village in lorries. A German armored car, a lorry, and some prisoners were captured. The enemy were not encountered again till Oct. 24, when a body of cavalry were dispersed at

Khan Tuman, ten miles south of Aleppo. Five miles further on the armored cars were checked by strong Turkish rearguards and had to remain in observation till the cavalry came up.

On the afternoon of Oct. 25 the armored cars were joined by the 15th (Imperial Service) Cavalry Brigade. That evening a detachment of the Arab Army reached the eastern outskirts of Aleppo, and during the night forced their way in, inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy.

Early on the morning of Oct. 26 the armored cars and the 15th Cavalry Brigade, moving around the west side of the town, followed the enemy along the Aleppo-Katma road and gained touch with him southeast of Haritan. The Turkish rearguard consisted of some 2,500 infantry, 150 cavalry, and eight guns. The Mysore Lancers and two squadrons of the Jodhpur Lancers attacked the enemy's left, covered by the fire of the armored cars, the Machine Gun Squadron, and two dismounted squadrons of the Jodhpur Lancers. The Mysore and Jodhpur Lancers charged most gallantly. A number of Turks were speared, and many threw down their arms, only to pick them up again when the cavalry had passed through and their weakness had become apparent. The squadrons were not strong enough to complete the victory, and were withdrawn till a larger force could be assembled.

ARMISTICE SIGNED

That night the Turkish rearguard withdrew to position near Deir el Jemel, twenty miles northwest of Aleppo. The 5th Cavalry Division remained in observation, astride the roads leading from Aleppo to Killis and Katma, and occupied Muslimie Junction. It was too weak to continue the advance to Alexandretta till the arrival of the Australian Mounted Division, which had already left Damascus to join it. Before the latter could arrive the armistice between the Allies and Turkey had been concluded, and came into force at noon on Oct. 31.

The 5th Cavalry Division captured fifty prisoners and eighteen guns in Aleppo. The Turks had carried out demolitions on the railway at Aleppo and Muslimie Junction before retiring, but had left eight engines and over 100 trucks, which, though damaged, are not beyond repair.

Aleppo is over 300 miles from our former front line. The 5th Cavalry Division covered 500 miles between Sept. 19 and Oct. 26, and captured over 11,000 prisoners and fifty-two guns. During this period the 5th Cavalry Division lost only 21 per cent. of its horses.

Between Sept. 19 and Oct. 26 75,000 prisoners have been captured. Of these over 200 officers and 3,500 other ranks are Germans or Austrians.

In addition 360 guns have fallen into our hands and the transport and equipment of three Turkish armies. It is not yet possible to give accurate figures, owing to the rapidity and the extent of the advance. In the first three phases of the operations material and equipment were hastily abandoned by the enemy in a mountainous area, extending over 2,500 square miles, while in the remaining phases a further advance of over 300 miles has been made. The captures, however, include over 800 machine guns, 210 motor lorries, 44 motor cars, some 3,500 animals, 89 railway engines, and 468 carriages and trucks. Of these many are unserviceable, but none have been included that are beyond repair.

General Allenby's report ends with tributes to his staffs and troops. He praises the infantry for breaking through the strong enemy defenses in a few hours, thus enabling the cavalry to accomplish its mission. The Desert Mounted Corps had taken 46,000 prisoners and had been mainly instrumental in destroying the Seventh and Eighth Turkish Armies. General Chaytor's force had taken 10,000 prisoners in the valley of the Jordan and the hills of Moab. The Arab Army also had rendered valuable assistance, both by cutting the enemy's communications and by intercepting portions of the fleeing Fourth Turkish Army north of Deraa, inflicting heavy casualties.

Massacre of the Greeks in Turkey

Story of the Tragic Fate of Hundreds of Thousands of Christian Noncombatants in the Levant

A special correspondent of The London Morning Post, writing from Constantinople on Dec. 5, 1918, summed up the Turkish atrocities against the Greeks as follows:

THE Greek massacres organized by the Turks and Germans, like the Armenian ones, had for their object the extermination of a race. Already after the Balkan war and before the great war the deportation of Greeks had begun in Thrace. Under the pretense of finding an asylum for the Mussulmans turned out of Europe after the Balkan wars and of securing the safety of the Asiatic coasts opposite the debated islands of Chios and Mitylene, 250,000 Greeks were expelled and obliged to emigrate to Greece proper, leaving all their possessions behind them. This persecution continued uninterrupted until the outbreak of the European war. Then started the most savage persecution the world has ever known. While the prewar persecution had for its object the expulsion of the Greeks from Asia Minor and Thrace, the second persecution was intended to stamp out the Greek race in Turkey.

During the first persecution the Greek Government did everything possible to protect their co-nationals, but during the second outbreak King Constantine impeded every possible movement for the amelioration of the lot of that unfortunate race. Reports sent to the Government by dignitaries of the Orthodox Church in Asia Minor were suppressed. Numberless documents dealing with these massacres were stolen from the Government archives and destroyed. On one occasion the Bishop of Pera traveled from Constantinople to Athens for the purpose of imploring the King to protest more energetically. He was not received by the King but by Queen Sophia, who cut the conversation short with the words: "Return immediately to Constantinople. The will of the King is that you live on good terms with the Turks."

GERMAN GUILT

It is easy to prove the complicity of the Germans in these massacres. In the persecution of the Greeks after the Balkan war the German hand was plainly visible. Von Jagow already in April, 1914, excused this system of persecution by claiming that every Greek in Turkey was a Pan-Hellenist and therefore dangerous to Turkey. The Emperor himself whitewashed the Turks by saying that the persecution was carried out by the baser agents of the Ottoman administration and not by the Government, which was trying to put things in order. German agencies, such as the Deutsche Palestina Bank, were carrying on a virulent propaganda, urging Mussulmans to cultivate hate for the Christians and to have no commercial dealings with them. It was natural that the Germans should support any policy against the Greeks and Armenians, who were the only commercial people in Asia Minor and would therefore be a hindrance to German penetration after the war.

Germany was perfectly aware of the conditions signed at Adrianople in June, 1915, between the Bulgarians and the Turks, for the persecution of the Greek element. The conditions were: (1) The establishment of a Turco-Bulgar commercial union as the complement of the political union. (2) The seizure of the commerce of the Orient from the hands of the Greeks. (3) The establishment in the Orient of Mussulman agencies for the importation and exportation of goods for the exclusive use of Mussulmans, who were to break off all commercial

relations with the Greeks. (4) A restriction of the privileges of the Patriarch and his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. (5) The prohibition of the teaching of Greek in future. (6) The conversion to Islam by force of the people in the Christian settlements and the imposition of mixed marriages.

POLICY OF EXTERMINATION

Herr Lepsius, a German, who went out on a special mission to Constantinople, declared in July, 1915, that the Greek and Armenian persecutions were two phases of a single program of extermination of the Christian elements, so that Turkey might become a purely Mussulman State. Talaat and Enver were the real masters of Turkey, and whatever they did was done with the knowledge and connivance of the German Headquarters Staff in Constantinople. The proof of General Liman von Sanders's complicity was apparent, though in a letter written the other day to a Constantinople paper he tries to shift the blame. In March, 1917, M. Kallerghis, the Greek Minister in Constantinople, protested to Talaat, as Grand Vizier, against the deportations of Greeks in the Aivali district. Talaat for once seemed amenable to reason and promised to telegraph to Liman von Sanders telling him to cease the deportations. The German General replied that if the deportations ceased he would not guarantee the safety of the Turkish Army, that military necessities in time of war outweighed political necessities, and that he had referred the matter to the German Grand Headquarters Staff, who entirely approved of his action.

The methods by which the persecution was carried out were: (1) The abolition of privileges; (2) the enrollment of the Christians; (3) contributions and requisitions; (4) forcible conversion to Islamism; (5) deportations; (6) murder. To begin with, the Turkish language was imposed on all schools, and Turkish inspectors drew up a schedule of the hours of work. Turkish geography and history, using Turkish names, had to be taught. The Patriarchy was abolished, as were also the Metropolitan's rights as regards the probate of wills and the seizure of goods and persons. When the Patriarch protested against the kidnapping of young girls by Turks he was told that he had no right to interfere, as it was a matter which concerned their parents exclusively. When he protested against the deportations from the Marmora coast Talaat replied: "It is not the duty of religious chiefs to mix themselves up in affairs foreign to their jurisdiction, and they would do well to confine themselves to their religious duties." All property held by the Greek civil and religious communities was confiscated and became the property of the State.

"MILITARY NECESSITY"

The populations who were the first to suffer were the Greek colonies of Thrace, of the coast of the Sea of Marmora, and of the coast of Asia Minor. The excuse was military necessity. The inhabitants were accused of supplying allied submarines with food and oil. It is quite probable that this was true as regards some of them, but it was no excuse for maltreating and massacring whole populations. The first step was the enrollment of Christians in the army. After the establishment of the Constitution a law was passed by which all Christians up to the age of 31 were liable for military service, those above that age being considered exempt as having already paid the military tax.

On Turkey's entry into the war a decree was signed and promulgated by which all men up to the age of 48 were liable, but those who belonged to the reserve classes could obtain exemption on payment of $225. The object of this was twofold. Those not accustomed to military service naturally preferred to pay the tax, while those who had not the money either had to sell their poor possessions to raise it rather than undergo the awful treatment they knew was in store for them, or else escape from the country and become deserters. The Turks, however, did not intend to use the Christians for actual warfare.

They were formed into labor battalions and sent into the interior. These battalions were employed in road-mak-

ing, building, excavating the Taurus tunnel, and cultivating the fields and gardens of the Pashas, and were made to march hundreds of miles to all parts of the empire. The burning plains of Mesopotamia tried their emaciated forms as well as the intensely cold mountains of the Caucasus. They died by tens of thousands. Their daily ration was half a loaf of filthy bread, eked out sometimes with a little dried fish or two olives. They had no clothes. Whole battalions died of typhus, cholera, &c. Many were actually massacred by their Turkish guards, who got tired of watching them. A reliable informant tells me that 150,000 Greeks in these battalions died. At Koniah the Christian cemetery was entirely filled with the bodies of these unfortunates, who were buried five and six in each grave.

About two hundred and fifty thousand Greeks from Thrace and the coast of Asia Minor succeeded in escaping to Greece, and forty thousand of these are now serving in the Greek Army in Macedonia. The many desertions gave the Turks an even greater opportunity for atrocities. The property of all deserters was duly seized, and families were deported to the interior. No difference was made between deserters and those expelled by Turks but not removed from the roll. The treatment of families was the same. Owing to there having been 300 desertions in the district of Kerassunda, 88 villages were burned to the ground in the course of three months. About thirty thousand inhabitants, mostly women and children, were obliged to march in midwinter to Angora, and were not allowed to take a single article with them. One-fourth of them died en route. The town of Aivali in December, 1914, was surrounded by Turks. They proceeded to arrest all the men of Greek nationality and to outrage their wives and daughters. The Governor was extremely satisfied and said: "One or two more raids like that and we shall have exterminated the last male. We will then kick the women into the sea."

COMMERCE RUINED

Meanwhile, the system of confiscation and requisitioning was bringing Greek and Armenian commerce to a standstill. Entire fortunes were confiscated under no pretext whatever, and stores were completely pillaged. Any Mussulman had a right to walk into any Christian house and take anything he wanted. A system of contribution also was instituted throughout the land. Under threats of violence and imprisonment each Greek community was forced to contribute large sums for the telephone service, the clothing of the troops, the construction of barracks, the provision of agricultural machinery for Turkish Beys, and the upkeep of the fleet—all this besides the usual heavy taxes.

The Germans then instituted the system of corvées. The Christians were obliged to cultivate the lands of the Mussulmans. No time was allowed to them to cultivate their own fields. If they attempted to gather their own harvests or till their own fields a cordon was put round the village, and no one was allowed to leave. The water was then cut off and the people were left without anything to eat or drink. After a few days a band of Bashi-Bazouks were sent into the village to pillage and murder, and then the remainder of the population were given the choice of deportation over the mountains to places hundreds of miles distant, or a lingering death from hunger and thirst. Deportations en masse were decided upon by the committee at the beginning of 1915. A conservative estimate fixes the number of deported during the war at 450,000.

LAW OF DEPORTATION

The two great centres of Hellenism, Constantinople and Smyrna, alone escaped destruction. The number of Greeks was too great for those colonies to be exterminated. To make matters more sure, a special law on deportation was passed. The Christians were not allowed to live in the Christian villages. They were thrown into prison or sent to labor battalions, while the women and children were sent into the interior, where they were divided up among the Mussulman villages in the proportion of 10 per cent. of the Mussulman population. These were possibly the saddest pilgrimages the world has ever seen. Barefooted,

without food or water, beaten by guards, attacked by brigands, never resting, they wandered on to their distant destination.

Thousands died by the wayside of fatigue and suffering. Mothers gave birth to infants and left them on the road, being compelled to follow the column. They were allowed to take nothing with them, and were forbidden to enter the villages en route to purchase food. As they left their own villages the roofs of the houses burst into flames, the sign that another Greek village had been wiped out. Hundreds of young girls were detained by the Turks and were forcibly converted to Islamism. At Panderma General Liman von Sanders built an orphanage for Christian girls converted to Islam and compelled the Christian population to contribute £10,000 toward its upkeep. With regard to the families placed in Mussulman villages an express order was given that no provisions should be sold to them unless they were converted to Islam. The Christian refugees were only allowed 20 centimes a day until they became converted. After the deportations from the Marmora and Asiatic coasts it was the turn of the Greek colonies on the Black Sea.

TERRIBLE FIGURES

Rafet Pasha, the late Governor of Bitlis, was sent to Samsoun with express orders to become a scourge to the Greeks. He did the work thoroughly. Over a hundred and fifty thousand were deported in this district and in Trebizond. Fearing the fate of the Armenians, hundreds of young girls committed suicide by drowning themselves in the rivers. One hundred and eight villages in the province of Samsoun were entirely evacuated and burned down, but the total number was probably many more, as no report has even yet been received as to the fate of many flourishing villages in the mountains. To sum up, 450,000 Greeks are known to have been deported and are dead; 150,000 were placed in labor battalions and are dead; 250,000 fled from Asia Minor and Thrace to Greece, and 350,000 were deported after the Balkan war and before the great war. And these tragic events, in spite of the armistice, are still happening.

Hindenburg's Admission That He Faced Surrender

Field Marshal von Hindenburg admitted at the time of the armistice, Nov. 11, 1918, that if Germany refused the armistice terms he would be compelled to surrender to the Allies. A statement to this effect was made before the German National Assembly at Weimar on Feb. 8 by Konstantin Fehrenbach, Vice President of that body. He said that he was present on Nov. 10 at a meeting in the Chancellery at which, after Dr. Solf, the Foreign Secretary, had read the terms of the armistice, a telegram from Field Marshal von Hindenburg was read, in which the German commander requested that the armistice conditions be accepted forthwith, as he could not hold his army together any longer. The army was already deserting him, the Field Marshal declared, and if the allied conditions were not accepted he would be forced to capitulate with his entire forces.

INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF THE WAR

A Promise Fulfilled

—By Louis Raemaekers.

This cartoon was originally published in Land and Water, London, March 2, 1916, with the following text: "'*We shall never sheathe the sword until Belgium recovers all, and more than all, that she has sacrificed.*'—*Mr. Asquith, Nov. 9, 1914.*"

[American Cartoon]

Plastered

—From The Dayton News.

[American Cartoon]

The Doorknob Has Hatched!

—*From The New York Tribune.*

[German Cartoon]

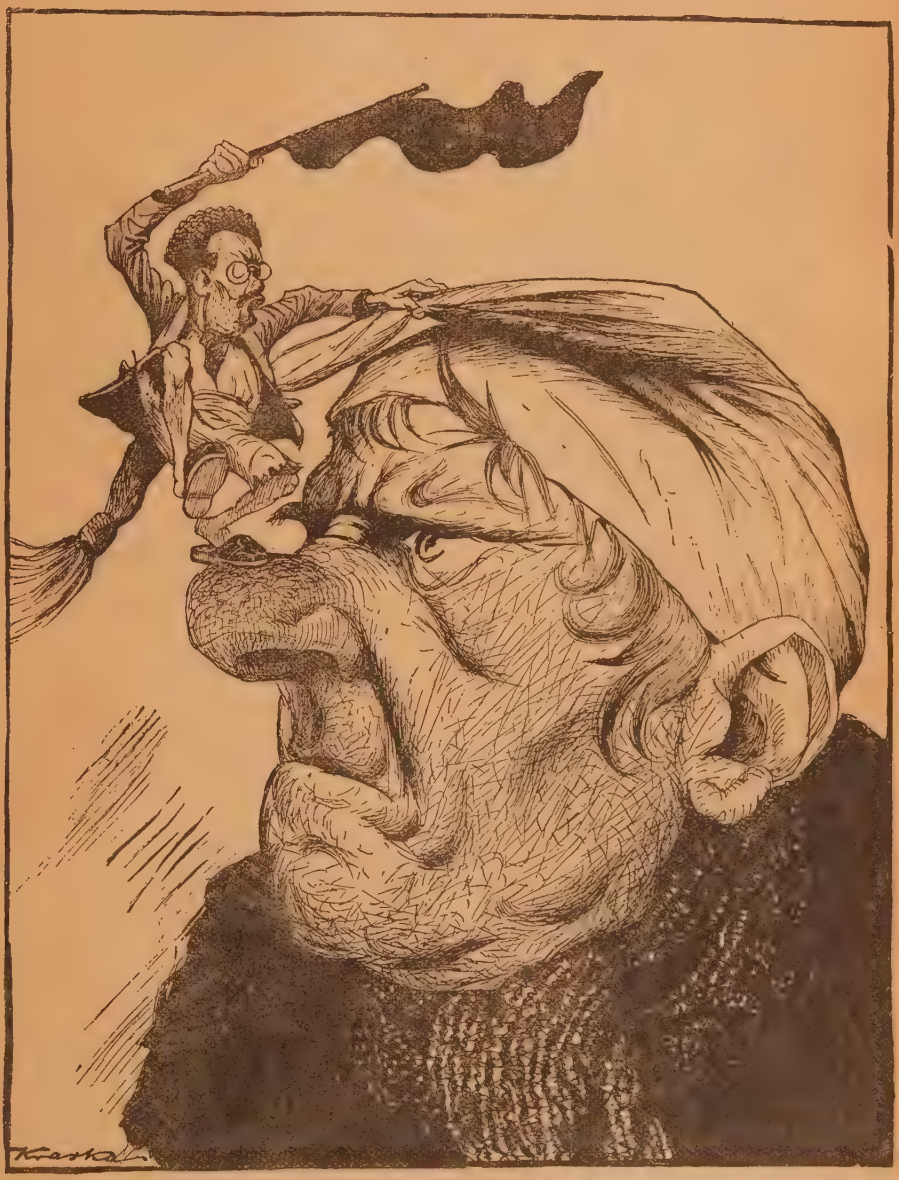
Bolshevism

—From Simplicissimus, Munich.

THE BOLSHEVIK: "We will show the world that the people also have the right to commit stupidities."

[German Cartoon]

How Long Will He Stand It?

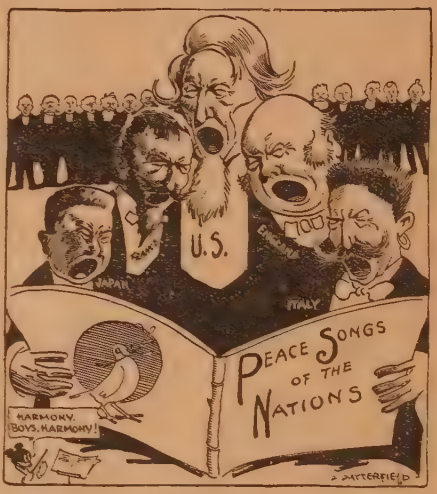


—From Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

Good German Citizen, how long are you going to let this Spartacan imp pull you around by the nose?

It Hurts, But He's Got to Do It

The Leading Chorus



The Belgian Way

Every Day Is Washday

—From Newspaper Enterprise Ass'n, Cleveland.

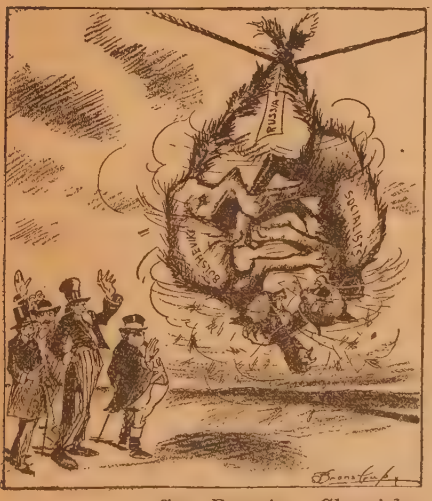
It Looks Good, But—

—Chicago Tribune.

The Wages of Bolshevism

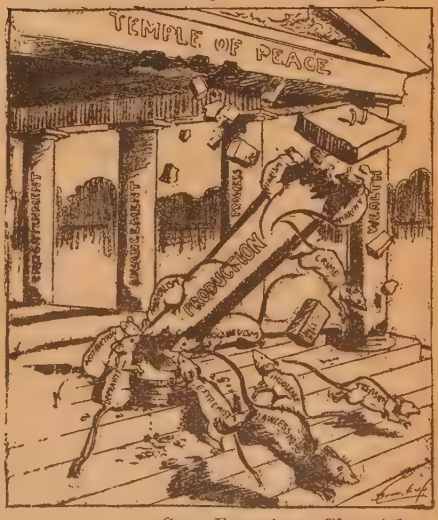
—San Francisco Chronicle.

Russia's Kilkenny Felines



—San Francisco Chronicle.

Undermining the Temple



—San Francisco Chronicle.

[Colombian Cartoon]

The Last Message

—From the Bogotá Cómico.

PRESIDENT WILSON. "Teli the Senate to mend these trousers, for if I wear them in this condition I may be disgraced at the Peace Conference."

[Dutch Cartoon]

Santa Claus Wilson

—From Die Nieuwe Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.

"No Bolshevism, Scheidemann! Only good children get presents from Santa Claus."

[German Cartoon]

Parting

—From Simplicissimus.

"O Strassburg, O Strassburg!"

[French Cartoon]

The Marseillaise at Strasbourg in 1918

"Now I die happy!"

—Lucien Jonas in Les Annales, Paris.

[American Cartoon]

Another Fellow Who Thinks He's Samson

—Chicago Tribune.

[American Cartoon]

The New Arrival

—New York World.

[German Cartoon]

Uncle Woodrow as Santa Claus

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin, Dec. 7, 1918

"If Fritz will keep order I will in time reveal myself to him in a sympathetic form."

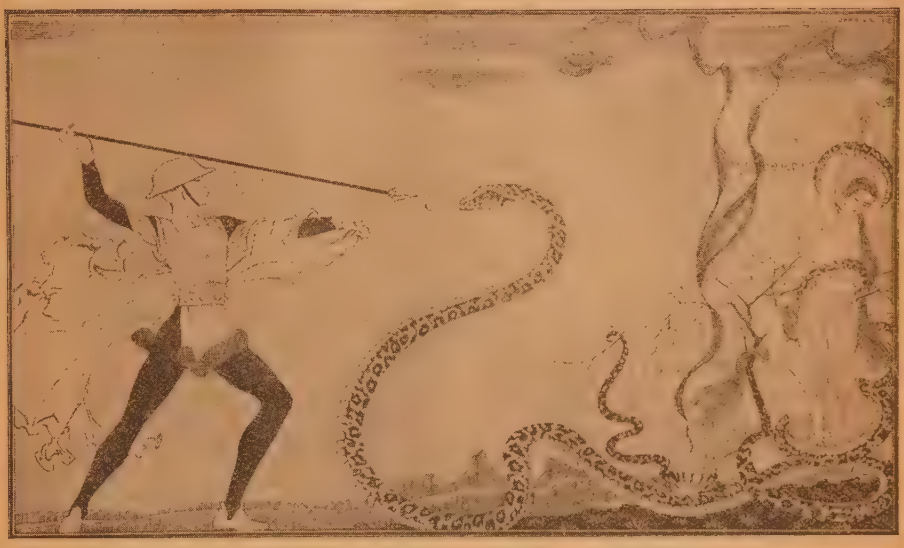
[German Cartoon]

The Homecoming of Odysseus

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

[French Cartoon]

The Modern Knight Errant



—From La Baionnette, Paris.

The Young America, Champion of Justice and Liberty.

[American Cartoons]

The Wrestlers

—Newark Evening News.

Envoys Extraordinary

—New York Herald.

Old Father Rhine

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

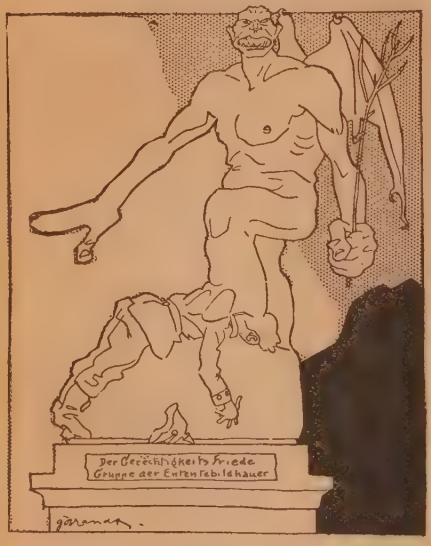
"Have no fear, my children, I will always remain German, even if they make me wear a French cap."

Pedestal for the "Just Peace"

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

MME. FRANCE: "Having prepared this pedestal of hate, revenge, and blood-thirstiness, I am ready for Wilson's arrival."

The Entente Sculptor's Work "A Just Peace"



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

GERMANY: "So that's what a righteous peace looks like!"

The End of Kaiserism

—Simplicissimus, Munich.

"We shed no tears for him—he left us none to shed."

[German Cartoon]

The New Germany

—From Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.

One step to right or left means destruction.

[English Cartoon]

Hard Lines!

—Passing Show, London.

[English Cartoon]

The Eagle's Nest

—Evening News, London.

[German Cartoon]

Becoming Cheerful Again

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

RUMANIA TO THE PEACE OF BREST-LITOVSK:
"You hateful thing, get out!"

[English Cartoon]

The Fingers of Fate

—Reynolds's Newspaper, London.

Ghosts of War

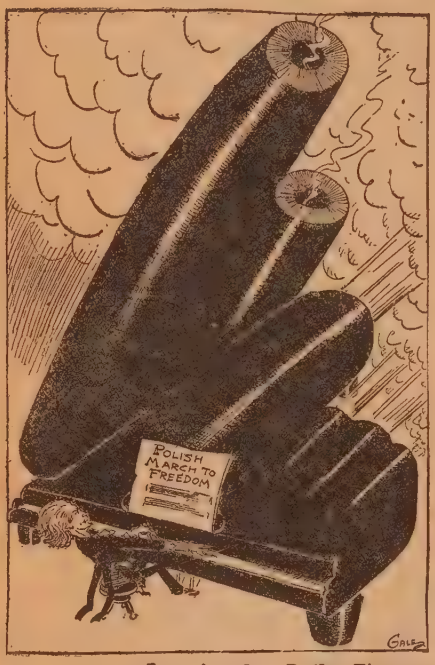
A Dangerous Derelict

The Red Peril

Breaking Through the Clouds

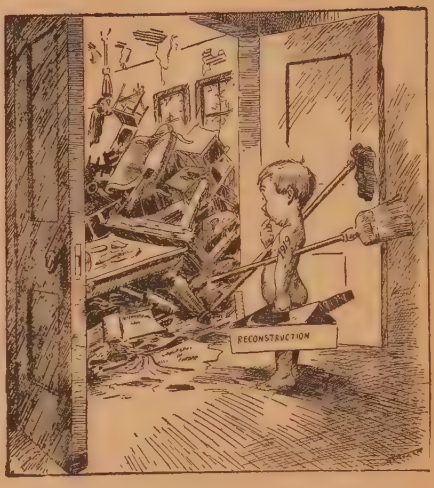
—From The Brooklyn Eagle.

Paderewski's Latest Composition



—Los Angeles Daily Times.

"Gee!"



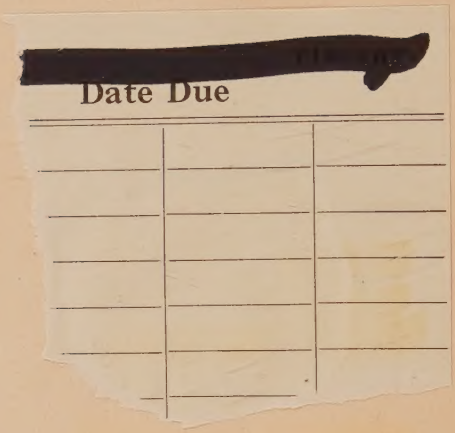
—Omaha World-Herald.

Left by the Receding Wave

—Dallas News.

After Years of Waiting

—Detroit News.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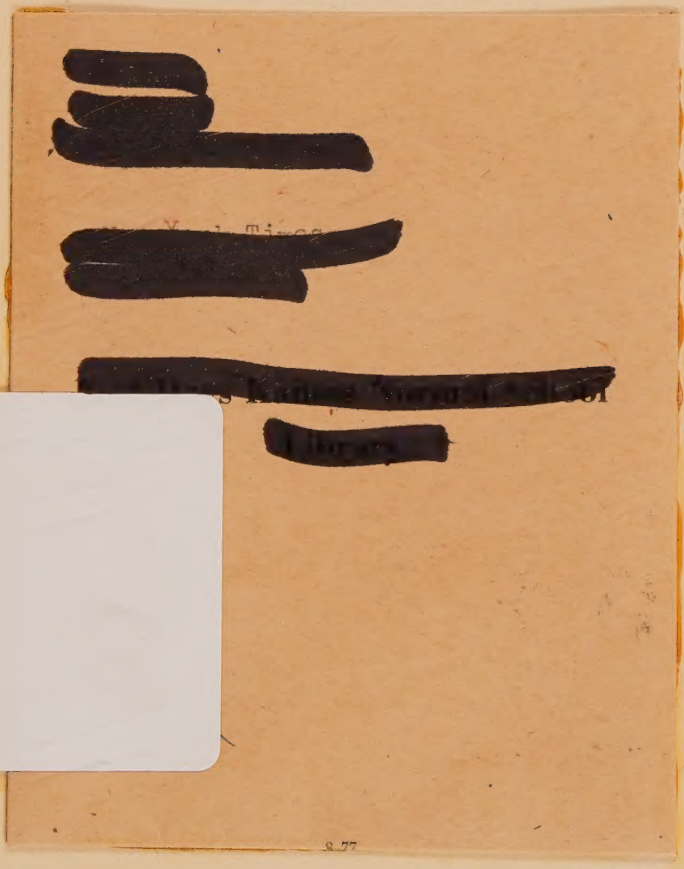
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